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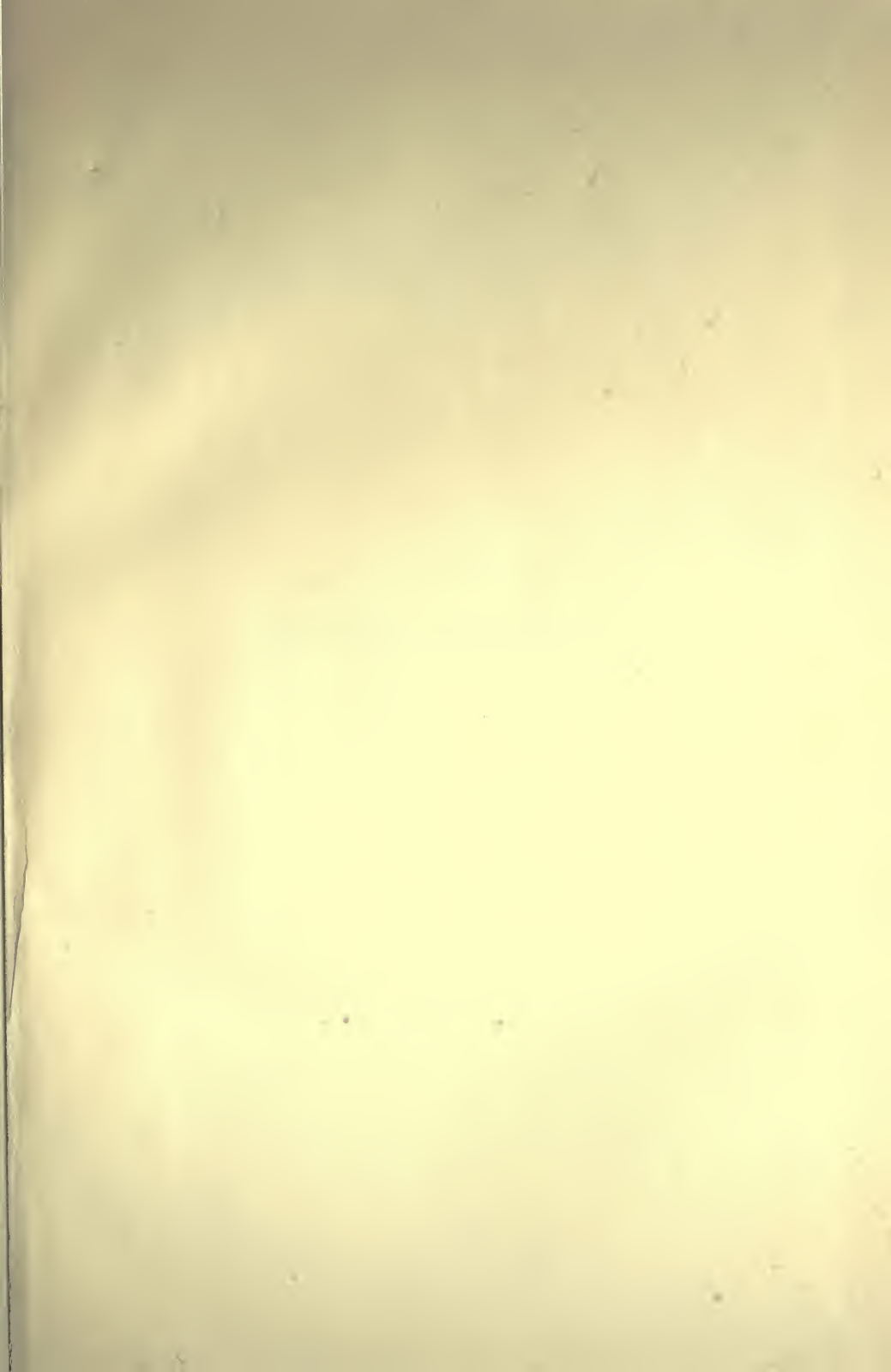
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MODERN PHILOLOGY

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# MODERN PHILOLOGY

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## CONTENTS

VICTOR E. ALBRIGHT. Two of Percy's Plays as Proof of the Elizabethan Stage . . . . .	237
A. LEROY ANDREWS. Studies in the Fornaldarsögur Norðrlanda (Continued) . . . . .	363
WILLIAM M. BLATT. A New Light on the Sonnets . . . . .	135
LOIS BORLAND. Montgomerie and the French Poets of the Early Sixteenth Century . . . . .	127
WILLIAM DINSMORE BRIGGS. On Certain Incidents in Ben Jonson's Life . . . . .	279
RONALD S. CRANE. The Reading of an Elizabethan Youth . . . . .	269
GEORGE O. CURME. The Development of the Analytic Genitive in Germanic. I . . . . .	145
GEORGE O. CURME. The Development of the Analytic Genitive in Germanic. II . . . . .	289
LOUISE DUDLEY. "The Grave" . . . . .	429
EDITORIAL NOTE . . . . .	443
OLIVER FARRAR EMERSON. Chaucer's Testimony as to His Age . . . . .	117
JEFFERSON B. FLETCHER. The Allegory of the <i>Vita Nuova</i> . . . . .	19
JAMES HINTON. The Source of <i>Ralph Roister Doister</i> . . . . .	273
WALTER WOODBURN HYDE. Notes on Human Automata . . . . .	267
GEORGE PHILIP KRAPP. Standards of Speech and Their Values . . . . .	57
WILLIAM WITHERLE LAWRENCE. The Marriage Group in the <i>Canterbury Tales</i> . . . . .	247
JOHN LIVINGSTON LOWES. The Loveres Maladye of Hereos . . . . .	491
JOHN M. MANLY. Note on the Envoy of <i>Truth</i> . . . . .	226
LAWRENCE MASON. A New Stage-Direction for <i>Much Ado</i> , Act I, Scene i . . . . .	379
JOHN ROBERT MOORE. Omission of the Central Action in English Ballads . . . . .	391
SAMUEL MOORE. Studies in <i>Piers the Plowman</i> . . . . .	177
ALPHONSO GERALD NEWCOMER. A Shakespeare Crux . . . . .	141
WILLIAM ALBERT NITZE. The Romance of Erec, Son of Lac . . . . .	445
GEORGE TYLER NORTHUP. The Spanish Prose Tristram Source Question . . . . .	259

OSCAR L. OLSON. <i>Beowulf</i> and <i>The Feast of Bricriu</i> . . . . .	407,
F. M. PADELFORD. Spenser and the Puritan Propaganda . . . . .	85
K. PIETSCH. Concerning MS 2-G-5 of the Palace Library at Madrid . . . . .	1
LOUISE POUND. The Southwestern Cowboy Songs and the English and Scottish Popular Ballads . . . . .	195
E. PROKOSCH. Sprachwissenschaftliche Ausblicke . . . . .	71
EDITH RICKERT. John But, Messenger and Maker . . . . .	107
EDITH RICKERT. Thou Vache . . . . .	209
FRANCK L. SCHOELL. A New Source of <i>Sir Gyles Goosecappe</i> . . . . .	547
EDGAR F. SHANNON. Notes on Chaucer . . . . .	227.
PRESERVED SMITH. The Mooncalf . . . . .	355
EDWARD D. SNYDER. Thomas Gray's Interest in Celtic . . . . .	559
EDWIN H. TUTTLE. The Romanic Vowel-System . . . . .	347
F. M. WARREN. The Battle of Fraga and Larchamp in Orderic Vital . . . . .	339
ERNEST H. WILKINS. The Enamorment of Boccaccio . . . . .	39
FRANCIS A. WOOD. Germanic Etymologies . . . . .	315.

# Modern Philology

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No. 1

## CONCERNING MS. 2-G-5 OF THE PALACE LIBRARY AT MADRID

Ms. 2-G-5 of the Palace Library at Madrid contains besides other Spanish works a *Libro de Josep Abarimatia, e otrosi Libro del Sancto Grial que es el escodilla en que comio Jesu Cristo* (f. 251-282), an *Estoria de Merlin e cuyo fijo fue*. ¶ *E del rrey Artus e de como gano la Grand Bretaña que se dize Inglaterra* (f. 282<sup>v</sup>-296), and a fragmentary *Lançarote* (f. 298<sup>v</sup>-300<sup>v</sup>). I purpose to discuss first the relation of these texts (G) to:

*El Baladro*<sup>1</sup> *del sabio Merlin con sus Profecias*. Burgos, 1498 (Gallardo 1,950 no. 931). Extracts in *Merlin* . . . p. . . . p. G. Paris et J. Ulrich, 1 (1886) Lxxxi. (B).

<sup>1</sup> A *Libro del Valadro de Merlim* is cited in a Ms. of the *Crónica General de 1404* about which Menéndez Pidal, *Revista de Archivos* 9 (1903) 34, gives details. The passage in question (p. 37) reads: "De las prophecias del Menlin. En este tempo prophetizaua Merlin en Inglaterra et dezia las cosas que aviam de venir, et dixo a Vitiger que se non podria guardar de los fijos del rrey Costanço que ellos lle darian mala fim. Quien esto bien quisiere saber leya el libro del *Valadro de Merlim* . . ." (Ms. Esc. X-1-8: lea el libro debla obra de Merlin.)

I quote further the concluding lines of Menéndez' article (p. 55): "En resumen: un portugués, en los años 1403 y 1404, reunió en un volumen una historia desde el comienzo hasta Ramiro I, que probablemente existía con anterioridad, y una compilación portuguesa, seguramente anterior al siglo XV, desde Ramiro I á San Fernando, formada con la traducción de dos trozos de crónicas castellanas. Al conjunto de estas dos partes le añadió una interpolación de la *Conquista de Ultramar*, y una continuación de los reyes sucesores de San Fernando hasta Enrique III. En estas dos adiciones: en la interpolación y en la continuación, dejó el autor la fecha de su trabajo y la memoria de su estancia en Castilla en 1390. El autor (más bien que un amanuense) empezó á escribir en castellano su obra, copiando los textos castellanos que seguía; pero luego se cansó y escribió en portugués. En una copia posterior, Esc. X-1-8, la obra fué reducida toda al lenguaje castellano."



[*La Demanda<sup>1</sup> del Sancto Grial con los maravillosos Fechos de Lanzarote y de Galaz su Hijo.*] Toledo, 1515. Only the "segundo y postrero libro" of this edition has been preserved (Sommer, *Romania* 36 [1907] 372). Extracts in Sommer, *The Queste of the Holy Grail*, *Romania* 36, 545. (*D<sup>2</sup>* 1515.)

*La Demanda del Sancto Grial con los maravillosos Fechos de Lanzarote y de Galaz su Hijo.* Sevilla, 1535. Reprinted by Bonilla, *Libros de Caballerias* 1 (1907) 3. (*D* [resp. *D<sup>1</sup>*, *D<sup>2</sup>*] 1535.)

I then place side by side some selections from *D<sup>2</sup>* 1515 and *D<sup>2</sup>* 1535:

(a) Vispera de pentecoste acacio que fue muy gran gente asonada en camaloc assi que podian ay ver muchos caualleros y muchas dueñas muy bien guardadas y el Rey que era muy ledo honro los muchos y fizo los mucho bien servir y toda cosa que entendia que por su corte seria mas leda y mas viciosa todo lo hacia.

(a) Aqui comienza el segundo libro dela Demanda del Sancto Grial; e de los fechos del muy esforçado Galaz.

En la vispera de pentecostes, acacio que fue muy gran gente juntada en Camaloc, assi que podian ay ver muchos caualleros, e muchas dueñas muy bien guarnidas; y el rey, que estaua muy alegre, honrolos mucho, e fizolos mucho bien servir. E toda cosa que entendia que por su corte seria mas alegre e mas viciosa, todo lo hacia.

<sup>1</sup> I incline to see an allusion to a Ms. of this work in the well-known lines of *C. Baena* (1851) 368:

En la grand demanda del Santo Greal  
Se lee de muchos que assy andudieron,  
Syenpre por ty (sc. amor mundanal) pasando grant mal,  
Pesares é coytas, que al non ovieron:  
Assás cavalleros é dueñas morieron,  
Tan bien otro sy fermosas donsellas,  
Sus nonbres non digo dellos nin dellas,  
Que por sus ystorias sabrás quales fueron.

The *decir* to which these lines belong has been attributed to Diego Martínez (*C. Baena* 367), to Fernán Sánchez Talavera (*C. Baena* 598), and to Juan Rodríguez de la Cámara (Paz y Mélla, *Opúsculos lit.* 367). As long as the question was between the first two, Menéndez y Pelayo favored Diego Martínez (*Antología* 4 [1893] LXXVI). Later (*Antología* 5 [1894] CCXXIII) he leaves the question open. Still later (*Antología* 12 [1906] 462) he fathers the *decir* on Fernán Sánchez Talavera, without mentioning the claims of the two others. Baist (Gröbers *Grundr.* 2, II, 438 note 6) considers Diego Martínez as the author and thinks that the *decir* was written "ungefähr im 1. Viertel des 15. Jh."

Finally, the fact is worth mentioning that "En la biblioteca de la fortaleza de Benavente, por los años de 1440, estaba la *Brúvia complida en romance con un poco del libro de Merlin*" (Clemencin, *Memorias R. Ac. Hist.* 6 [1821] 459 n. 2); and that the library of Queen Isabella contained (nos. 142-144): "Otro libro de pliego entero de mano escripto en romance, que se dice de *Merlin*, . . . é habla de *Josepe ab Arimathia*.—Otro libro de pliego entero de mano en romance, que es la *tercera parte de la demanda del santo Grial* . . . —Otro libro de pliego entero de mano en papel de romance, que es la *historia de Lanzarote* . . ." (Clemencin, *op. cit.* 459.)

(b) 36. De los ciento y cinquenta caualleros que fueron de la tabla redonda que hizieron el juramento desta demanda. El primero Galaz el .ij. lançarote despues Tristan y Boores de gaunes: y Lioner: y Estor Mares y Briures Blamor su hermano y Layn el blanco Bafa afjado del rey van: agon buen cauallero a marauilla Tristan Arnel canir Gariendes el negro Acosan el gruseo Acotan el ligero Danubre el corajoso. Todos estos caualleros sin Tristan eran del linaje del rey Van . . . y los otros que del rey no eran fueron estos. Aglouan y perseual: tor fijo de dares: madar su primo cormano: y persides de galaz. E los otros Erec fijo del rey Lac: gugeran su hermano de guancho muy ben cauallero de armas: mas tan soberuio que era marauilla.

(b) Cap. XXXVI.—*De los nombres de los ciento e cinquenta caualleros de la Mesa Redonda.*

De los ciento e cinquenta caualleros que fueron de la Mesa Redonda, que fizieron el juramento desta demanda: El primero Galaz; el segundo Lançarote; e despues Tristan, e Boores de Gaunes, e Lioner, y Estor Mares, e Briures, Blamor su hermano, e Layn el blanco; Bafa, ahijado del rey Vamagon, buen cauallero a marauilla; Tristan, Arnel, Canir, Gariendes el negro, Acosan el gruseo,<sup>1</sup> Acotan el ligero, Danubre el corajoso. Todos estos caualleros, sin Tristan, eran del linaje del rey Van . . . y los otros que del reyno eran, fueran estos: Aglouan, e Perseul; Tor, fijo de Dares; Madar, su primo cormano; e Persides de Galaz. E los otros: Erec, fijo del rey Lac; Gugeran, su hermano de Guancho, muy buen cauallero de armas, mas tan soberuio, que era marauilla.

(c) 454. Estonce metio mano ala espada E quando el arçobispo vio que los queria matar metio se antel golpe y diole al [text: el]<sup>2</sup> rey a tan gran herida que lo echo muerto en tierra. E quando paulos que ay estaua esto vio yrguiose en pie y dixo. y (*sic?*) rey Mares falso y desleal tu feziste a mi tal traycion qual nunca otro rey fizo. E has fecho tan gran maldad de matar a tal hombre como este: mas si dios quisiere tu te hallaras ende mal si yo puedo: estonce metio mano Paulos al espada y dexose yr contra el rey Mares y como estaua cón tan gran saña yera de gran fuerça

(c) Cap. CCCCLV.—*Como el rey Mares mato al arçobispo de Conturbel.*

Estonce metio mano a la espada. E quando el arçobispo vio que los queria matar, metiose antel golpe, e diole el rey tan gran ferida, que lo echo muerto en tierra. Y quando Paulos que ay estaua esto vio, yrguiose en pie, e dixo: "¡E rey Mares falso e desleal! Tu heziste a mi tal traycion qual nunca otro rey fizo. Y has hecho tan gran maldad de matar a tal hombre como este: mas, si Dios quisiere, tu te fallaras ende mal si yo puedo." Estonce metio mano Paulos al espada, e dexose yr contra el rey Mares, e como estaua con gran saña y era de gran fuerça,

<sup>1</sup> El texto: "gruseo."

<sup>2</sup> A "verschlimmbesserung."



firio lo a tan brauamente que no le valio nada el almofar ni el ganbax que no le metiese el espada fasta los puños y dio con el muerto en tierra . . . E assi como vos digo murio el rey mares. E sus hombres anduieron lo buscando y nunca supieron que fuera del y los hermitaños quedaron en la hermita seruiendo a dios y a sancta maria. E vuieron buenos acabamientos en este mundo. E despues fueron las animas ante la faz de nuestro señor iesu christo do el y su sancta madre biuen onde atodos nos dexe entrar por la su sancta merced y piadad y merescientes seamos a la gloria onde los justos y los buenos para siempre moran. Amen. Laus deo.

fiziolo tan brauamente, que no le valio nada el almofar ni el ganbax que no le metiese el espada fasta los puños. Y dio con el muerto en tierra . . . e assi como os digo murio el rey Mares; e sus hombres anduieronlo buscando, e nunca supieron que fuera del; e los hermitaños quedaron en la hermita seruiendo a Dios e a sancta Maria. E vuieron buenos acabamientos en este mundo. E despues fueron las animas ante la faz de Nuestro Señor Jesu Christo, do el e su santa madre biue; onde a todos nos dexe entrar; por su santa merced, e piedad, e merescimientos, seamos en la gloria, donde los justos e los buenos para siempre moraran. Amen.

In general,  $D^2$  1535 as compared with  $D^2$  1515, shows modernized forms (a:juntada—asonada, alegre—ledo, honro—honrro; b:ahijado—afijado; c:heziste—feziste, hecho—fecho, os—vos); otherwise the agreement extends even to misprints<sup>1</sup> (b:Acosan el gruseo). We may safely assume the same conformity between  $D^1$  1535 and  $D^1$  1515.

It looks then as if  $D$  Sevilla, 1535, had been printed from  $D$  Toledo, 1515. But it seems more probable to me that both follow "*Merlin, y demanda del Santo Grial*. Hispali 1500. in folio" (Antonio, *Bibl. Hisp. Nova* 2, 400 b).<sup>2</sup>

Further, I compare extracts from  $B$  with similar ones from  $D^1$  1535:

Cap. XXXVIII. *De como Baudemagus va con la doncella que tomó á Morlot, é con un su escudero.*

Un poco despues de hora de nona dió Merlin un grand baladro é un gemido tan espantoso que Baudemagus huvo grand miedo. E á cabo de una pieza fabló no en voz de hombre mas de

Cap. CCCXXXVII.—*De las espantosas palabras que dezia Merlin ante de su muerte.*

Vn poco despues de hora de nona, dió Merlin vn baladro grande e vn gemido tan espantoso, que Bandemagus vuq muy gran miedo, e a cabo de vna pieça hablo muy espantosamente,

<sup>1</sup> merescimientos,  $D^2$  1535 c is a misprint of this latter edition which Bonilla like many others should have corrected.

However for acacio,  $D^2$  1515 a—honrro los muchos, ib.—del rey no eran, ib. b—muy ben cauallero, ib., Sommer's bad proofreading is most likely responsible.

<sup>2</sup> Thus also Brugger, *Zeitschr. f. franz. Sprache* 34, I (1909) 120 n. 26.

diablo, e dixo: "Ay! mala criatura, é vil é fea! é espantosa de ver é de oyr, mal aventurado de mal fazer, que ya fuiste flor de beldad é ya fuiste en la bendita silla bien en la gloria celestial con todo bien complido, criatura maldita é de mala parte, desconocida é soberbia, que por tu orgullo quesiste ser en lugar de Dios, é por ende fuiste derribado con tu mezquina é cativa compaña, é tiróte del lugar de alegría é plazer por tu culpa, é metióte en tiniebra é en cuyta, que te non fallestes en ningund tiempo, é esto has tu por tu gran soberbia! . . . . ."

. . . . . E quando Baudemagus esto oyó, fué tan espantado que no supo que fiziese, é signóse muchas veces de las grandes maravillas que oia, e dixo entre sí: "Desde hoy más me quiero ir de aquí." E luego tornó de otro acuerdo é dixo: "Por cierto no lo faré, antes quiero esperar de qué manera finará Merlin." E él asi estando antel monumento, vino un gran trueno é pedrisco é tan grand so[n]lydo espantoso é tan grand escuridad, que no vió ni punto más que si fuese noche oscura, aunque era un poco ante de nona. E oyó en la casa vuelta é alborozo tan grande como si estoviesen allí mil hombres, é que diese cada uno las mayores voces que pudiese, é havia entre ellas muchas voces feas é espantosas, de las quales Baudemagus huvo grand miedo, que no se pudo tener en los pies, é parecióle que le fallestes el corazon, é que toda la fuerza del cuerpo le menguaba, e cayó atordido en tierra, é muy sin virtud, que creyó luego ser muerto, tanto huvo grand miedo. É él asi yaziendo en tierra, oyó un baladro tan grande como si mil hombres diesen voces todos á una, é entre todas havia una voz tan grande que sonaba sobre

e no en boz de hombre, mas de diablo, e dixo: "¡ Ay mala criatura, engañosa e vil, e fea, e maldita, y espantosa de ver e de oyr en tal aventurado e de mal son,<sup>1</sup> que ya fuese flor de beldad e fuese en la bendita silla y en la yglesia<sup>2</sup> celestial con toda alegría e con todo bien complidamente! ¡ criatura maldita, e de mala parte, y desconocida e soberuia, que por tu orgullo quiso esto ser<sup>3</sup> en lugar de Dios, e por ende fuese derribado con cativa e mezquina compaña! ¡e quitote del lugar de alegría e de plazer por tu culpa y merito<sup>4</sup> en tiniebras y en cuyta, que nunca te fallestes en ningun tiempo! Y esto has tu ganado por tu orgullo e soberuia . . . . ."

Cap. CCCXXXVIII.—*Del gran baladro que dio Merlin, e de como murio.*

Quando Baudemagus esto oyo, fue tan espantado, que no supo que hazer; santiguose muchas vezes de las grandes maravillas que oya, e dixo: "Desde oy mas, mas<sup>4</sup> me quiero yr de aquí; con todo no quiero, sino quiero esperar, por ver en qual guisa finara Merlin." Y el assi estando delante del monimento, vino tan grande tronido e pedrisco, e tan gran ruydo y tan espantoso, y tan gran escuridad, que no veyá ninguna cosa mas que si fuese de noche oscura, maguer que era vn poco ante de nona. Y oyo en la casa buelta e alboroto tan grande, como si estoviesen ay mil hombres que diessen todos las mayores bozes del mundo. E auia muchas bozes feas y espantosas, de que Baudemagus vuo tan gran miedo, que no se pudo tener en los pies, e parecióle que le fallestes el coraçon, e toda la fuerza del cuerpo le menguaua, e penso luego ser muerto, tan gran miedo vuo. E assi estando en tierra, oyo vn baladro grande, como si mil bozes fuesen de so

<sup>1</sup> For correct reading see *B.*

<sup>2</sup> The printer probably solved wrongly the abbreviation for *gloria*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *B.*

<sup>4</sup> Cancel; cf. *B.*



todas las otras, é parecia que lloraba al cielo, é decia aquella voz: "Ay! cativo, por qué nasci, pues mi fin con tan gran dolor la hé? Df, mezquino Merlin, ré (*sic*) donde vás á te perder? Ay! qué pérdida tan dolorosa!" Estas palabras é otras muy sentibles dixo. E sobre esto Merlin calló é murió, con un muy doloroso baladro, que fué en tan alta voz que, segun lo escribe el autor é otros muchos que desto fablaron, este baladro que entonces dió Merlin fué oydo sobre todas las otras voces, que sonó á dos jornadas á todas partes. E hoy día están ahf los padrones que los hombres buenos de aquel tiempo fizieron poner, é están ahf porque sea sabido por dó fué la voz oyda é fasta dó llegó el sonido della. E las candelas que él fizo arder siempre de luengo tiempo sobre los tres reys que mató el rey Artur quando venció al hermano del rey Rion fueron luego muertas, é otras muchas cosas acaescieron aquel día que Merlin murió, que las tovieron por maravilla. Por esto lo llaman el Baladro de Merlin en romance, el qual será de grado oydo de muchas gentes, en especial de aquéllos caballeros que nunca fizieron villanía, sino proezas é grandes bondades de caballería, é cosas extrañas que fizieron los caballeros de la Tabla Redonda: desto dá cuenta por extenso la historia del Santo Greal.

vno, las mayores que pudiesen ser, y auia vna boz entre ellas atan grande, que parecia entre las otras que allegaua al cielo, e dezia mucho abiertamente: "¡Ay mezquino! ¿por que nasci, pues mi fin fue de tal manera e con gran dolor?; Ay mezquino Merlin! ¿do vas tu a perderte?" Y estas palabras e otras muchas que dixo sobre esto acabadas, callo, e alli murio assi.

E sepan todos los que esta historia vieren, assi los ricos como las otras gentes, que aquel baladro que dio Merlin, que fue oydo sobre las otras bozes, que sono tres leguas a todas partes, e oy día estan y los padrones que hombres buenos ay pusieron en aquel tiempo, y estaran ay por siempre, por que sea sabido por do fue la boz, e fasta do lego el sonido della; ca sin falta esto fue gran marauilla, e las candelas que el fiziera sienpre arder de luengo tienpo que tenian los reyes treze que mato el rey Artur quando vencio ha Nero, hermano del rey Rion, amataronse; otras muchas cosas que acaecieron aquel dia quel murio, que tuuieron los honbres por marauilla grande. E por esto llaman a este libro en romance<sup>1</sup>: EL BALADRO DE MERLIN, que sera de grado oydo de todos caualleros e honbres buenos que del oyeron<sup>2</sup> fablar, ca los buenos caualleros de aquel tienpo nunca fazian villania ni la dirian si lo entendiessen, pero que todos no guardauan esto, mas mucho os contare de grandes noblezas e de grandes bondades de caualleria e ardimiento, e cosas estrañas que fizieron los buenos caualleros de la Tabla Redonda e muchos otros, que hombre no podria contar de quanto ellos fizieron, e esto deuisa bien la hystoria del sancto Grial, que es de creer e verdaderamente lo que viere que es de poner en este libro, esto

<sup>1</sup> Sommer, *ZrP* 32 (1908) 333, is wrong in calling this an "Ungenauigkeit." *en romance = en castellano.*

<sup>2</sup> oyeren?



porne, e assi como los grandes caualleros e los grandes fechos que los buenos caualleros fizieron, e las grandes proezas de Tristan, e de Lançarote, y de Galaz, y de los otros caualleros de la Tabla Redonda; e los buenos caualleros escucharan de grado este libro, por muchas cosas y hermosas e buenas que oyran del palacio e de cortesía, que los buenos caualleros fizieron en aquel tienpo; e los buenos que se nonbrar quisieren de las proezas y de las cortesías que aqueste libro habla, tirarse han afuera de hazer villanía, ni de hazer cosa que le mal este; mas esto digo de los buenos, mas no de los embidiosos e malos, e brauos, e profaçadores e maldizientes, y de mala verdad e mentirosos, y que meten discordia y desamor entre los grandes señores e los sus vassallos; onde los grandes señores se tienen por engañados muchas vezes; e para estos caualleros tales, no fue este libro fecho, ni hizo dellos mincion, ca valdria por ende menos, saluo a lugares que dize de algunos forçadamente, mas los altos y buenos lo verán e loarán lo que conuiene, que guardaran en sus coraçones cortesía e verdad, e mesura, e bien hazer e seruir a Dios, y meterán todas estas cosas en obra.

Cap. CCCXXXIX.—*Como Bandemagus se leuanto e salio de la camara muy espantado.*

Baudemagus estuvo así atordecido del espanto que hubo en oyr el baladro de Merlin, é tanto estuvo atordecido como uno pudiera andar una jornada. E desde en su acuerdo tornó, vió tanta multitud de diablos que le pareció que toda la tierra cobrian, é salió de allí con grant espanto é con mucho dolor por que no pudo remediar en cosa la muerte de Merlin, é assí como hombre el más

Quenta la hystoria que se esmorecio alli Bandemagus del gran baladro que oyo, que anduiera tres leguas mientras el assi estuuu. E quando acordo e fue en su seso, abrio los ojos, e vio toda la escuridad yda, e las bozes no sonauan, mas la camara olia muy mal, que no podia peor. E yrguiose, e salio de la camara a gran passo muy espantado, que nunca ouiera miedo que le<sup>1</sup> a esto acostasse.

Cap. CCCXL.—*De como Bandemagus*

<sup>1</sup> se?

de los tristes fué á dó habia dexado su donzella, la qual desque le vió fué muy atribulada, porque le vió tan desfigurado, que á gran pena le conocia, é preguntóle con infinitos ruegos que le dicesse de qué venia assí desfigurado é dó habia estado tanto tiempo. Baudemagus vistos los congoxosos ruegos que su donzella le fazia se esforzó á hablar, que tal venia que con toda pena podia ser entendido lo que decia, é lo mejor que pudo contó punto por punto á la donzella todo lo que habia visto é oydo.

*fallo muerta a su donzella, del grande espanto que ouo.*

Luego que Bandemagus salio de la camara, fuesse para do dexara a su donzella. E quando la vio, hallo que estaua muerta, y que muriera por miedo de los baladros; e Bandemagus cuydaua que estaua amortecida, y desque vio que era muerta, ouo dello muy gran pesar, e dixo: "¡Ay Dios, que mala-uentura es esta! ¿Quien vio nunca tan gran marauilla?" E cato e vio vno de sus caualleros muertos, e dixo: "¡Dios señor, como he gran cuyta e gran pesar desta donzella, que assi se murio por tan malauentura!"; y desi partiose de alli, e fuesse para la corte del rey Artur, e contole todo lo acaescido de la muerte de Merlin, y el mandolo poner en scripto.

Cap. CCCXLI.—*De algunas profecias que el sabio Merlin dixo antes de su muerte.*

What follows in *B*, viz., the finding of Morlot by Baudemagus, the sending back of the damsel to her country, the search for Meliadus who is killed by Morlot, the parting of Morlot and Baudemagus, the former going to Ireland, the latter to Arthur's court where the news of Merlin's death fills everyone and especially the king with great grief,—these concluding lines for stylistic reasons I hold to be the work of the redactor of *B*:

In view of the almost literal agreement between chaps. 337-340 of *D*<sup>1</sup> 1535 and chap. 38 of *B*—and this agreement extends in all probability to the parts preceding; cf. the table of contents of *B* (G. Paris and Ulrich, *Merlin* 1, LXXXVIII) and that of *D*<sup>1</sup> 1535 (Bonilla, *Libros de Caballerias* 1, 535)<sup>1</sup>—and the fact that *B* is the older text and often furnishes a better reading, it seems probable that *D*<sup>1</sup> 1535 was printed from *B*. That such is not the case I should conclude from a comparison of the following passage of *B*: "los tres reys que mató el rey Artur quando venció al hermano

<sup>1</sup> The indications of Gallardo as to the number of folios in the *Demanda* 1515 and 1535 (1, 891 nos. 812 and 813) and in the *Baladro* (1, 950 no. 931) would seem to corroborate this opinion. Cf. also Brugger, *Zeitschr. f. franz. Sprache* 34, I, 118.

del rey Rion" with the corresponding one of *D*<sup>1</sup> 1535 (chap. 338): "los reyes treze que mato el rey Artur quando vencio ha Nero, hermano del rey Rion." As against *B*, *D* has the correct reading *treze* (cf. chap. 224)<sup>1</sup> and in addition: *Nero* (cf. chap. 217), neither of which the printer could very well have arrived at by himself. It follows then that *B* and *D*<sup>1</sup> 1535 (the latter presumably through *Merlin*, Sevilla, 1500) go back to a common source.

We shall now see whether the *Merlin* of our Ms. and *D* are related and how. I have chosen passages from the beginning, middle, and end of *Merlin* and those corresponding in *D*<sup>1</sup> 1535:

Aqui comienza la estoria de Merlin e cuyo fijo fue. ¶ E del rrey Artus e de como gano la Grand Bretaña que se dize Inglaterra.

Mucho sañudos fueron elos diablos, quando Nuestro Señor fue a los infernos e saco ende Adan e Eva e de los otros quantos le progo. E tovieronlo por maravilla e ensañaronse e dexieron: "Que onbre podria ser que nos forço e que nuestras fortalezas nos quebranto? E nada non nos valle contra el nin guarda que tengamos non se le puede asconder que todo su plazer non faga. Demas que non cuydamos que onbre de mugier nasciese que nuestro non fuese. E este nos destroyo, asy que nascio; que non vimos [en el] nada de saber<sup>2</sup> de onbre terrenal, asy como vemos e sabemos de los otros onbres." Entonce respondio uno dellos: "Una cosa nos mato<sup>3</sup> que cuydavamos nos que nos valiese. Las profectas que ante dezieran quel fijo de Dios vernia salvar a los peccadores aquellos quel salvar quiesiese. Aquellos faziamos nos atormentar mas que a los otros, asy

Aqui comienza el primero libro de la Demanda del Sancto Grial; e primeramente se dira del nascimiento de Merlin.

En esta presente historia se cuenta como los diablos fueron muy sañudos quando nuestro señor Jesu Christo fue a los infernos e saco dende a Adan e a Eva, y de los otros quantos le plugo; e tuvieronlo por gran marauilla. Ca dixeron: "¿Que hombre podia ser este que assi nos forço? que nuestras fortalezas no valen ninguna cosa contra el; ni cosa que en guarda tengamos non se le puede defender, ni esconder, que no faga de todo su plazer, e demas que no pensamos que hombre que de muger naciesse que no fuesse nuestro; y este nos destruyo assi como nascio, que non vimos en el mengua de hombre terrenal, assi como vemos e sabemos de los otros hombres;" y estonce respondio vno dellos, e dixo: "Vna cosa nos mato: que pensamos nos que valiessen mas los profetas que ante dezian que el hijo de Dios vernia en tierra para saluar los pecadores, aquellos que

<sup>1</sup> The erroneous reading of *B* has been pointed out by G. Paris (*Merlin* 1, LXXVIII n. 3).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *D* and Sommer, *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances* 2, 3, 9: "nous nauons ueu en li nul delit terrien ensi com nous auons veu de tous autres hommes."

<sup>3</sup> Ms. e coxo a nos mato. Cf. *D* and *Vulg. Vers.* 2, 3, 10: "Lors respont vns autres anemis & dist ce nous a mort que nous quidiens que miex nous deut valoir."



vivos en tierra como muertos aqui. E fazia[n]nos semejar que non davan nada por nuestros tormentos; ante confortavan a los peccadores, porque les dezian que nasceria en tierra el que los vernia librar. Atanto lo dezieron, fasta que vino e nos tolio lo que avyamos aqui e asy que nos toldra los otros que vivos son, si fuer sesudo. Pero como pudo venir que lo nunca sopimos?" Dixo el otro: "Que nos lo tolo e non lo sabes tu?" Dixo el otro: "Non." "Sepas tu que los faz lavar a los sus servientes en una [agua] sagrada en el su nonbre, e por aquella agua son quitos de todos sus peccados. E quando los lavan a sus servientes, dizen asy: En el nonbre del padre e del fijo e del spiritu sancto. Amen. E por esta rrazon nos los tuelle, e del peccado de Adan e de Eva [por] que los deviamos de aver, los agora perdemos por esto que non avemos sobre ellos ningund poder. E mas nos y fizo; que dexo en la tierra sus servientes que los salvan por confesion. E tantas non faran de nuestras obras que, sy ellos se confesaren ende e se quiesieren quitar e arrenpentir e fezieren lo que les ellos mandaren, nunca seran en nuestro poder. E por esto los avemos todos perdidos. Ca todos seran salvos en esta guysa, si quiesieren creher a los sus sergientes."

saluarse quisiessen; e quando algunos de los que teniamos en nuestro poder lo dezian, atormentauamoslos mas que a los otros; y ellos nos dezian que dauan poco por nuestros tormentos, e confortauan a los otros pecadores, e dezianles que aquel nasceria e los vernia a librar."

Capitulo I.—*De como fablaron los diablos entre si.*

"Tanto lo dixeran assi, fasta que vino a que nos tomo los que teniamos aqui; e assi nos podria tomar los otros que biuos son, si fuesse sesudo. Pero, ¿como pudo auer lo que nunca supimos?" "E como dixo otro, ¿no sabes tu que les faze lauar en vna agua, e por su nonbre e por aquella agua se lauan de todos los pecados, en el nonbre del padre y del fijo y del spiritu santo, y del peccado de Adan y de Eua por que nos los deuiamos auer? e agora los perderemos por esto, e no auremos ningun poder sobre ellos; e si ellos no quisieren, que no se saluen por sus obras y se nos metan en poder; assi nos ha quebrantado e abaxado nuestro poder; e mas fizo: dexo en la tierra a sus seruidores que los saluaran; ya tantas no faran de las nuestras obras, si se confessaren, e se quisieren ende quitar, e fizieren lo que sus maestros mandaren, que todos no los ayamos perdidos. Ca todos seran saluos por esta manera."

¶ En como la madre de Merlin fue presa por mando del juez.

Entonce se torno para su casa e estudo y una grand pieça en paz, fasta que los juezes lo sopieron e mandaronla prender. E quando fue presa, embio por el onbre bueno, e el fue lo mas ayna que pudo e fablo ante ellos. E los juezes mostraron lo que ella dezia e dexieron: "Que cuydades que podiese

Cap. XIV.—*Como los juezes mandaron prender a su madre de Merlin, y ella embio por el hombre bueno.*

Y estonces se torno para su casa, y estuvo vna gran pieça en paz; mas despues que los juezes lo supieron, mandaronla prender; y ella, quando fue presa, embio por el hombre bueno y el fue alla lo mas ayna que pudo, e fallola delante ellos; y ellos lo llamaron, e

esto ser que mugier oviese fijo sin onbre?" E el onbre bueno rrespondio: "Non dire agora quanto se. Mas tomat agora mi consejo e non justiciedes, mientras fuer preñada; ca non seria derécho nin rrazon. Ca el moço non merecio muerte nin es en culpa del peccado de la madre. Ca asy podres matar al que non fizo por que." E dixieron los juezes: "Señor, faremos y todo lo que nos mandaredes e tovierdes por bien." E el dixo: "Yo tengo por bien que vos que la guardedes en una torre e que metades con ella dos mugieres que la ayuden a su parto. E quando el moço nasciere, fazerlo hedes criar, fasta que coma por sy e atender fasta entonce. E por aventura vos fara Dios entender sy es verdat lo que ella dize. E si mentiere, fares della vuestro placer." E los juezes dixieron que dezia el onbre bueno bien, e fueron y otorgados.

dixeronle: "¿Pensades vos que esto pueda ser, que mugier ouiesse fijo sin hombre?" Y el hombre bueno les dixo: "No vos dire que fue; mas tomat mi consejo y no la justicieys preñada, ca la criature no merece muerte ni culpa en el pecado de su madre"; e los juezes dixeron: "Nos faremos quanto quisierdes"; y el dixo: "Yo quiero que la metades en vna torre, y que metades con ella dos mugeres que la ayuden al tienpo de su parto, e, quando el niño naciere, Dios nos fara entender por alguna manera si es assi como ella dize, o si es mentira; y entonces faredes della todo vuestro placer." Y ellos dixeron que dezia muy bien.

¶ En como Merlin mando a Blaxe que escriviese lo que el dezia.

Asy mostro Merlin esta obra e fizola conosçer a Blaxe. E el se maravillava mucho de las grandes cosas que dezia, e que le semejaván buenas e fermosas. En quanto entendia de fazer estas cosas, e Merlin dixo a Blaxe: "Converna a ty de todas estas cosas que escrevieres sofrir grand afan e grand trabajo, e yo mayor." E Blaxe le rrespondio: "En como?" Merlin le dixo: "Por mi enbiaran de contra Oriente, e aquellos que me vienen buscar, prometen a su señor que leváran de mi sangre e que me mataran. E quando ellos me vieren e oyeren fabled, non averán ende talante. E quando fuer con ellos, tu yras para aquellos que tienen el Sancto Grial e

Cap. XXVI.—*Como Merlin dixo a Blaysen que lo venian a buscar de contra Oriente.*

Esta obra asi deuiso Merlin, e fizola conocer a Blaysen, y el se marauillo de las marauillas que dezia, e parescieronle buenos e hermosos.<sup>1</sup> Y Merlin le dixo: "Conuernate a hazer libro, e a sofrir afan e lazeria, e yo mayor"; e dixo Merlin a Blaysen: "Por mi embiáran de contra Oriente; e aquellos que me vinieren a buscar, juraron a su señor de leuar la mi sangre y que me mataran, e quando ellos me vieren e oyeren, no auéran talante de me matar, e quando yo me fuere con ellos, tu te yras para aquellos que tienen el sancto Grial y escriuiras en este libro quanto me auino e auiniere de aqui adelante; e otrosi todos los fechos de los grandes

<sup>1</sup> l. buenas e hermosas.

escribiras en este libro mi nascencia e quanto<sup>1</sup> me avyno e desaqui aveniere e de todos los otros desta tierra. E este libro sera para sienpre jamas retraydo e de coraçon oydo en todos los lugares. Enpero non sera en actoridat, porque non es de los apostolos; ca los apostoles non me(n)tieron nunca en, escripto de Nuestro Señor Jesu Cristo que non viesen. E asy como soy obscuro contra aquellos que me non quiero<sup>2</sup> mostrar, asi sera este libro que pocos lo averan. E tu lo levaras, quando yo me fuere con aquellos que me vernan buscar para alla con el libro de Josep. E quando vieres<sup>3</sup> el trabajo acabado e que seas tal qual debes seer en su compañía, ende[re]jaras e juntaras el su libro con el tuyo. E asy sera la cosa bien provada de mi trabajo e del suyo.<sup>4</sup> E (de) los que fueren de la compañía de Dios (e) rrogarle han por vos.<sup>5</sup> E quando anbos los libros fueren juntados, avra muy fermoso libro. Tanto te digo agora; ca te non puedo dezir nin devo las otras palabras que Jesu Cristo dixo. Quedan otras muchas cosas de escrevir del libro de Josep e de Merlin por la gran prolixidat que aqui non se escribe.

hombres desta tierra, y este libro por siempre sera traydo; e oyrllo han de grado en muchos lugares, e tu leuaras este libro quando me yo fuere con aquellos que me fueren a buscar, e ponerlo has con el libro de Joseph; e quando los libros ambos fueren juntados, aura entonce vn hermoso libro muy sabroso de oyr, las ciertas palabras que Jesuchristo dixo a Joseph Abarimatia"; e sabe por verdad que la sancta historia del sancto Grial es llamada assi por tal nombre, porque fue de la su preciosa sangre quando la cogio Joseph en el vaso, y esto lo metio en su monimento que el tenia para si en su huerto, en que nunca otro hombre estuuiera, e que esta historia que Blaysen hizo començola, assi como vos yo digo, a quinientos e quarenta años despues de la passion de Jesuchristo.

Finally I compare a selection from the Lançarote fragment of our Ms. with the corresponding passage in *D*<sup>2</sup> 1535:

¶ En como fallaron a Lançarote con la reyna.

Tanto que el rrey Artus fue a caça, embio la reyna dezir a Lançarote que veniese a ella, onde al non feziесе. E el fue muy ledo e consejose con Boores. "Por Dios, non vayades alla; ca bien

Cap. CCCXCV.—*Como el rey e sus cavalleros fueron ydos a caça.*

E tanto que el rey e sus caualleros fueron ydos a caça, embio la reyna por Lançarote, que se fuesse luego para ella, e no fizesse al por ninguna cosa. Y el fue muy alegre, y dixo que queria

<sup>1</sup> Ms. quando.

<sup>2</sup> An original *quyero* has been changed by the scribe to *quyerē*.

<sup>3</sup> Probably *ovieres*. Cf. *Vulg. Vers.* 2, 20, 5: "& quant tu auras ta paine achieuee. . . ."

<sup>4</sup> tuyo? Cf. *Vulg. Vers.* 2, 20, 8: "de ma paine & de la toie."

<sup>5</sup> nos? Cf. *Vulg. Vers.* 2, 20, 9: "proieront nostre seignor por nous."



sabedes que, sy alla ydes, pesar vos ende verna. Ca he pavor de vos, e el mi coraçon me lo diz." E el dixo que lo non dexaria en ninguna guisa. "Pues asy queredes, señor, yd escondidamente e levat con vos vuestra espada." E fuese a la camara de la rreyna. Mas sabet que bien entendio el que Morderec e sus hermanos con muchos cavalleros le tenian la puerta de la camara. En tanto quanto el entro en la camara, echose con la rreyna. Mas non yogo y mucho; que luego venieron a la puerta los que lo esperavan. E fallaronla cerrada e dixieron [a] Agravayn: "Que faremos? Quebrantaremos la puerta?" Dixo el: "Si." Desy ferieron a la puerta. E oyolos la rreyna e levantose toda tollida e dixo a Lançarote: "Ay, amigo, muertos somos." "Como," dixo el, "que es esto?" E escucho e oyo a la puerta grand grita<sup>1</sup> e grandes bozes de onbres do querian quebrantar la puerta, mas non podian. "Ay," dixo ella, "amigo, agora sabra el rrey mi fazienda e la vuestra. Todo esto nos ordio Agravayn." "Sy Dios me ayuda," dixo el, "yo ordire la su muerte." Entonce se levanto del lecho. "Ay, señora," dixo el, "a y aqui alguna loriga?" "Certas," dixo ella, "non; ca plaze a Dios que muramos aqui amos. Pero sy ploguiese a Dios que vos escapasedes de aqui, se yo bien que non y a tal que me ose matar sabiendo que vos erades bivo. Mas cuydo que nuestros peccados nos confondran." Entonce vino Lançarote a la puerta e dio voces a los que fuera estaban e dixo: "Malos cavalleros e covardes, atendet un poco; ca çedo avredes (e) ela puerta abierta, e yo vere qual sera el ardit que entrara primero." Entonce abrio la puerta e dixo: "Agora entrat." E un cavallero

yr lo mas escondidamente que pudiesse, e despues consejose con Boores como haria. "¡Ay señor, dixo el, por Dios no querays yr alla, que sabed que si alla ydes, por vuestro pesar sera, ca mi coraçon me lo dize!" Y el dixo que no lo dexaria por ninguna guisa. "Señor, dixo el, pues no os queredes hincar, e a coraçon lo auedes de yr, yo os mostrare como vayades escondidamente; veys aqui vna huerta, que yredes por ella hasta en su camara de la reyna, que no vos vea honbre nacido; mas todavia leuad con vos vuestra espada, ca no sabe honbre lo que le auiene." Y el hizolo assi, y fuesse para la camara de la reyna; mas sabed que bien entendio que Morderec e sus hermanos le tenian la puerta con pieça de caualleros. E tanto que entro en la camara, cerro la puerta, e despues echose con la reyna en vna muy rica cama. Y ellos assi yaziendo, començaron a dar grandes golpes a la puerta e quisieron entrar, e hallaronla bien cerrada, e dixeron: "Que haremos?" E Agrauain dixo: "Quebrantemosla"; e assi començaron a ferir por la quebrantar; e oyolo la reyna, e leuantose toda tollida, e dixo: "¡Ay amigo Lançarote, como somos muertos!" "Como? dixo el, ¿e que es esto?" Y escucho, e oyo a la puerta gran rebuelta de caualleros, e querian quebrantar la puerta e no podian. "Ay amigo, dixo ella, agora sabra el rey de mi fazienda e la vuestra, e todo esto nos ha bôluido Agrauain." "Si Dios me ayuda, dixo el, yo ordire su muerte." Y estonce se yruió de la la cama, e dixo: "¡Ay señora! ¿aqui no ay ninguna loriga?" "No, dixo ella, ca semejame que plaze a Dios que muramos aqui ambos; empero, si pluguiese a Dios que escapasedes vos sano, no ay aqui tal que me osasse

<sup>1</sup> Ms. grite.

que avya nonbre Canagoyz que desamava mucho a Lançarote entro primero. E Lançarote que tenia ya la espada sacada feriole de toda su fuerza en guysa quel non presto arma que lo non fendiese fasta en las espaldas e dio con el muerto en tierra. E quando los otros vieron este golpe, non ovo y tal que osase entrar, ante se fezieron afuera en tal guysa que la entrada finco libre. E quando esto vyo Lançarote, dixo a la rreyna: "Señora, esta guerra es fayda<sup>2</sup>. Quando a vos plugiére, yrme." E ella dixo: "Si vos fuerdes en salvo, yo non avre pavor de mi."

matar sabiendo que vos eras<sup>1</sup> biuo; mas cuydo que nuestros pecados nos alcançan agora." Y estonce tomo su espada, e abraço el manto, e fuesse para la puerta, e abriola, e començo a dar bôzes a los que estauan fuera, diziendo: "Caualleros malos e couardes, atended, que yo os abrire la puerta, e uere qual sera el mas ardido que entrara primero." E despues parose en medio de la puerta, su espada en la mano. E vn cauallero que auia nombre Cinagis, que desamaua a Lançarote, dexose correr por la puerta. E Lançarote yrguio la espada, e firiole de tan gran fuerza, que no le presto yelmo que truxiesse. E fendiolo fasta en las espaldas, e dio con el muerto en tierra. E quando los otros vieron este golpe; no vuo ay tan ardido que osasse entrar dentro, ante se hizieron afuera, en tal guisa que la entrada hincó libre. Quando el esto vio, dixo a la reyna: "Señora, esta guerra es acabada; e quando os plaze, yrme he." Y ella dixo: "Si vos fuerdes en saluo, yo no aure pavor de mi."

As for the conclusions that can be drawn from the last comparisons, it is obvious that *D* 1535 was not copied from *G*. But it is likewise obvious that *D* 1535 (resp. *Merlin*, Sevilla, 1500) and *G* (i.e. so far the *Estoria de Merlin* and *Lançarote*) are from a common source: This source (*O*) is then the same for *B*<sup>3</sup>, *Merlin*, Sevilla, 1500, and *G*.

I now turn to the discussion of the relation of *G* to *O*.

At the outset it may be stated (as the reader would probably have supposed) that *G* and *O* are *originally* a French work. This is

<sup>1</sup> *erds* presupposes *erdes*, a form known only to me from Galician.

<sup>2</sup> Either the (Portuguese) original read *saida* and the translator mistook long *s* for *f*, leaving it to the reader to understand the word as he might, or a scribe made a mistake in copying *fenida*.

<sup>3</sup> It is true that the redactor of *B* (*Merlin* 1, LXXXVIII) says, concerning his work: "yo no de mio este libro copilé, mas transferíle de una lengua en otra." (Similarly in the "Prologo" [p. LXXXIII].) But it will be sufficient to quote Gayangos, *Libros de Caballerías* XLVI: "[es] sabida la invariable costumbre de los escritores de este género de libros, quienes, sin excepción alguna, que sepamos, pretendieron siempre haber hallado sus originales en lengua caldea, griega, húngara é inglesa" (add: arábica—Lepolemo I; Don Quixote).



demonstrated beyond a doubt by a comparison, however cursory, of the *Libro de Josep Abarimatia* with e.g. *Lestoire del saint Graal* (Vulg. Vers. 1), of the *Estoria de Merlin* with *Lestoire de Merlin* (Vulg. Vers. 2), of *Lançarote* with *Mort Artu* (ed. Bruce, 1910) 99.

*G* is nothing but a fragment of *O*. The *Estoria de Merlin* counts 26 chapters as against 341 chapters of *D*<sup>1</sup> 1535; the *Lançarote* 3 chapters as against 455 chapters of *D*<sup>2</sup> 1535. The same conclusion can be reached without any reference to *D*, by an examination of the *Estoria* alone.

The heading of the *Estoria* reads: "Aqui comiença la estoria de Merlin e cuyo fijo fue. ¶ E del rrey Artus e de como gano la Grand Bretaña que se dize Inglaterra." Evidently the scribe intended to copy Arthur's history at least until his coronation (= *D*<sup>1</sup> chap. 136). He did not, however, carry out his plan, "dexandose en el tintero, ya por descuydo, por malicia, o ygnorancia, lo mas sustancial de la obra." He merely touches upon Arthur's history in the very last lines of the *Estoria* and in connection with incidents later than the coronation (cf. below). On the other hand *D* gives a story of Arthur's life from his birth (= *D*<sup>1</sup> chap. 123) until his disappearance with "Morgayna la encantadora" (= *D*<sup>2</sup> chap. 434).

Moreover, just before the final chapter of the *Estoria* (quoted above = *D*<sup>1</sup> chap. 26) follow a few more instructions of Merlin to Blaxe (which are lacking in *D*). They are: "E eso mismo escreviase de los rreys de la Grand Bretaña, de Costança e de Vertiger, su hermano,<sup>1</sup> e de los tres fijos de Costance, Manes, Pandragon, Uter. E de como lidiaron los sansoneses con el rrey Manes de Bretaña, e fue vencido. E de como sus vasallos lo mataron, porque non era bueno. E acordaron que fuese Vertiger rrey. E de como este mato a los que mataron al rrey Manes. E de como se levantaron los rricos onbres contra Vertiger. E de como este Vertiger mando fazer la torre. E de los consejos de los clerigos para hedificar la torre por arte de las estrellas. E de como se aconsejaron los maestros de la torre. En como los maestros fezieron entender al rrey la mentira. En como el rrey enbio buscar a Merlin. E de como lo supo e lo dixo a Blaxe.<sup>2</sup> E de como Merlin con los mandaderos del rrey se despedio

<sup>1</sup> vassallo, *D*<sup>1</sup> 1535 chap. 27.

<sup>2</sup> From now on it is no longer Merlin, but the scribe who speaks.

de su madre e se fue con ellos e levo consigo a Blaxe. E de como llevo a la tierra de Vertiger el rrey, e saliole a rrescebir. E de como llevo el rrey a Merlin a ver la torre. E de como fizo el rrey todo lo que le mando Merlin acerca de lo de la torre, e sacaron los dragones debaxo del agua. E como se fizo luego la torre. [E] morio el rrey Vertiger. E ayuntaronse los rricos onbres para alçar rrey que mantoviese el rreyno. E en como les diera Merlin consejo que ayunasen e orasen en el dia del natal e que Nuestro Señor les daria rrey." Of all this there is nothing in the *Estoria* (while a detailed narration<sup>1</sup> is found in *D*<sup>1</sup> chaps. 27-54). The scribe then goes back in the tale (cf. above the final chapter of the *Estoria* [= *D*<sup>1</sup> chap. 26]). The concluding lines of the *Estoria* are these: "Quedan otras muchas cosas de escrevir del libro de Josep e de Merlin por la grand prolixidad que aqui non se escreve. E de como soño un sueño el Artus rrey e esso mismo Merlin. De una bestia que se llamava ladrador,<sup>2</sup> de como venia a beber a la fuente. E de como se fallara ende el rrey Artus sin cavallo e le veniera un su escudero. E de como veniera ende Merlin e le desposiera el sueño [e] que fuera<sup>3</sup> de aquella bestia, e se maravillava el rrey del su dezir. De como dexiera al rrey cuyo fijo fuera. E en esto estava Merlin en semejança de moço. E de como le dezia el rrey (o) que era el diablo. E se fue e torno ende como viejo Adan." (The particulars here referred to are told in *D*<sup>1</sup> chaps. 144-150. But the scribe of the *Estoria* has much altered the order.)

The *Estoria de Merlin* of *G* is preceded by the *Libro de Josep Abarimatia*. It stands to reason that the scribe of *G* copied this also from *O*. Bearing in mind the way the scribe dealt with *O* in the case of the *Estoria*, we should expect something similar, i.e., a fragmentary handling also in the case of the *Libro*. And so it is.

The *Libro* follows more or less *Lestoire del saint Graal* (*Vulg. Vers.* 1) from p. 12, 30 to p. 46, 17 (Josafas [Josephes] has conjured the devil to tell what he knows about the impending battle between Evolat [Eualac] and Tolomer [Tholomers]. The devil answers that he does not know anything about the things that are to come).

<sup>1</sup> Except the last heading.

<sup>2</sup> Ms. ladrador.

<sup>3</sup> viera?

Here the scribe of *G* limits himself to an enumeration of the following headings: "¶ t°. En como llevo un mandadero al rrey Evolat como el rrey Tolomer venia sobrel. ¶ t°. De como Evolat fizo juntar su poder. ¶ t°. En como prometio el rrey a Josafas que se tornaria cristiano. ¶ t°. De como Josafas dio el escudo colot<sup>†</sup> al rrey Evolat para yr sobre el rrey Tolomer. ¶ t°. En como el rrey Evolat dio en la vueste del rrey Tolomer. ¶ t°. En como se combatieron el rrey Evolat e el rrey Tolomer e sus gentes. ¶ En como Evolat vençio a Tolomer e le mato grant gente." All this matter is set forth in *Lestoire*, pp. 46, 18—about 65, 30. Then instead of telling us like *Lestoire* the story of Sarrachinte, the wife of Eualac, the scribe of *G*, as in the case of the *Estoria de Merlin*, goes back in his tale and narrates how Merlin gave to Evolat an account of his former life (= *Lestoire* 47, 4). Thereupon Evolat promises to become a Christian. A few lines stating that a (not before mentioned) "senescal" is met, that Tolomer is made a prisoner, and that Evolat renders thanks to God for having helped him to conquer his enemies, bring the *Libro* to its end.

To sum up, there existed in Spanish a trilogy made up of

- I. *El Libro de Josep Abarimatia*.
- II. *La Estoria de Merlin*.
- III. *La Demanda del Sancto Grial*

II has been preserved twice, in *B* and *D*<sup>1</sup> 1535; III likewise twice, in *D*<sup>2</sup> 1515 and *D*<sup>2</sup> 1535; fragments of I-III, in *G*.

Finally, *O* was in all probability the work of one and not of several translators. This probability becomes a certainty when we note that we find scattered in *G*, *B* (presumably in a larger number than the very scant extracts from this edition at present at my disposal show), and in *D* certain Portuguese words and particularities of Portuguese syntax. "Por el hilo se sacará el ovillo." *O* was then the work of one translator. But how are the Portuguese words etc. in *O* to be explained? Do they imply that *O* was itself translated out of Portuguese? That the translator, perhaps a Spaniard of the borderland, a Leonese, allowed, consciously or unconsciously, those words to stand in his version? Or is *O* a translation out of

<sup>1</sup> A later addition.



French, again by a Leonese, who, though endeavoring to write Castilian, could not avoid inserting here and there a Portuguese word? The discussion of these and some other questions connected with *O* and purposely omitted here, I reserve for a later occasion.

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## THE ALLEGORY OF THE *VITA NUOVA*

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate a continuous allegory in the *Vita Nuova*, conveying a message substantially identical with that of the *Divina Commedia*.

Three grounds of antecedent improbability have been urged against allegorical interpretation of Dante's first work: (1) the verisimilitude of the literal story; (2) the facts that the included occasional poems were written at different times, and that they indicate by themselves no allegorization; (3) Dante's own distinction in the *Convito* between the "fervid and impassioned" *Vita Nuova* and the "temperate and virile" *Convito*.

1. *Assuming* the reality of Beatrice and of Dante's love story, I may contend that, having later realized the moral effect of his experience, he "moralized" the record of his experience. Such a process is not uncommon; and besides it is a fundamental scholastic maxim that the end of a causal sequence is implicit in the beginning.<sup>1</sup>

2. I contend that out of a considerable body of occasional poems Dante may have selected those which a connecting and explanatory prose by inreading of meanings not at first intended, by taking advantage of ambiguous words, by tacit interpolation in recapitulation, and by new facts or circumstances related—might adjust to an *ex post facto* allegory. And the fact that he so enriched the original poems is evident.<sup>2</sup>

3. Dante does not in fact say that the *Vita Nuova* is more "fervid and impassioned" than the *Convito*, but that its manner of treatment is.<sup>3</sup> He does say: "And if in the present work . . . the

<sup>1</sup> "Finis est principium omnium operabilium."—Aquinas, *Comm. II Cor.*, XII, iii; cf. Dante, *Epist.* x, 472-74 [Oxford ed.].

<sup>2</sup> Sonnets I and XXII are in themselves allegorical. Into Sonnets II, III, IV, XVII, and Ode IV the prose reads a mysterious second intention, and into the recapitulation of Sonnet I a highly significant addition. Ode I and Sonnet XI correspond closely to Ode II, and Sonnets XIX-XXII to Ode I, in the *Convito*, where both odes are interpreted allegorically. To Sonnets V and XIV the prose adds a significance originally wanting, namely, the "screening" of his true love, and of the analogy of Beatrice to Christ. The rest are fitted without change—though often by advantage taken of ambiguous words.

<sup>3</sup> *Contr.*, I, i, 111 f.

handling<sup>1</sup> be more virile than in the *New Life*, I do not intend thereby to throw a slight in any respect upon the latter, but rather to strengthen that by this." I contend that if the *Convito* is to "strengthen" (*giovare*) the *Vita Nuova*, it can do so only through its allegorical method and message. If so, the alleged objection turns out a confirmation.

But the test of allegory is in its fitting. Assuming allegory in the *Vita Nuova*, I may proceed to try to decipher it.

Dante will give, he says, the *sentenzia*,<sup>2</sup> that is, literally, the gist of the story of his gradually purified desire of Beatrice, allegorically, its significance in terms of that which her name intends, to wit, *beatitudine* or "blessedness." The words—"the glorious lady of my mind<sup>3</sup> who was called *Beatrice* by many that knew not what they were calling her"—are, like other significant words in the work, designedly ambiguous. *Mente* means both "memory" and "mind." Blessedness is the object of his mind.<sup>4</sup> She is properly "glorious," since perfect blessedness is attainable only in the life of glory here-after,<sup>5</sup> being the vision of God as he is, "face to face."<sup>6</sup> For in this life we see God, as St. Paul says, only "by a mirror in enigma."<sup>7</sup>

Now St. Paul's declaration implies, according to Aquinas, three ways of seeing a sensible object: (1) by actual presence of the object in the eye, such as light; (2) by presence therein of the image of the object, as of a man; (3) by presence therein of an image of the image of the object, as of a man in a mirror. God alone sees himself fully the first way. The angels, pure intelligences, see him the second way. We see him only the third way, that is, by reflection of his image, itself invisible to us, in his creatures. In miraculous rapture, however, some, like St. Paul, have momentarily been

<sup>1</sup> *Si trattasse*. I quote Wicksteed's translation. Jackson translates: "the subject is treated"—which makes my point only the sharper.

<sup>2</sup> *V. N.*, I; cf. *Conv.*, I, ii, 123-30.

<sup>3</sup> *Mente*.

<sup>4</sup> ". . . in actu intellectus attenditur beatitudo."—Aquinas, *Summa theol.*, I, qu. xxvi, a. 2.

<sup>5</sup> ". . . in statu praesentis vitae perfecta beatitudo ab homine haberi non potest. . . . Sed promittitur nobis a Deo beatitudo perfecta, quando erimus sicut angeli in coelo."—Aquinas, I-II, qu. iii, a. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Dante, *Epist.* x, 612-18.

<sup>7</sup> "Videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate: tunc autem facie ad faciem."—I Cor., xiii, 12.



given,<sup>1</sup> and the elect are promised for eternity, vision of the divine essence like, though not equal to, God's own vision.

The third—or "allegorical"—vision is again of two degrees: (1) where the image in the mirror is clear and open; (2) where it is hidden in enigma. "Thus so as we see the invisible things of God [*invisibilia Dei*] in his creatures, we speak of seeing in a mirror; but so far as those invisible things are hidden from us, we see in enigma." The less spiritual the creature, the more enigmatic is the image it reflects of the divine spirit; and vice versa. And so again, the perceiving soul reflects according to its spirituality enigmatically or clearly and openly the divine image, already more or less distorted in transmission by the creature.<sup>2</sup>

Human reason, reaching only thus indirectly and gropingly toward its divine object, is purified toward perfect vision by faith, hope, and charity. And "charity," qualifies Aquinas, "is not any love of God whatever, but that love of God by which he is loved as the object of blessedness, to which we are directed by faith and hope."<sup>3</sup> From natural friendship with God, common to all his creatures, we rise to the love of him which is charity, privilege of the intellectual creature alone.<sup>4</sup> Seeing, therefore, the invisible things of God reflected in Beatrice "as in a mirror in enigma," Dante rises from natural desire of the *salute*, her human and "accidental reward," to the charity whose object is the *salute* or "essential reward" of blessedness, to wit, the immediate vision of God. And her injunction in paradise applies to herself as a mirror throughout:

<sup>1</sup> Aquinas, II-II, *qu.* clxxv, a. 3.

<sup>2</sup> For this theory of the three grades of vision see Aquinas, *Comm. I Cor.*, XIII, iv. I would express my obligation for the reference to Padre Giovanni Busnelli who in his brilliant work—*Il concetto e l'ordine del 'Paradiso' dantesco*, Città di Castello, 1911-12, Parte I, cap. vii—argues application of Aquinas' theory to the *Paradiso*.

<sup>3</sup> ". . . caritas non est qualiscumque amor Dei, sed amor Dei quo diligitur ut beatitudinis obiectum, ad quod ordinamur per fidem et spem."—I-II, *qu.* lxxv, a. 5; cf. Dante, *Epist.* x, 452: "Amor sanctus, sive caritas."

<sup>4</sup> "Nos autem habemus duplicem conjunctionem cum Deo. Una est quantum ad bona naturae, quae hic participamus ab ipso; alia quantum ad beatitudinem, in quantum nos hic sumus participes per gratiam supernae felicitatis, secundum quod hic est possibile; speramus etiam ad perfectam consecutionem illius aeternae beatitudinis pervenire et fieri cives coelestis Hierusalem. Et secundum primam communicationem ad Deum, est *amicitia naturalis*, secundum quam unumquodque, secundum quod est, Deum ut causam primam et summum bonum appetit, et desiderat ut finem suum. Secundum vero communicationem secundam est *amor caritatis*, qua solum creatura intellectualis Deum diligit."—*Comm. I Cor.*, XIII, iv; cf. *Conv.*, III, II-III.

Ficca di retro agli occhi tuoi la mente,  
e fa di quelli specchi alla figura  
che in questo specchio ti sarà parvente.<sup>1</sup>

If charity, "because it unites with God, is root of all virtues," pride, because it "separates from God," is "root of all vices and worst of all."<sup>2</sup> And pride, properly so-called, is "inordinate desire of excellence"—*inordinate*, that is, not *ordered* toward God.<sup>3</sup>

The protagonists of the allegorical drama of the *Vita Nuova* are then *Charity*, infused by grace of God reflected in Beatrice, and *Pride*, arising from the corruption of human nature after Adam.<sup>4</sup> Twice, as St. Paul against Christ, Dante through pride sinned against Beatrice, fulfilling inordinate "desires of the flesh and of the mind."<sup>5</sup> He turns away from her, his blessedness, to follow in the one case the pleasing ladies, "screens of the truth," *piaceri* or pleasures, *simulacra* of blessedness; and in the other case, the consoling lady, or consolation of human reason not ordered to God. In each case the penalty of pride is discord in himself, a "battle of thoughts,"<sup>6</sup> until, by consideration of his own unworthiness, and of the divine Beatrice, his blessedness, as superior to all other desirable things,<sup>7</sup> he is humbled to obedience, and, like St. Paul, again receives grace in a vision of his Lord.<sup>8</sup>

Dante's sin of pride, his turning away from God in Beatrice, springs from defect of his vision of faith. Misreading the enigmas

<sup>1</sup> *Par.*, xxi, 16-18; cf. *Epist.* x, 374-79, 400-404.

<sup>2</sup> Caritas enim dicitur radix omnium virtutum, quia conjungit Deo, qui est ultimus finis; unde sicut finis est principium omnium operabilium, ita caritas est principium omnium virtutum . . . Et ideo superbia proprie dicta separat a Deo, et est radix omnium vitiorum et pessimum omnium."—Aquinas, *Comm. II Cor.*, XII, iii; cf. II-II, qu. cxli, a. 7.

<sup>3</sup> ". . . . est proprie superbia . . . . quando quis appetit excellentiam non ordinando illam ad Deum."—Aquinas, *Comm. II Cor.*, XII, iii.

<sup>4</sup> Duo sunt principia humani generis. Unum, secundum vitam naturae, scilicet Adam; aliud, secundum vitam gratiae, scilicet Christus. . . . Adam induxit unum statum, scilicet culpa; Christus vero gloriae et vitae."—Aquinas, *Comm. I Cor.*, XV, vii.

<sup>5</sup> *Ephes.*, ii, 3.

<sup>6</sup> "Est autem propria superborum poena discordia."—Aquinas, *Comm. Job.*, XL, i.

<sup>7</sup> "Remedium superbiae est . . . ex consideratione propriae infirmitatis . . . etiam ex consideratione magnitudinis divinae . . . etiam ex imperfectione honorum de quibus homo superbit."—Aquinas, II-II, qu. cxii, a. 6.

<sup>8</sup> "Sic humiliatus [recognovit Paulus] se suis viribus stare non posse."—Aquinas, *Comm. II Cor.*, XII, iii. And St. Paul: "Propter quod ter Dominum rogavi . . . Et dixit mihi: Sufficit tibi gratia mea."—II Cor., xii, 7-9; cf. C. H. Grandgent's valuable article "Dante and St. Paul" in *Romania*, XXXI, 14-27.



of his allegorical visions, he pursues false images or *simulacra* of good.<sup>1</sup> At his first turning away, his vision of God in the human Beatrice is overlaid by enigma on enigma. Her human nature, transmitting mirror of God, and his soul, receiving mirror of that image transmitted, are both clouded by their common mortality,<sup>2</sup> though in unlike degree. For, whereas his nature partakes of the "old Adam" of iniquity, hers partakes solely of the "new Adam" or Christ: as a "Nine" factored by three, the Trinity, alone, she is free from the taint of original sin, and is—like the blessed Virgin—an immaculate conception. At his second turning away, whereas she, her veil of mortality rent, now reflects clearly and openly the divine image, he, though proficient in charity of will, yet through defect of mind, speculative understanding, can reflect but darkly and enigmatically her glory.

That they have grace, says Aquinas,<sup>3</sup> "God reveals to some by special privilege, so that for them the joy of security [*securitatis*] may begin even in this life, and so that they may more confidently and strongly undertake great works, and endure the evils of the present life, as it was declared unto Paul (II Cor., xii, 9): *Sufficit tibi gratia mea.*" In this privilege Dante again associates himself with the Apostle. So Beatrice:

Nè impetrare ispirazion mi valse  
con le quali ed in sogno ed altrimenti  
lo rivocai.<sup>4</sup>

As little did St. Paul's "abundance of revelations" avail to save him from the "prick of the flesh"—concupiscence, as Aquinas interprets.<sup>5</sup> But these "inspirations," reflected in Dante's imagination as sensible images,<sup>6</sup> are *ipso facto* allegorical and enigmatic. Only so much enlightenment is vouchsafed as is immediately expedient. "Ask not," warns the apparition of Love, "more than is expedient [*utile*] for thee."<sup>7</sup> The disciple is not yet competent for the spiritual gift

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Purg.*, xxx, 130-33.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Par.*, xxxiii, 31-32.

<sup>3</sup> I-II, qu. cxii, a. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Purg.*, xxx, 133-35; cf. *infra*, p. 9, note 6.

<sup>5</sup> *Comm. II Cor.*, XII, iii.

<sup>6</sup> "Visio somnii, non est in parte intellectiva, sed in parte sensitiva."—Aquinas, *Verit.*, qu. xviii, a. 6.

<sup>7</sup> xii, 40-41.

of perfect understanding: "to each," says St. Paul, "is given the manifestation of the Spirit expediently [*ad utilitatem*]."<sup>1</sup> Only in the light of perfect vision may the enigmas of imperfect vision be resolved. As the end toward which the successive visions of the *Vita Nuova* lead Dante is Beatrice or blessedness fulfilled in the vision of God, direction to that ultimate vision *in patria* must be implicit in each allegorical vision *in via*. "For from the end," says Aquinas, "must be learned the reasons of those things which are ordered to the end."<sup>2</sup> Moreover, since Dante's ultimate vision of God was by a sensible image, we might expect this divine image to be enigmatically reflected in his allegorical visions. In fact it is.<sup>3</sup>

God appeared to Dante as at first "simple light"<sup>4</sup> filling and dazzling even his miraculously strengthened vision as from a brighter sun.<sup>5</sup> In itself, Dante's immediate vision of God must be conceived as purely intellectual and of the invisible divine essence; but to communicate it he must resort to sense-images. The simple light, filling his eyes as in Aquinas' first kind of vision, next, as he says, impresses an image, to wit, "three circles of three colors and one magnitude," two as "iris by iris reflected," the third as a flame from the other two.<sup>6</sup> The three colors are white, green, and red—actually the basic colors of the rainbow, according to Aquinas.<sup>7</sup> This tri-colored triune circle represents God as seen according to Aquinas' second kind of vision, namely, where the object is possessed by sight not in itself but in the image of itself. The circle is not an arbitrary, but a natural, symbol of God, once he is conceived as a supernal sun. For Dante, I conceive, derived his symbolic images by analogy from gazing fixedly at the actual sun. While we so look,

<sup>1</sup> I Cor., xii, 7.

<sup>2</sup> "Ex fine enim oportet accipere rationes eorum quae ordinantur in finem."—I-II, qu. i, introd.

<sup>3</sup> It may be objected that Dante had not yet the symbolic imagery of the *Paradiso* in mind. For my part, I do not clearly see how anyone can know. In any case, it is for the doubters to explain the coincidence.

<sup>4</sup> *Semplice lume*. On the theological association of God with light, cf. G. Busnelli *op. cit.*, I, 206-7. Light is the "proper object" of the highest sense, sight; cf. *Cons.*, III, ix, 51 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Par.*, xxxiii, 90, 109-11, 140-41; cf. Busnelli, *op. cit.*, I, 111-12.

<sup>6</sup> *Par.*, xxxiii, 115-20.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Busnelli, *op. cit.*, I, 258-59.

we see only *simple light*. *Lichtchaos* is Helmholtz' word. We cannot miraculously strengthen our sight as Dante feigns, but we can turn our eyes away; and thereupon *after-images* will follow—circles of dissolving iridescent colors, among which white, green, and red are, according to Helmholtz, actually conspicuous.<sup>1</sup> Assuredly, if these are visible at all in the experiment, Dante must have felt their traditional theological symbolism "scientifically" confirmed. Furthermore, on the theological premiss that *faith* is the light of the Father, *hope* the ray of the Son, *charity* the splendor of the Holy Spirit,<sup>2</sup> it would also be deducible from his experiment that faith is *naturally symbolized* by white, hope by green, charity by red.

The relevance of these symbols to the *Vita Nuova*—of God as a circle, of faith, hope, and charity as white, green, and red—will presently appear. In the first place, they may be further enriched by their application in the *Paradiso* itself, and in the later cantos of the *Purgatorio* describing the earthly paradise.

The image of God as a circular splendor<sup>3</sup> of which the center is the "lucent substance"—made visible for Dante in the human figure of Christ in the second circle of the triune iris<sup>4</sup>—is clearly and openly reflected by the "blessed mirrors,"<sup>5</sup> the angels and the elect, in the degree of their blessedness. In the two lowest planets the elect appear as human forms, centers of radiance; in the higher planets as circular "splendors," completely imaging as "burning suns" the supreme sun. And since, for the blest, faith and hope are canceled in fulfilment, they as "rubies" reflect only the color of charity, or as "flamed circles" the circle of the Holy Spirit, source of charity.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> H. von Helmholtz, *Handbuch d. Physiol. Optik*, 3e. Aufl., 1911, II, 211-12.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Busnelli, *op. cit.* I, 260; cf., *Conv.*, III, xiv, 41 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Henry Vaughan:

I saw Eternity the other night  
Like a great ring of pure and endless light.  
—*The World*.

<sup>4</sup> *Par.*, xxxiii, 127-32.

<sup>5</sup> *Par.*, ix, 61; xviii, 2. The image is enigmatically reflected everywhere in the universe, down to Satan with his vermillion, yellow, and black faces [*Inf.*, xxxiv, 37-45], lightless center of the nine infernal rings, as opposed to the triune God, lucent center of the nine celestial rings [*Par.*, xxviii, 4-35].

<sup>6</sup> *Par.*, ix, 69; xix, 4; xxx, 66; xxv, 120. I propose, however, this interpretation of the "rubies" with reservations, for I am at present unable to harmonize the description of the contemplative spirits in Saturn as "pearls," and of the Virgin as a "sapphire."



Again, in Beatrice's eyes Dante sees God reflected as an effulgent point, center of the encircling hierarchies; and he turns as one who from a mirror

. . . . se rivolge per veder se il vetro  
gli dice il vero, e vede ch'el s'accorda  
con esso, come nota con suo metro.<sup>1</sup>

So in these emparadised eyes, whence first came the grace of charity, is allegorically fulfilled the hope of glory in this vision of God's clear and open image. *In via* on earth grace was not yet fulfilled in glory. Grace was from her eyes, glory in the smile of her lips.<sup>2</sup> Now *in patria* of paradise her eyes themselves smile.<sup>3</sup> In them, immediately reflecting God, "the Alpha and the Omega . . . the beginning and the end" of charity are made one.

Thus in Beatrice's smiling eyes Dante attains "allegorical vision" of God, the second blessedness, or "blessedness of eternal life, which consists in the fruition of the divine aspect . . . and is given to be understood by the celestial paradise."<sup>4</sup> To this eternal blessedness man attains not by his proper power, but "by spiritual teachings which transcend human reason," followed "by acting according to the theological virtues." By his proper power, that is, "by acting in accordance with the moral and intellectual virtues," he attains the first "blessedness, to wit, of this life . . . figured by the terrestrial paradise."<sup>5</sup>

In that terrestrial paradise, accordingly, led by Beatrice's four purple-clad "handmaids," Dante sees reflected in the "emeralds," her eyes, the two-natured Griffon.<sup>6</sup> That is to say, by operation of the cardinal virtues, empurpled<sup>7</sup> from their "root and principle" charity, he sees in the greenness of hope, Christ human and divine, "Alpha and Omega" of salvation. Then by intercession of the three other ladies "who look more deeply," formed as of flame, of emerald, of snow,<sup>8</sup> he sees unveiled the "second beauty" of her smile, "the

<sup>1</sup> *Par.*, xxviii, 4-25.

<sup>2</sup> *V. N.*, xix, 70-75, 131-40; *xxi, passim*; cf. *Conv.*, III, xv, 12-20; *Purg.*, xxxi, 100-145.

<sup>3</sup> Cf., e.g., *Par.*, xv, 34-36.

<sup>4</sup> *De Mon.*, III, xvi, 43 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 43-52.

<sup>6</sup> *Purg.*, xxxi, 112-33.

<sup>7</sup> The classical purple, or blood-red; cf. Virgil *Aen.* ix. 349 (in text as known to Dante).

<sup>8</sup> *Purg.*, xxix, 121-26.



splendor of the living light eternal."<sup>1</sup> That is to say, by operation of the theological virtues, colored directly from the divine iris, his will is moved Godward by the joy of the promised intellectual vision of him.<sup>2</sup> But as this "essential reward" is not yet consummated, anticipatory joy of it is indicated by Beatrice's smiling mouth as separated from her eyes, founts of active charity. Only in paradise shall her eyes smile: shall active charity merge in contemplative.<sup>3</sup>

We may now test the letter of the *Vita Nuova* by the symbols we have briefly considered in the *Paradiso* and the *Purgatorio*, of course attending also to whatever hints are thrown out in the *Vita Nuova* itself.

*Sub specie aeternitatis*, the end of grace is in the beginning of grace, perfect charity in incipient charity, the life of glory or new life in heaven in the life of grace or new life on earth.<sup>4</sup> So a retrospective insight shows in Dante's first sight of Beatrice allegorical promise of the vision of blessedness. From the blessedness appearing to his physical vision<sup>5</sup> will develop the blessedness first of his moral, then of his intellectual vision. For from his heart comes the cry: *Ecce deus fortior me, qui veniens dominabitur mihi*; and love is that god—holy love or charity indicated in the "noblest color, meek and pure, blood-red" in which she is clothed. Charity, "root of all virtues," will grow to fill his heart, crowding out the natural vices, and so possess him with earthly blessedness, grace (*salute*) of the human Beatrice.<sup>6</sup> Charity, "love of God," will direct his purified desire to

<sup>1</sup> *Purg.*, xxxi, 111, 130-45.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Aquinas (*Comm. I Cor.*, XIII, iv): ". . . haec tria [fides, spes, caritas] conjungunt Deo; alia [dona] non conjungunt Deo nisi mediantibus istis. Alia etiam dona sunt quaedam disponentia ad gignendum ista tria in cordibus hominum; unde et solum ista tria, scilicet fides, spes et caritas, dicuntur virtutes theologicae, quia habent immediate Deum pro objecto."

<sup>3</sup> "Essentia beatitudinis in actu intellectus consistit. Sed ad voluntatem pertinet delectatio beatitudinem consequens."—Aquinas, I-II, qu. iii, a. 5; cf. *Conv.*, III, xiv-xv.

<sup>4</sup> "Finis est principium omnium operabilium."—Aquinas, *Comm. II Cor.*, XII, iii; cf. *Conv.*, III, ii, 60-67; *Par.*, v, 1-12; *Epist.* x, 472-74. Of course, the principle is the major premiss of scholastic theology as a system; cf. G. Santayana, *Three Philosophical Poets*, Cambridge, 1910, pp. 73 ff.

<sup>5</sup> ". . . lo spirito animale . . . parlando spezialmente agli spirti del viso, disse queste parole: Apparui iam beatitudo vestra."—ii, 26-32.

<sup>6</sup> Incidentally, it is a fact that Holy Communion is usually first received at about nine years of age; and Charity is one of the effects of the sacrament of the Eucharist. Again, from Charity comes the Gift of Wisdom, as that of Understanding from Faith, and that of Knowledge from Hope; and among the effects of Wisdom are illuminations, visions, and consolations. I am indebted for this note to Sister Marie Elise Guerin.

intellectual contemplation of God, and so possess him hereafter with heavenly blessedness, the *salute* of the divine Beatrice. Thus for him in her human and divine natures, on earth and in heaven, she is what Christ is for mankind—"Alpha and Omega . . . beginning and end" of salvation.<sup>1</sup> Implicit from the outset is this analogy between Beatrice and Christ made explicit in chap. xxiv. So the *deus qui dominabitur* is implicitly very God; and Beatrice is with deeper intent than compliment described as the "daughter of God,"<sup>2</sup> since in glory, wisdom-crowned, she will reflect the image of that Wisdom who is "not only spouse, but sister and beloved daughter . . . of the Emperor of heaven."<sup>3</sup>

This interpretation, it will be noted, precisely concords with Dante's illustration of allegorical interpretation in the Epistle to Can Grande. "If [we inspect] the allegory, our redemption wrought by Christ [is presented]; if the moral sense, the conversion of the soul from the grief and misery of sin to the state of grace . . . if the anagogical, the departure of the holy soul from the slavery of this corruption to the liberty of eternal glory."<sup>4</sup> In this apparently casual interpretation of a scriptural text for illustration merely, Dante not only explains his allegorical method, but declares the gist of his one allegorical message.

Dante has received incipient charity, by which, says Aquinas, "man withdraws from sin and overcomes concupiscence."<sup>5</sup> For nine years love ruled him under "the faithful counsel of reason."<sup>6</sup> Then by Beatrice, clothed in white, is given the salutation (*salute*), the grace "in the hope of which," he says, "no enemy was left to me, but rather a flame of charity possessed me which made me pardon whomsoever had offended me; and to him who had then asked of me concerning any matter, my answer would have been simply: Love! with a countenance clothed in humility."<sup>7</sup> In other words, he conforms to one of the two commandments of Christ, on which "hang the Law and the Prophets"—"Thou shalt love thy

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Purg.*, xxx, 22-24.

<sup>2</sup> ii, 51-52.

<sup>3</sup> *Conv.*, III, xii, 114-18; *Purg.*, xxx, 31-33, 67-68.

<sup>4</sup> *Epist.* x, 148-55.

<sup>5</sup> ". . . ad recedendum a peccato et resistendum concupiscentiis . . . hoc pertinet ad incipientes [in caritate]."—II-II, qu. xxiv, a. 9.

<sup>6</sup> ii, 53-59.

<sup>7</sup> xi, 2-9.

neighbor as thy self." For by contemplation of Beatrice in the white of faith, he has been converted to faith, which purifies his heart of the inordinate desire of pride,<sup>1</sup> whereby man is set against not only God, but man.<sup>2</sup> Dante's charity, then, unresisted by pride, is become "proficient," that is, increasingly "secure from sin and persevering toward good."<sup>3</sup> In the degree of his faith the invisible things of God reflected in Beatrice will be clearer than to his natural understanding.<sup>4</sup>

So, by meditation of Beatrice,<sup>5</sup> that is, by his meditating the hoped-for blessedness, he has a vision—at once of promise and of warning. In his dream he sees Love as a man in the midst of a flaming cloud, in himself joyous, yet to the beholder dread. Of the many things Love speaks, he understands only the words: "I am thy Lord."<sup>6</sup> Now in paradise, as we know, he sees the Lord Christ as a man in the midst of the triune luminous circle, direct image of the Godhead. Here in his dream the enveloping cloud has the flame color of divine charity. Indeed, as St. John says, "God is charity."<sup>7</sup> Joyous is the charity of Christ, but dread to pride, which it drives out.<sup>8</sup> In his dream he sees Beatrice, clothed only in the blood-red of her charity, sleeping in the arms of the Lord. The divine flame reflected in the creature colors the creature, but has no longer the divine lambency: human charity is only the duller likeness of divine charity. "*Who in Christ*, that is in the faith of Christ, *are fallen asleep*, that is are dead in the hope of salvation"—so Aquinas interprets the words of St. Paul.<sup>9</sup> And the interpretation fits the

<sup>1</sup> "Fide purificans corda eorum."—*Act.*, xv, 9. And Aquinas: "Et ideo primum principium purificationis cordis est fides: quae si perficitur per caritatem formatam, perfectam purificationem causat."—II-II, *qu.*, vii, a. 2.

<sup>2</sup> ". . . superbia semper quidem contrariatur dilectioni divinae. . . . Et quandoque etiam contrariatur dilectioni proximi."—II-II, *qu.* cixii, a. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Aquinas, II-II, *qu.* xxiv, a. 9; *III Sent.*, d. XXIX, *qu.* i, a. 8.

<sup>4</sup> ". . . invisibilia Dei altiori modo . . . percipit fides quam ratio naturalis."—Aquinas, II-II, *qu.* ii, a. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Purg.*, xxx, 133-35.

<sup>6</sup> iii. So in the last vision of the *Vita Nuova* (xlii), of the many things spoken to his heart, he understands only that it is his lady who has appeared to him. And in chap. xxiv he is told that "for great likeness" his Lord Love and his Lady are as one.

<sup>7</sup> "Deus est caritas."—*I John*, iv, 8.

<sup>8</sup> "Caritas repellit inordinatam passionem."—Aquinas, *Comm. I Cor.*, XIII, iii.

<sup>9</sup> *Comm. I Cor.*, XV, ii.



image of Dante's vision.<sup>1</sup> Beatrice lives in the faith of Christ; she shall die in the hope of salvation. Then in his dream he sees her, awakened by Love, eat his burning heart. So awakened to life everlasting, she will wholly absorb his desire, transmute to her own perfect charity his consuming pride, his inordinate desires of the flesh and of the mind. Finally, he sees in his dream the compassionate Lord, bearing Beatrice away to heaven, weep for pity of the sinner who can reach true blessedness only by a "way of sighs" and paying the "toll of tears."

But Love's enigma is beyond Dante's present understanding. So he illustrates St. Paul's warning words: "Newly come to the faith . . . being lifted up with pride, he [*falls*] into the condemnation of the devil."<sup>2</sup> Between him and his "blessedness" "in a direct line" interposes herself "a gentle lady of most pleasing mien"; and her "for some months and years" he woos as a "screen" of his true love.<sup>3</sup> Then, on her leaving him, he transfers, apparently at the dictation of true Love, his heart to a "new pleasure."<sup>4</sup> And this lady he made, he says, so effectively his "defence" against the imputation of his wooing his true blessedness, Beatrice, that she, scandalized, denied him her *salute*, that is, the *salutation* in which lay his spiritual *safety* (for *salute* means both). Evidently, he must have misunderstood Love. In fact, in his imagination he had seen Love as a meanly clad "wanderer," "abject" and "abashed," "as if he had lost lordship," and ever lifting his eyes from earth to "a river fair, swift and very clear," flowing alongside Dante's way. Here manifestly is an enigma to be guessed, and again an allegorical interpretation by Aquinas is pertinent. In Scripture, he says, "under the similitude of a river is signified grace," abundant in gifts as a river in waters, having its source in God as a river in a high place, moving the heart suddenly to charity as a river all that is in it.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I do not assert that Dante himself had this passage, or any, of Aquinas in mind. He must indeed have known St. Paul's words; but he may of course have arrived at the image independently; and my interpretation here as elsewhere could be defended by an entirely different set of inferences.

<sup>2</sup> *I Tim.*, iii, 6.

<sup>3</sup> *v.*

<sup>4</sup> ix, 55. *Piacere* means sensual pleasure in *Inf.*, v, 104, and in the present context is explicitly opposed to blessedness (*beatitudine*). Otherwise, moreover, why should Beatrice be scandalized?

<sup>5</sup> ". . . consolatio exprimitur sub similitudine fluminis, quod signat gratiam propter aquae abundantiam, quia in gratia est abundantia donorum. Ps. lxiv: *Flumen*



So the love which is charity pursues the way of this life sustained by contemplation of grace, by faith ordering desire of transitory pleasures to desire of everlasting blessedness. As "gentle" the pleasing ladies reflected in their lesser degree the "gentlest" lady of blessedness—even transitory pleasures may accord with virtue;<sup>1</sup> but to follow them for their own sakes, inordinately, was to obey a love base and errant, to keep his eyes altogether on the visible things of earth, forgetting the invisible things of God.<sup>2</sup>

Lost is the *salute* of Beatrice, "destroyer of all vices and queen of virtue"; lost, that is, is the grace of blessedness fulfilled in charity, which, says Aquinas, "removes all motive to sin" and is "the mother of all virtues."<sup>3</sup> From the depths of discouragement Dante calls upon his "lady of courtesy" for aid, as the also penitent St. Paul upon his Lord.<sup>4</sup> And the "lord of nobleness," that is, of the spirit of charity, in a vision bids him<sup>5</sup> to abjure the "pleasures," *simulacra* of himself, true Love, and to confess Beatrice, blessedness. But the visitant, white-robed in faith, weeps to find Dante not like himself "as a center of a circle to which all parts of the circumference have equal relation." It is the image, as reflected in the abstract understanding, the real image of God, seen in paradise as an effulgent center whose circumference is the circle of the spiritual universe, on which depends the material.<sup>6</sup> So, moved by pride not charity, by passion not virtue, Dante is unlike God. When his soul shall conform on all sides to reason, active and speculative, shall be filled wholly with charity,

*Dei repletum est aquis. Et quia derivatur a principio, scilicet fonte, sed non fons a flumine quia fons est in suo principio, et Spiritus sanctus est a Patre et Filio. Apoc. ult.: Ostendit mihi fluvium aquae vivae splendidum sicut chrysellum, procedentem a sede Dei et agni. . . . Sed aliqui sunt fluvii qui habent tardum motum: non est talis iste, quia est festinus . . . quia Spiritus sanctus gratia perfundit subito . . . [et] impetu . . . amoris movet cor.*"—*Comm. Ps., xlv, 3; cf. Par., xxx, 61 ff.*

<sup>1</sup> "Si enim aliquis appetit aliquam excellentiam sub deo, si moderate quidem appetit et propter bonum, sustineri potest . . . non est proprie superbia, nisi quando quis appetit excellentiam non ordinando illam ad Deum. Et ideo superbia proprie dicta separat a Deo."—Aquinas, *Comm. II Cor., XII, iii.*

<sup>2</sup> "Effectus peccati duplex: scilicet inclinatio affectus ad terrena, et inordinatio ejus per aversionem a Deo."—Aquinas, *Comm. Ps., L.*

<sup>3</sup> ". . . caritas . . . excludit omne motivum ad peccandum."—II-II, qu. xxiv, a. 11. "Caritas est mater omnium virtutum."—I-II, qu. lxii, a. 4.

<sup>4</sup> II Cor., xii, 8; cf. Aquinas, *Comm. Ps., L, i*; ". . . implorat misericordiam et sic impetrat veniam."

<sup>5</sup> V. N., xii.

<sup>6</sup> *Par., xxviii, 41-42; 94-96; and cf. supra, p. 7.*

"root of virtue" and "seed of blessedness," then will it indeed be, according to the symbol authorized also by Augustine and Aquinas, as "a center of a circle."<sup>1</sup>

It is not expedient for him yet to understand. Only through penitence, paying its "scot of tears" to wash away pride, will his understanding clear. Meanwhile pride of passion and meekness of charity contend in his soul until he is brought to the brink of spiritual death, despair.<sup>2</sup> But from utter humiliation of self springs obedience to faith, as says Aquinas.<sup>3</sup> Beatrice's will be done. And even in his confession of unworthiness of her grace he receives grace—and so comes to his "new theme and nobler than the past."<sup>4</sup> By contemplation of the good in her, he is transformed to the good—in the degree of his imperfect vision.<sup>5</sup> Having in that degree not only the will, but the understanding of charity, he can, developing Guinizelli's thought, declare charity as a "spirit of love" "according to truth and virtue," proper to man as a rational being, and as sublating "desire of the pleasing thing" "according to sensible appearance"—love, that is, shared by man with the brutes.<sup>6</sup> He can declare the grace of charity coming from Beatrice's eyes "demonstrations of wisdom," and the blessedness of it beaming in her smile "persuasions of wisdom";<sup>7</sup> and how her temporal beauty induces charity as "the principle of virtue" to subdue the natural vices, pride and wrath, and so leave the heart meek and at peace.<sup>8</sup> And in Dante's heart,

<sup>1</sup> St. Augustine, *De quantitate animae*; Aquinas, *Contra gentes*, I, I, c. 66; cf. J. B. Fletcher, *The Religion of Beauty in Woman*, New York, Macmillan, pp. 53 f.; G. Busnelli, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 170 f.

<sup>2</sup> V. N., xlii-xvi; cf. *Ps.*, xvii, 3-4: "Circumdederunt me dolores mortis, et torrentes iniquitatis conturbaverunt me. Dolores inferni circumdederunt me: praecoccupaverunt me laquei mortis"; cf. Aquinas: ". . . ex iniquitatis homo inducitur ad mortem, et per mortem deducitur ad infernum."—*Comm. Ps.*, xvii, 3.

<sup>3</sup> "Modus humiliationis est obedientia et signum humilitatis est obedientia, quia proprium superborum est sequi propriam voluntatem."—*Comm. Philipp.*, II, ii.

<sup>4</sup> V. N., xvii-xviii.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *II Cor.*, iii, 28. "Nos vero omnes, revelata facie gloriam Domini speculantes, in eandem imaginem transformamur a claritate in claritatem, tamquam a Domini Spiritu." And Aquinas: "*Speculantes* non sumitur hic a specula, sed a speculo, id est ipsum Deum gloriosum . . . cognoscentes per speculum rationis in qua est quaedam imago ipsius. Cum enim omnis cognitio sit per assimilationem cognoscentis ad cognitum, oportet quod qui vident, aliquo modo transformentur in Deum. Et si quidem perfecte vident, perfecte transformantur, sicut beati in patria per fruitionis unionem. . . . Si vero imperfecte, imperfecte, sicut hic per fidem."—*Comm. II Cor.*, III, iii.

<sup>6</sup> V. N., xx; cf. *Conv.*, III, iii.

<sup>7</sup> V. N., xix, 70-75; xxi, *passim*; cf. *Conv.*, III, xv, 12-20.

<sup>8</sup> V. N., xxi; cf. *Conv.*, III, xv, 111-54.

so humbled, the lord of love, once dread,<sup>1</sup> now abides "gracious."<sup>2</sup> So Beatrice will one day say:

Questi fu tal nella sua vita nuova  
virtualmente, ch'ogni abito destro  
fatto averebbe in lui mirabil prova. . . .  
Alcun tempo il sostenni col mio volto;  
mostrando gli occhi giovinetti a lui,  
meco il menava in dritta parte volto.<sup>3</sup>

An illness reminds him of his mortality—and of hers. He may lose his moral stay. A "vain imagination" portends her death—*vain* so far as it seems to threaten real loss. Who should read its enigma aright, would see gain. Her imagined death is accompanied by portents like those at the Crucifixion, Christ's atonement.<sup>4</sup> He sees her borne to heaven as a "white cloudlet"—white in the faith. (So is repeated the prediction of his first vision.) His instinctive cry—"Blessed, O fairest spirit, is he that beholdeth thee!"—intimates his conditional beatitude to come: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." The awakening words—"Sleep no more. . . . Be not comforted"—are justified in the declaration of St. Paul: "It is high time to awake out of sleep: for now is our salvation nearer than when we believed."<sup>5</sup> Like the sleeping Lady of his first vision, Dante will one day fall asleep in the arms of the Lord, and be awakened to the life of glory.

Presently a clearer revelation follows. In Dante's imagination, Love appears to come from where Beatrice, or blessedness, is; contagiously joyful, he draws analogy between Giovanna, the *Primavera* or "one who shall come before" Beatrice, and the forerunner of the True Light, John the Baptist. Having so clearly likened Beatrice to Christ, Love also identifies her "for great likeness" with himself. In other words, Beatrice is blessedness; blessedness is the love of God, charity; and charity is the Love who rules Dante.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Di pauroso aspetto," lili, 30.

<sup>2</sup> "Soave," xxviii, 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Purg.*, xxx, 115-17, 121-23.

<sup>4</sup> *V. N.*, xxlii, 35 f., 176 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Rom.*, xlii, 11. The Vulgate *salus* is identical with the Italian *salute*.

<sup>6</sup> xxiv. In *Par.*, xli, 80, Dante, after St. Jerome, explains the name Giovanna as meaning "grace of the Lord"; and we are given grace that we may hereafter receive the "true light."



The vicarious divinity of Beatrice, declared in this analogy, is later confirmed by outward signs.<sup>1</sup> People throng to gaze upon her as she goes "crowned and clothed in humility" as the multitudes followed him who declared himself "meek and lowly in heart," and sinners are miraculously converted at sight of her and by her words. Meditation of blessedness is incompatible with meditation of evil.<sup>2</sup>

Joyous in his sense of grace received, Dante now prays for "more grace" (*piu salute*).<sup>3</sup> And his very prayer is interrupted by Beatrice's death. It is as if God had but waited for his fateful wish by divine irony to confer "more grace" even by taking away that which he seemed to have. He cannot understand. His soul sorrows, "forsaken by its salvation [*salute*]." Life is become a "tedious thing"; he longs for death.<sup>4</sup>

But on the anniversary of her death, thought of her rekindles love in his "destroyed heart."<sup>5</sup> And that way, rightly followed, lies salvation. But since Beatrice is apparently lost to him, he gives his love to the Consoling Lady, whose tender pallor reminds him of the lost Beatrice's pearly hue. Because of her likeness to Beatrice, he argues, noblest love must be with her.<sup>6</sup> But as before in the case of the *piaceri*, the sin of his desire is in its inordinateness. He grasps at the shadow, the *simulacrum*, for itself, letting go the substance. The *piaceri* were shadows of blessedness on earth; the Consoling Lady is the shadow of blessedness in heaven.

So again, pride—desire ordered not to God but to earthly things—is punished by discord within himself. Heart and soul, appetite and reason, in divorcement war against each other.<sup>7</sup> "Evil desire," the "messenger of Satan," buffets him. He "blasphemes the vanity of his eyes," clouded mirrors wherein truth has been imaged too enigmatically for his understanding. But again from humiliation of self springs obedience: "One day, almost at the hour of noon,"<sup>8</sup> "a mighty imagination" of Beatrice in the "noblest color" of charity recalls him to grace.

<sup>1</sup> xxvi-xxvii.

<sup>2</sup> "... cum beatitudo sit summum hominis bonum, non compatitur secum aliquod malum."—Aquinas, I-II, *qu.* ii, *a.* 4.

<sup>3</sup> xxviii, 25.

<sup>4</sup> xxxiii-xxxiv.

<sup>5</sup> xxxv.

<sup>6</sup> xxxvi-xxxvii.

<sup>7</sup> xxxviii-xxxix; cf. *Conv.*, II, *Canz.* I, 27-29, and commentary.

<sup>8</sup> In mystic theology noon symbolizes love at its meridian.

Following for herself the Consoling Lady, semblance of Beatrice left behind her on earth, Dante is following the earthly life as divorced from the heavenly, or the active life as divorced from the contemplative. "Those," says Aquinas, "who set blessedness in the activities of the active life, to wit in moral activities, err. . . . And indeed these [*cardinal*] virtues are ways to blessedness, and not blessedness itself. Wherefore 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they *shall* see God.' It is not said, 'they see God,' for this would be blessedness itself."<sup>1</sup>

Or in other analogous words, the Consoling Lady, taken for herself, is the letter of the Law, which without the spirit killeth, as St. Paul says. For, as Aquinas explains, the spirit in the gospel of charity removes the cause of sin, of which the Law merely gives knowledge, and renders worse by knowledge. By Christ's death, the "veil of the temple was rent," and the *glory* which Moses, receiver and declarer of the Law, had hid under a veil, was revealed. So by Beatrice's death should have been rent the veil between Dante and the glory of his blessedness; but in his blindness he had acted as the Jews who would not see the spirit of the gospel through the letter of the Law.<sup>2</sup> He had followed the street called Straight, but tarried in the half-way house, forgetting the way that led on. "For the disciple of Christ," says Aquinas, "there is a threefold degree of cognition. The first is from the clearness of natural cognition to the clearness of the cognition of faith. The second is from the clearness of cognition of the Old Testament to the clearness of the cognition of grace of the New Testament. The third is from the clearness of the cognition of nature and of the Old and New Testaments to the clearness of eternal vision."<sup>3</sup> So far as Dante tarried behind with the Consoling Lady, his was only the clearness of cognition of the Old Testament; he lacked the grace of the New.

<sup>1</sup> "Illi autem qui ponunt beatitudinem in actibus activae vitae, scilicet moralibus, errant. . . . Et ideo istae virtutes sunt viae in beatitudinem, et non ipsa beatitudo. Et hoc est *Beati mundo corde; quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt*. Non dicit, *Vident*, quia hoc esset ipsa beatitudo."—*Comm. Mat.*, v, 2; cf. *Conv.*, IV, xxii; *De Mon.*, III, xvi. Confirmation may perhaps also be found in *Purg.*, ii, 112 ff., where Dante and the others, in their enjoyment of "Amor che nella mente mi ragiona" (i.e., Philosophy, symbolized in the Consoling Lady), forget to strip off "lo Scoglio ch' esser non lascia a voi Dio manifestato." I am indebted for this suggestion to Professor C. H. Grandgent.

<sup>2</sup> *Hebr.*, x, 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Comm. II Cor.*, III, ii-iii; cf. *Par.*, v, 76-78; xxiv, 88-93.

Grace rebestowed by Beatrice, Dante realizes his error. Like the pilgrims who, out of their *patria*, go seeking "the blessed image which Jesus Christ left us for ensample of his most beautiful countenance," he, a pilgrim *in via ad patriam* where his true blessedness is, now tarries with the earthly semblance, the "pallid" *simulacrum*. Let rather his "pilgrim<sup>1</sup> thought" rise to the heavenly reality. And his steps to this higher contemplation, intellectual charity, Dante indicates in the three sonnets of chap. xlii. The first—*Venite a'ntender*—recalls the seeming loss of his blessedness in Beatrice's death; the second—*Deh peregrini*—declares that his blessedness is not to be found in "the dolorous city" of this life;<sup>2</sup> the third—*Oltre la spera*—tells how his pilgrim thought, drawn by new intelligence through Love, deeper faith through charity, rises to behold his blessedness though still dimly through her splendor.

His intellectual vision is not yet pure enough to reflect clearly and openly the clear and open image of the divine sun in the glory of Beatrice. "Our intellect," he says, "is related to those blessed souls, as our weak eye is to the sun."<sup>3</sup> Therefore to strengthen the weak eye of his mind, he concludes, "I study all I can."<sup>4</sup> Thus he will attain perfect charity, so far as may be in this life. Or, in the words of Aquinas, "he directs his study toward devotion to God and divine things, ignoring all things else save as the necessity of this present life demands," and "habitually sets his whole heart on God, that is to say, thinks or wills nothing contrary to divine love." So by such merit and by grace of the theological virtues, Beatrice's last *salute*, he may in the life to come attain the perfect charity by which his heart shall be forever uplifted to God.<sup>5</sup> In effect, the *practical* conclusion of the *Vita Nuova* and of the *Divina Commedia* is the same:

. . . già volgeva il mio disiro e il velle  
si come rota ch'egualmente è mossa,  
L'amor che move il sole e l'altre stelle;—

<sup>1</sup> xli-xlii; cf. his pilgrim love in this higher stage with the pilgrim or errant (*peregrino*) love of the second vision (chap. ix). The allegorical point of chapter xli is repeated in *Par.*, xxxi, 103-17, where Dante explicitly compares himself to the pilgrim gazing absorbed on the "Veronica," and is rebuked by St. Bernard for not turning from the semblance to the reality of Christ.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dante's interpretation of the three Marys at the Tomb as an allegory of the active and contemplative life—(*Conv.*, IV, xxii).

<sup>3</sup> xlii, 27-29.

<sup>4</sup> xliii, 5-6.

<sup>5</sup> "Ex parte vero diligentis caritas dicitur perfecta quando aliquis secundum totum suum posse diligit. Quod quidem contingit tripliciter. Uno modo, sic quod totum cor



i.e., "nihil cogitet vel velit quod sit divinae dilectioni contrarium." But through study of divine things, the dreamer of enigmatic visions of the *Vita Nuova*, the *somniator*, will grow to the *propheta* of the *Commedia*, not only seeing visions, but understanding them, and, like his prototype the apostle Paul, boldly declaring them "in honor of God and in service of his fellowman."<sup>1</sup>

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hominis actualiter semper feratur in Deum. Et haec est perfectio caritatis patriae: quae non est possibilis in hac vita, in qua impossibile est, propter humanae vitae infirmitatem, semper actu cogitare de Deo et moveri dilectione ad ipsum. Alio modo, ut homo studium suum deputet ad vacandum Deo et rebus divinis, praetermissis aliis nisi quantum necessitas praesentis vitae requirit. Et ista est perfectio caritatis quae est possibilis in via: non tamen est communis caritatem habentibus. Tertio modo, ita quod habitualiter aliquis totum cor suum ponat in Deo: ita scilicet quod nihil cogitet vel velit quod sit divinae dilectioni contrarium. Et haec perfectio est communis omnibus caritatem habentibus."—II-II, *qu.* xxiv, *a.* 8.

<sup>1</sup> "Nisi enim ad similitudines sensibiles in imaginatione formatas intelligendas adsit lumen intellectuale, ille cui similitudines hujusmodi ostenduntur, non dicitur propheta, sed potius somniator. Ille dicitur prophetare qui per lumen intellectuale divinas visiones sibi et aliis factas, exponit. . . . Prophetia est ad honorem Dei et utilitatem proximorum."—Aquinas, *Comm. I Cor.*, XLV, i. ". . . Molte cose, quasi come sognando, già vedea: siccome nella *Vita Nuova* si può vedere."—*Conv.* II, xiii, 27-29.



## THE ENAMORMENT OF BOCCACCIO

Autobiographical accounts of enamorment appear in five of the early works of Boccaccio, the *Filocolo*, the *Filostrato*, the *Fiammetta*, the *Ameto*, and the *Amorosa visione*. The consistent substance of these accounts is that Boccaccio fell in love with Maria at a Holy Saturday morning service in the church of San Lorenzo in Naples. The accounts in the *Filocolo* and the *Ameto* give the zodiacal date of the event: the sun, it is said, had reached the 16th degree of the sign Aries.

The veracity of this story has never been examined. Boccaccio specialists have taken its accuracy for granted; writers of histories of Italian literature have been inclined to doubt its worth. The matter deserves thorough examination, however, both because of its immediate biographical interest and because the zodiacal statements as to the date of the event are generally thought to furnish the key to the chronology of the youth of Boccaccio. In this study I shall first summarize each of the five accounts, then discuss their veracity, and finally examine the value of the statements as to the date.

### I

In the prefatory portion of the *Filocolo*<sup>1</sup> Boccaccio first celebrates the noble birth and manifold excellence of his lady, Maria, and then begins the account of his enamorment as follows:

Avvenne che un giorno, la cui prima ora Saturno avea signoreggiata, essendo già Febo co' suoi cavalli al sedecimo grado del celestiale Montone pervenuto,<sup>2</sup> e nel quale il glorioso partimento del figliuolo di Giove dagli spogliati regni di Plutone si celebrava, io, della presente opera compositore, mi trovai in un grazioso e bel tempio in Partenope, nominato da colui che per deificarsi sostenne che fosse fatto di lui sacrificio sopra la grata, e quivi

<sup>1</sup> Florence, 1829, Vol. I (= *Opere volgari*, ed. I. Moutier, Vol. VII), pp. 1-9. The best general studies of the youth of Boccaccio and of his love for Maria are V. Crescini, *Contributo agli studi sul Boccaccio*, Turin, 1887, and A. Della Torre, *La giovinezza di Giovanni Boccaccio* (= *Collezione di opuscoli danteschi inediti o rari*, Nos. 79-82), Città di Castello, 1905.

<sup>2</sup> This phrase is ambiguous. It may mean either "the sun having reached the space constituting the 16th degree of Aries" or "the sun having reached in Aries the line of division which would be numbered and read 'degree 16.'" See note 3, pp. 5-6.



con canto pieno di dolce melodia ascoltava l' ufficio che in tale giorno si canta, celebrato da' sacerdoti successori di colui che prima la corda cinse unilmente esaltando la povertade quella seguendo. Ove io dimorando, e già essendo secondo che il mio intelletto estimava la quarta ora del giorno sopra l'orientale orizzonte passata, apparve agli occhi miei la mirabile bellezza della prescritta giovane . . . la quale sì tosto com' io ebbi veduta il cuore cominciò . . . a tremare. . . . Ma dopo alquanto spazio, rassicurato un poco, presi ardire, e intentivamente cominciai a rimirare ne' begli occhi dell' adorna giovane, ne' quali io vidi dopo lungo guardare Amore in abito tanto pietoso, che me, cui lungamente a mia istanza avea risparmiato, fece tornare, desideroso d' essergli<sup>1</sup> per così bella donna, subietto.

Boccaccio then prays Love to accept him as subject, and straightway a fiery arrow of gold speeds from Maria's eyes to his, passes through them to his heart, and kindles there an inextinguishable flame.

The account of the enamorment concluded, Boccaccio tells of another occasion, subsequent to the enamorment by *più giorni*, upon which he saw his lady. Upon this occasion he is welcomed into her company, the conversation falls upon the story of Florio and Biancofiore, and his lady requests him to set forth that story in a literary form befitting its merit, adjuring him "per quella virtù che fu negli occhi miei il primo giorno che tu mi vedesti, e a me per amorosa forza t' obbligasti." He, realizing that this is the first request made to him by his lady, replies that he will undertake the task; she thanks him; and he leaves her company. Thereafter, he says, "senza niuno indugio cominciai a pensare di voler mettere ad esecuzione quello che promesso avea." Then comes an invocation, in the course of which Boccaccio implies that he is engaged in the study of canon law; and then, with an address to his readers in which he says "non siate ingrati di porgere divote laudi a Giove e al nuovo autore," the preface comes to an end.

The account of enamorment in the *Filostrato*<sup>2</sup> appears in the main narrative, in the first part. The enamorment is ostensibly that of Troilo and Criseida. The time is spring; the place is the temple of Pallas in Troy. Criseida is present, dressed in her widow's black, and takes a place "assai presso alla porta." Troilo with some companions wanders about the temple, criticizing the ladies, making fun

<sup>1</sup> There should be a comma after *essergli*, and none after *tornare*.

<sup>2</sup> Florence, 1831 (= *Opere volgari*, Vol. XIII), Part I, stanzas 18-30.

of the gazing and sighing lovers, and rejoicing that he, who had once known both the joy and the greater bitterness of love, is now free-hearted:

Io provai già per la mia gran follia  
Qual fosse questo maledetto fuoco.  
E s' io dicessi che amor cortesia  
Non mi facesse, ed allegrezza e giuoco  
Non mi donasse, certo i' mentiria,  
Ma tutto il bene insieme accolto, poco  
Fu o niente, rispetto a' martirj,  
Volendo amare, ed a' tristi sospiri. . . .

E benchè di veder mi giovi altrui,  
Io pur mi guardo dal corso ritroso,  
E rido volentier degl' impacciati,  
Non so s' io dico amanti o smemorati.

Then he sees Criseida:

Ell' era grande, ed alla sua grandezza  
Rispondean bene i membri tutti quanti,  
Il viso aveva adorno di bellezza  
Celestiale, e nelli suoi sembianti  
Ivi mostrava una donnesca altezza;  
E col braccio il mantel tolto davanti  
S' avea dal viso, largo a sè facendo,  
Ed alquanto la calca rimuovendo.

Piacque quell' atto a Troilo, al tornare  
Ch' ella fe' in sè, alquanto sdegnosetto,  
Quasi dicesse: non ci si può stare;  
E diessi più a mirare il suo aspetto,  
Il qual più ch' altro degno in sè gli pare  
Di molta lode, e seco avea diletto  
Sommo tra uomo e uom di mirar fiso  
Gli occhi lucenti e l' angelico viso.

Before he knows it, the arrow has sped from her eyes to his heart. He accepts the love gladly, fearing only that if it is discovered he may be mocked in turn by the lovers he has been mocking.

The fact that Criseida is dressed in black is referred to four times;<sup>1</sup> Troilo's mocking of lovers is referred to ten times;<sup>2</sup> and his fear of retaliatory mocking, five times.<sup>3</sup> In the course of the story it

<sup>1</sup> Stanzas 19, 26, 30, 38.

<sup>2</sup> Stanzas 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 29, 31, 32, 50, 51.

<sup>3</sup> Stanzas 31, 35, 51, 54, and stanza 8 in Part II. .

turns out that Troilo and Criseida have seen each other before the enamorment.<sup>1</sup>

The account of enamorment in the *Fiammetta*<sup>2</sup> appears in the main narrative, in the first book. It is Fiammetta's account of her own enamorment, and is therefore autobiographical only by secondary implication. Throughout the *Fiammetta* the parts are to a considerable extent reversed: experiences which were actually those of Boccaccio are here attributed to the heroine. The place of the enamorment is the church of San Lorenzo; the day is Easter Sunday. Fiammetta, brilliantly dressed, goes to the church, where, she says, "La vecchia usanza e la mia nobiltà m'aveano tra l'altre donne assai eccellente luogo serbato." She finds herself at once surrounded by an admiring circle of young men. Eventually she sees beyond the circle a lone youth leaning against a marble column and gazing at her as though already in love. From time to time she looks at him with increasing interest, and finally a ray of light speeds from his eyes to her heart, effecting the enamorment.

The young man's position, alone beyond a circle of admirers, is referred to four times in the account of the enamorment;<sup>3</sup> and in the fifth book, in the account of Fiammetta's visit to Baia, it is stated that she is reminded of the enamorment by the mere formation of such a circle of admirers.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The two accounts just summarized are earlier than the remaining three. The *Filocolo* and the *Filostrato* were written while Boccaccio was living in Naples; the other three works were written after his return to Florence. Of the two Neapolitan accounts, that in the *Filocolo* is probably, though not certainly, the earlier. It is evident that work on the *Filocolo* was begun soon after the beginning of the courtship of Maria, and that the close of the preface, in which Boccaccio calls himself a *nuovo autore*, was written at an early date. The general character of the preface, moreover, renders it probable that it was actually written as a whole in the early stages of the composition of the book. The *Filostrato* was written before the success of Boccaccio's courtship of Maria (Crescini, in *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie*, III [for 1891-94], 384-88).

<sup>2</sup> Ed. G. Gigli (= *Bibliotheca romanica*, Nos. 120-22), Strassburg, pp. 26-31.

<sup>3</sup> "Oltre a tutti, solo ed appoggiato ad una colonna marmorea, a me dirittissimamente uno giovane opposto vidi"; "me non meno pietoso che cauto rimirava tra uomo e uomo"; "esso, senza mutare luogo, cautissimo riguardava"; "Oh quante volte . . . biasimai io il suo dimorare agli altri di dietro, quella tiepidezza estimando, che egli usava a cautela; e già mi nojavano i giovani a lui stanti dinanzi, de' quali mentre io fra loro alcuna volta il mio intendimento mirava, alcuni, credendosi che il mio riguardare in loro terminasse, si crederetto forse da me essere amati."

<sup>4</sup> *Ed. cit.*, p. 103: "Ma poichè le danze in molti giri e volte reiterate avevano le giovani donne rendute stanche, tutte postesi con noi a sedere, più volte avvenne che gli vaghi giovani di sè d'intorno a noi accumulati, quasi facevano una corona, la quale mai nè quivi nè altrove avvenne che io vedessi, che ricordandomi del primo giorno, nel quale Panfilo a tutti dimorando di dietro, mi prese, che io invano non levassi più volte gli occhi fra loro rimirando, quasi tuttavia sperando in simil modo Panfilo rivedere."



The account of enamorment in the *Ameto*<sup>1</sup> appears in the story of Caleone, told by him to Fiammetta. The story is dominated by a literary motive, the predestination of Fiammetta to Caleone.<sup>2</sup> The statement of that predestination is effected by accounts of two preliminary visions of Fiammetta vouchsafed to Caleone, the one in his boyhood, the other in his youth. In those visions Fiammetta appears dressed brilliantly in green. The account of the enamorment begins as follows:

Ma la superna providenza disponente con eterna ragione le cose a' debiti fini, tenente Titan di Gradivo la prima casa un grado oltre al mezzo o poco più, un giorno, nella cui aurora avea signoreggiato lo Dio Saturno appo li Lazii, già per addietro stato per paura del figliuolo, e di quello già Febo salito alla terza parte, io entrai in un tempio da colui detto, che per salire alle case degl' Iddii immortali tale di sè tutto sostenne, quale Muzio di Porsenna in presenza della propria mano; nel quale ascoltando io le laudi in tal di a Giove per la spogliata Dite rendute, cantando li Flammini laudanti le poche sustanze di Codro, e per dovere obbligati a' soli bisogni della natura, rifiutando ogni più, voi singulare bellezza dell' universo, di bruna vesta coperta appariste agli occhi miei.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Florence, 1834 (in *Opere volgari*, Vol. XV), pp. 153-54.

<sup>2</sup> Crescini, *Contributo*, p. 108.

<sup>3</sup> This account is so closely parallel to the *Filocolo* account in content and in the character and wording of its peculiar paraphrases as to render it evident that when Boccaccio wrote the *Ameto* passage he had the *Filocolo* passage before him, and was simply rephrasing the earlier statements:

tenente Titan di Gradivo la prima casa un grado oltre al mezzo o poco più,

un giorno, nella cui aurora avea signoreggiato lo Dio Saturno appo li Lazii, già per addietro stato per paura del figliuolo,

e di quello già Febo salito alla terza parte,

io entrai in un tempio da colui detto, che per salire alle case degl' Iddii immortali tale di sè tutto sostenne, quale Muzio di Porsenna in presenza della propria mano;

nel quale ascoltando io le laudi in tal di a Giove per la spogliata Dite rendute,

cantando li Flammini laudanti le poche sustanze di Codro, e per dovere obbligati a' soli bisogni della natura, rifiutando ogni più,

voi singulare bellezza dell' universo, di bruna vesta coperta appariste agli occhi miei.

essendo già Febo co' suoi cavalli al sedecimo grado del celestiale Montone pervenuto

un giorno, la cui prima ora Saturno avea signoreggiata

e già essendo secondo che il mio intelletto estimava la quarta ora del giorno sopra l' orientale orizzonte passata

io, della presente opera compositore, mi trovai in un grazioso e bel tempio in Partenope, nominato da colui che per delficarsi sostenne che fosse fatto di lui sacrificio sopra la grata

un giorno . . . nel quale il glorioso partimento del figliuolo di Giove dagli spogliati regni di Plutone si celebrava, io . . . quivi con canto pieno di dolce melodia ascoltava l' ufficio che in tale giorno si canta

celebrato da' sacerdoti successori di colui che prima la corda cinse umilmente esaltando la povertade quella seguendo

apparve agli occhi miei la mirabile bellezza della prescritta giovane

The zodiacal phrase "tenente Titan di Gradivo la prima casa un grado oltre al mezzo o poco più" must mean "the sun being in Aries, at or a little beyond the line of division

Caleone at once falls in love with Fiammetta, but does not recognize her as the lady of the visions. On the next day, Easter Sunday, he sees her again; she is then brilliantly dressed in green, and he recognizes her.

In the allegory of the *Amorosa visione*<sup>1</sup> Boccaccio, before seeing his lady, sees a fresco of the Triumph of Love in which she is represented.<sup>2</sup> He then enters a beautiful garden. The time of the entrance is indicated by the statement that the Sun's horses "mezzo il segno Dello Friseo monton co' piè teniano."<sup>3</sup> In the garden he sees his lady amid a throng of other ladies, without being immediately enamored.<sup>4</sup> Somewhat later, however, when he sees her again, her radiant beauty enamors him.<sup>5</sup>

## II

I shall now endeavor to show that the story of the enamorment, as contained in these passages, cannot be regarded as certainly true, and that it should be regarded, nevertheless, as probably true in substance.

The account in the *Filocolo* is probably earlier than that in the *Filostrato*.<sup>6</sup> Let us then imagine for the moment that the *Filostrato* is still unwritten, and that Boccaccio is planning the preface of the *Filocolo*. He has entered upon his courtship of Maria, and has

which would be numbered and read 'degree 16,' for the middle of the sign is the line of division which would be numbered and read "degree 15." This would seem at first sight to justify the second and exclude the first of the two possible meanings of the corresponding *Filocolo* phrase (see note 2, p. 1); but it is quite possible that Boccaccio may have written the *Filocolo* phrase with the first of the two meanings and then have been misled by its ambiguity when he came to rephrase it in the *Ameto*. Della Torre (p. 43) interprets the *Ameto* phrase as meaning "the sun being in Aries, somewhat more than half-way through a certain degree." This interpretation is syntactically impossible, and the parallelism with the *Filocolo* phrase proves that the *mezzo* must refer to the middle of the sign and not to the middle of a certain degree.

<sup>1</sup> Florence, 1833 (in *Opere volgari*, Vol. XIV).

<sup>2</sup> Chap. xv. Cf. Crescini, *Contributo*, pp. 117-25.

<sup>3</sup> Chap. xl.

<sup>4</sup> Chap. xliii. Cf. Crescini, *Contributo*, pp. 123-25.

<sup>5</sup> Chap. xliv. The question of the relative order of these last three accounts does not concern the present argument. I regard the *Fiammetta* as probably earlier than the *Ameto* and the *Amorosa visione* because in the *Fiammetta* Boccaccio seems still distressed by the faithlessness of Maria, and gives no indication that he feels himself at home in Florence, whereas the mood of the *Ameto* and the *Amorosa visione* is calmer, and both works indicate a considerable acquaintance in Florentine society. The *Ameto* is referred to in the *Amorosa visione*, chap. xli.

<sup>6</sup> See note 1, p. 4.



received from her the commission to write the story of Florio and Biancofiore.<sup>1</sup> It is obviously appropriate that the preface should contain a relation of Maria's request for the writing of the story; it would certainly be good literary and amatory judgment for him to prefix to that relation an account of the beginning of his love for Maria. It is desirable for the satisfaction of his own literary pride that that account should correspond to some earlier literary account of the beginnings of love; and it is highly desirable, for the effectiveness of the account upon Maria, that it should be as striking as possible.

The story of the enamorment as contained in the *Filocolo* is just such a story as might have been invented under such conditions. At the time when it was written Boccaccio was in all probability familiar with the two enamorments at temple service which appear in the *Roman de Troie*, that of Achilles and Polyxena and that of Paris and Helen; he was perhaps acquainted with some of the many instances of temple enamorment that occur in the Greek romances; and he may well have learned that in Avignon Petrarch was singing of a Good Friday church enamorment.<sup>2</sup>

One element of the account in the *Filocolo* (an element which reappears in the *Ameto*) is almost certainly fictitious: the representation of the Eastertide service as the first occasion upon which Boccaccio saw Maria. The *Filostrato* and the *Amorosa visione* imply that he had seen her before the enamorment; and the autobiographical story of Idalagos, which does not mention the enamorment, implies that he had seen her long before the beginning of the courtship.<sup>3</sup> That such was the case is, moreover, inherently probable, for Maria was doubtless a prominent member of the court circle.

An instance of a fictitious story of enamorment is afforded by the *Fiammetta*, for the narrative of the enamorment therein contained is entirely fictitious as far as Maria is concerned; all the other versions of the affair represent her love as won only after long courtship.

<sup>1</sup> He may of course have started work upon the story before he received the commission.

<sup>2</sup> K. Young, *The Origin and Development of the Story of Troilus and Criseyde* (= Chaucer Society Publications, 2d series, No. 40), London, 1908, pp. 35-42. Petrarch's third sonnet apparently implies that the day of his enamorment was Good Friday, though its real implication is that the day was the anniversary of the Crucifixion.

<sup>3</sup> Crescini, *Contributo*, pp. 123-26.



Boccaccio's general reputation for autobiographical veracity is none of the best. In the *Genealogia deorum* he makes a statement necessarily and emphatically implying his presence in Naples at the time of the examination of Petrarch before King Robert in March, 1341, while we know that he had left Naples by the first of January of that year.<sup>1</sup> In the introduction of the *Decameron*<sup>2</sup> he implies his presence in Florence at the time of the plague of 1348, while in the *Comento sopra la Commedia*<sup>3</sup> he states that he was not in Florence at the time of the plague.

The account in the *Filocolo* contains two or three features that have a circumstantial look, but they are explicable without recourse to the supposition of the veracity of the story.<sup>4</sup>

So far as the *Filocolo* is concerned, therefore, the account of the enamorment may be merely a fiction devised for literary and amatory effectiveness. Nor is the case altered by the existence of the other four accounts. On the hypothesis that the *Filocolo* account is fictitious, the existence of the corresponding narratives is immediately explicable as due to the persistence of the same literary and amatory considerations which had led to the devising of the original fiction. There is ample proof that Boccaccio was very ready to repeat in a later work motives or incidents that had pleased him in an earlier one.<sup>5</sup> The account in the *Ameto*, being simply a rephrasing of the account in the *Filocolo*,<sup>6</sup> has not the slightest value as independent evidence. The accounts in the *Filostrato*, the *Fiammetta*, and the *Ameto* contain a few features that have a circumstantial look, but all are explicable without recourse to the supposition of the truth of the story.<sup>7</sup> The story of the enamorment, therefore, cannot be regarded as certainly true.

On the other hand, there is nothing inherently improbable in Boccaccio's claim that he fell in love with Maria at a Holy Saturday service. The several literary accounts of temple or church enamorment rest ultimately upon social fact; the gathering of men and women for religious purposes induces enough social excitement and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Della Torre, pp. 342-45.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. P. Fanfani, Florence, Le Monnier, 1857, I, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. G. Milanese, Florence, Le Monnier, 1863, II, 19.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 9-10.

<sup>5</sup> See note 3, pp. 5-6.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Young, chap. II.

<sup>7</sup> See pp. 9-10.

enough real or ostensible emotion to predispose the youthful fancy to thoughts of love. It is entirely possible, furthermore, that acquaintance with the literary accounts referred to above should have stimulated Boccaccio's actual experience; in other words, that he should have gone to an Eastertide service with a predisposition derived from those very accounts to accept love upon such an occasion.

There is no real inconsistency between any two of the accounts, except as to whether the Eastertide service was or was not the first occasion upon which Boccaccio saw Maria.

There are, moreover, in all the accounts except that of the *Amorosa visione*, certain features, as already stated, which have a circumstantial look, and although, as already stated, they are individually explicable without recourse to the supposition of the truth of the story, nevertheless, taken together, they seem to me sufficient to establish the probability that the story is true. These features are as follows: (1) The day of the enamorment, according to the *Filocolo* (and the *Ameto*), is Holy Saturday, not Easter Sunday, as we might have expected in a case of pure invention. In devising the certainly fictitious account of the enamorment of Fiammetta, in the novel of that name, it is Easter Sunday, not Holy Saturday, that Boccaccio selects. (2) In the *Filocolo* (and the *Ameto*) the zodiacal date is apparently specific. (3) The *Filocolo* and the *Filostrato* both mention, and the *Filostrato* emphasizes, the fact that Boccaccio had been in love before; such reference is, from a literary point of view, distinctly inappropriate. (4) The fact that the heroine is dressed in black is made prominent in the *Filostrato* and the *Ameto*. The mere mention of black dress in the *Filostrato* would not be significant, as Criseida is a widow, but the insistence upon it is rather striking. Maria would properly wear black at a Holy Saturday service, whereas she would of course dress brilliantly for an Easter Sunday service. (5) In the *Filostrato* Criseida's place in the temple is specified. (6) In the *Filostrato* Troilo's mocking of lovers in the temple is referred to ten times and his fear of retaliatory mocking five times. (7) In the *Filostrato* the gesture and attitude of Criseida that catch the attention of Troilo are specified. (8) In the *Filostrato* and the *Fiammetta* the position of the lover and the lady is clearly visualized—the lover gazing from outside a circle of admirers. (9) In the *Ameto*



the account of the enamorment includes two successive days, Saturday and Sunday. There is no literary precedent for such dualization of the account.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, some weight should be given to the consistent impression of the Boccaccio specialists who have busied themselves with the autobiographical passages in the early works of Boccaccio. That impression is, as I have already indicated, that the story is essentially true.

In view of these several circumstances, therefore, I consider it probable, though not certain, that Boccaccio's love for Maria began at a Holy Saturday service in the church of San Lorenzo.

### III

Upon that Holy Saturday, according to Boccaccio, the sun had reached the 16th degree of the sign Aries.<sup>2</sup> The enamorment, real or fictitious, certainly fell within the period 1331-38.<sup>3</sup> Holy Satur-

<sup>1</sup> These features of the accounts may, however, be explained without recourse to the supposition that the story is true, as follows: (1, 2, 5, 7) The specification may be simply for the sake of increasing the impression of veracity. (1) Petrarch's *Good Friday* may have suggested Boccaccio's preference of Saturday to Sunday. (2) Boccaccio may have associated a fictitious enamorment with an actual Holy Saturday. The specification may be more apparent than real: the 16th degree (considered as space, not as line of division) is the second of the two middle degrees of the sign. The phrase may therefore be merely a vivid way of saying "the sun having reached the middle of Aries." In the *Amorosa visione*, it is to be noted, the zodiacal position of the sun is given as "the middle of Aries," without specification of the degree. (3-8) I have no doubt that each of these features has a basis in fact, but their association with the enamorment may nevertheless be artificial. (3) Boccaccio may have regarded it as a particular tribute to the amorous power of Maria that she enamored him in spite of a hostility to love due to a previous unhappy love experience. (4) Boccaccio made Criseida a widow, I am convinced, because he at that time (the *Corbaccio* was far in the future!) regarded the widow as the ideal mistress (cf. the ninth *questione d'amore* in the fourth book of the *Filocolo*, the 101st sonnet [probably later than the *Filostrato*] and Pucci's reply [Boccaccio, *Rime*, Florence, 1834 (in *Opere volgari*, Vol. XVI)], and Crescini, *Contributo*, p. 166). Insistence upon the sign of her widowhood is not then inexplicable. (4, 9) In the visions of the *Ameto* Flammetta is dressed in green, which Boccaccio evidently regarded as her favorite color (cf. Crescini, *op. cit.*, p. 107). On Holy Saturday, however, Flammetta would properly wear not green but black. Black, moreover, had already been specified as the color of the heroine's dress in the *Filostrato*. These considerations would be sufficient to suggest, for the *Ameto*, both the specification of the color and the non-recognition on Holy Saturday, which would in turn require an account of a subsequent meeting for recognition. (9) If the *Flammetta* is, as I think, prior to the *Ameto* (see note 5, p. 6), the fact that the enamorment of Flammetta is assigned to Easter Sunday may have suggested the inclusion of Easter Sunday in the *Ameto* enamorment.

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to Professor F. R. Moulton for valuable suggestions with regard to some of the astronomical matters concerned in the remainder of this study.

<sup>3</sup> The years mentioned are respectively the earliest and the latest proposed by any scholar within the last one hundred years (cf. Della Torre, chaps. ii and iv). No year earlier than 1331 or later than 1338 could be proposed without disregard of facts concerning which there is no room for dispute.



day, within that period, fell upon the following dates: March 26 (1334), 30 (1331 and 1336), April 3 (1333), 11 (1338), 15 (1335), 18 (1332), 19 (1337).<sup>1</sup> In connection with this series of dates the zodiacal statement seems to offer a means of identification of the Holy Saturday in question.

But is the zodiacal dating exact? The scholars who have dealt with the matter have assumed that it was exact to the best of Boccaccio's knowledge.<sup>2</sup> That assumption is not justifiable. When Boccaccio started to write the zodiacal phrase in the *Filocolo* he certainly had in mind a particular Holy Saturday, but it is quite possible that he did not have in mind the exact calendar date of that Holy Saturday. If he did not, it is quite possible (most obviously so if the account as a whole is fictitious) that instead of looking up the calendar date and translating it into terms of the zodiac he was careful only that the zodiacal date should be approximately accurate, or even only that it should be appropriate for Eastertide in general. His actual zodiacal date is just such as might have been selected in such a way, for it is eminently appropriate for Eastertide in general. Whatever the exact opinion of Boccaccio as to the date of the sun's arrival at the 16th degree of Aries, he certainly thought of that arrival as occurring near the end of March;<sup>3</sup> and the end of March is the point of calendar division between the two months within which Easter falls. It is even possible, as already noted,<sup>4</sup> that the *Filocolo* phrase was not specific in the intention of Boccaccio, but was merely a vivid way of saying "the sun having reached the middle of Aries." It is therefore quite possible that the zodiacal date of the *Filocolo* was not intended to designate a particular calendar day.

On the other hand, it is probable, as has been shown, that the account of the enamorment is essentially true, and that the preface of the *Filocolo* was written not long after that event.<sup>5</sup> It

<sup>1</sup> E. Schwartz, *Christliche und jüdische Ostertafeln* (= *Abhandlungen der kön. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., N.F. VIII [1904-5], No. 6).

<sup>2</sup> F. Torraca in his recent *Per la biografia di Giovanni Boccaccio* (Milan, 1912) at first expresses doubt as to the exactness of the phrase, arguing (pp. 11-20) that Boccaccio perhaps had no specific opinion as to the relation of the zodiac to the calendar (for criticism of this argument see note 2, p. 12), but a little later (pp. 29-35) assumes its exactness for the purposes of an argument of his own as to the date of the enamorment (see note 3, pp. 16-17).

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 12-16.

<sup>4</sup> See note 1, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> See note 1, p. 4.

is therefore probable that Boccaccio, when writing the preface of the *Filocolo*, did have in mind the calendar day of the enamorment. It is further probable that when he wrote that preface he had completed his enthusiastic study of astronomy with Andalò di Negro,<sup>1</sup> and that he had heard Andalò discuss the question of the relation of the zodiac to the calendar.<sup>2</sup> It is therefore probable that the zodiacal date in the *Filocolo* is to the best of Boccaccio's knowledge an exact rendering of the actual calendar date of the enamorment. A correct retranslation of the zodiacal date into calendar terms should therefore yield the probable date of the enamorment.<sup>3</sup>

Boccaccio nowhere states his opinion as to the relation of the zodiac to the calendar. It is probable, as just implied, that his opinion on this point was derived from the teaching of Andalò di Negro. Two of the works of Andalò, the *Opus praeclarissimum*

<sup>1</sup> On Boccaccio's study with Andalò see my "Calmeta," in *Modern Language Notes*, XXI (1906), 212. Andalò died at an advanced age shortly before June, 1334 (G. Bertolotto in his edition of the *Opus praeclarissimum astrolabij* of Andalò in *Atti della società ligure di storia patria*, XXV [1892], 59).

<sup>2</sup> Della Torre, pp. 45-50. Della Torre points out that in the autobiographical story of Idalagos, in the long account of the instruction in astronomy received by Idalagos from Calmeta (who represents Andalò: see my article referred to in the preceding note), it is said that Calmeta spoke of the "colouro d' ariete. . . . con lo equinozio del detto segno." The vernal equinox coincides with the entrance of the sun into Aries (see note 3, p. 13). He points out also that Andalò discusses the relation of the zodiac to the calendar specifically, mentioning the date of the sun's entrance into Capricorn, in the *Tractatus teorice planetarum*, a copy of which was owned by Boccaccio. Torraca (pp. 11-20) doubts Boccaccio's reception of any instruction on this point. He argues first that Idalagos does not say that Calmeta specified the date of the vernal equinox. It may be replied that the fact that Idalagos does not say so does not by any means indicate that Calmeta did not specify the date: the story is entirely too brief and too allegorical for application of the argument *ex silentio*. Torraca argues further that Boccaccio does not specify the date of the vernal equinox in either of two cases, in the works of erudition, in which he might have done so. Here again the argument *ex silentio* does not seem to me properly applicable. Torraca does not mention the specific statement of Andalò in the *Tractatus*, nor the fact of Boccaccio's ownership of a copy of that work.

<sup>3</sup> Several attempts to effect this retranslation were made in the course of the nineteenth century, but they were vitiated, in every case, by a lack of knowledge of mediaeval astronomical opinion on the matters concerned. A far better attempt was made by Della Torre (*op. cit.*, chap. ii), who utilizes as evidence the works of Andalò. Della Torre deserves high credit both for the introduction of this important material, which renders possible a far more satisfactory solution of the problem than could otherwise be attained, and for the complete refutation of the earlier erroneous arguments. Della Torre's conclusion, however, is only partially correct, and his work is so marred by errors and omissions that it cannot be regarded as definitive. For a specific criticism of his work see note 3, pp. 16-17. A recent attempt at solution on the part of Torraca seems to me to rest upon mistaken premises; see note 3, pp. 16-17.



*astrolabij*<sup>1</sup> and the *Tractatus teorice planetarum*,<sup>2</sup> contain indications of his opinions as to the relation in question.<sup>3</sup>

The fourth chapter of the *Opus* contains directions for the construction upon the reverse of an astrolabe of the circles representing the calendar, and for the adjustment of their divisions to the divisions

<sup>1</sup> See note 1, p. 12. The date of the composition of the *Opus* is not known.

<sup>2</sup> Preserved in the Laurentian MS, XXIX, 8, which was once the property of Boccaccio. The passages necessary for the present argument are quoted or summarized by Della Torre, pp. 49, 52. The date of the composition of the *Tractatus* is not known.

<sup>3</sup> The index of opinion as to the relation of the zodiac to the calendar is opinion as to the date of the vernal equinox, which coincides with the entrance of the sun into Aries, the first sign of the zodiac. The time of the vernal equinox is determinable either by observation or by computation on the basis of recorded observations. The mean Julian year contained 365 days, 6 hours. The solar year, represented by the zodiac, contains 365 d. 5 h. 48 m. 46 s. As a result of this difference the Julian year gained slowly on the solar year, and the vernal equinox therefore retroceded toward the beginning of the year. The Julian leap-year contained actually 366 days, and the Julian common year 365 days; the retrocession was therefore complicated by a quadrennial cyclic variation. If in a given leap-year the vernal equinox occurred at a given hour  $x$ , in the following year it occurred at  $x+6$  h. -11 m. 14 s.; in the next year, at  $x+12$  h. -22 m. 28 s.; in the next year, at  $x+18$  h. -33 m. 42 s.; and in the next year, a leap-year, at  $x-44$  m. 56 s. Summaries of the opinions of mediaeval astronomers with regard to the retrocession are given by F. Kaltenbrunner, "Die Vorgeschichte der Gregorianischen Kalenderreform," *Sitzungsberichte der kais. Akad. der Wissenschaften* (Vienna), Phil.-Hist. Kl., XVIII (1876), Heft III, pp. 289-315, and D. Marzi, "La questione della riforma del calendario," *Pubblicazione del r. ist. di studi superiori di Firenze*, 1896, pp. 1-8. Cf. also E. Moore, *The Time-References in the Divina Commedia*, London, 1887, pp. 14-16, 118-21. The observation of the vernal equinox was a difficult one for mediaeval astronomers. They usually formed their opinion as to its time by computation on the basis of a few early recorded observations. The results were usually regarded as correct within an hour. Opinions differed as to the length of the solar year and its consequent difference from the mean Julian year. Ptolemy (140 A.D.) gives the difference as 4 m. 48 s.; Albategni (ninth century), 13 m. 36 s.; Conrad (c. 1200), 12 m.; Robert of Lincoln (c. 1225) follows Ptolemy; the Alfonsine Tables (c. 1250), 10 m. 44 s.; Giovanni Campano (c. 1250) is uncertain whether Ptolemy or Albategni is right; Roger Bacon (1267), 11 m. 30 s.; an anonymous writer (1273) and Gordianus (c. 1300), 12 m. In 46 B.C., when the Julian calendar was established, the vernal equinox fell on March 25. Ptolemy states that in 140 A.D. it fell on March 22. In 325 it was determined for the Nicæan Council that it fell on March 21. Conrad says that it occurs about March 15; John Holywood (1232) gives the date as March 15; Robert of Lincoln, as March 14; upon the astrolabe described in the *Libros dell astrolabio llano* due to Alfonso the Wise (c. 1250) the vernal equinox falls on March 13 (*Libros del saber de astronomía del rey D. Alfonso X de Castilla*, ed. M. Rico y Sinobas, Madrid, Vol. II, 1863, p. 291); Giovanni Campano states in one passage that it falls on March 14 and in another that it falls on March 15; Roger Bacon, by observation, places it, for 1267, on March 13; an anonymous writer (1273) gives its time as March 14 d. 20 h.; Gordianus, as March 15; Paolo da Perugia (c. 1340) as March 14 d. 12 h. (Della Torre, pp. 53-54). The actual dates of the vernal equinox in the lifetime of Andalò (c. 1250-1334) were as follows (C. L. Largeteau, "Tables abrégées pour le calcul des équinoxes et des solstices," in *Mémoires de l'Acad. des sciences de l'Inst. de France*, XXII [1850], 477-89): in leap-years, on March 12; in years first in a series of three common years, from 1253 to 1281 on March 13, from 1285 to 1333 on March 12; in years second in a series of three common years, from 1250 to 1314 on March 13, from 1318 to 1334 on March 12; in years last in a series of three common years, on March 13. In the period 1331-38 it fell on March 12, except in 1331 and 1335, when it fell on March 13.



of the circles upon the same surface which represent the zodiac. The sentence that indicates the position of the vernal equinox<sup>1</sup> is this: "Item pone regulam in centro et in gradibus .i. m. .xxvi. arietis et ibi erit finis .xv. diei martii."<sup>2</sup> A zodiacal degree is virtually equivalent in length to a day.<sup>3</sup> The vernal equinox, therefore, would fall on March 14, a little after the middle of the day.<sup>4</sup> The day of the astrolabe is unquestionably the astronomical day, which in the usage of Andalò, as in that of modern astronomers, began at noon and received the same calendar number as the civil day beginning at the preceding midnight.<sup>5</sup>

If then Andalò's statement in the presence of Boccaccio was based upon the opinion indicated in the *Opus*, it was probably such

<sup>1</sup> See preceding note.

<sup>2</sup> *Ed. cit.*, p. 91. The figures are repeated in a table on p. 92.

<sup>3</sup> When the sun is in Aries a degree is longer than a day by about half an hour.

<sup>4</sup> The exact time would be not earlier than March 14 d. 12 h. 44 m. and not later than March 14 d. 13 h. 19 m. These exact figures are not necessary to the argument: I therefore omit the rather long calculation by which they are derived. Della Torre (pp. 50-53), working on the same data, gets the specific result March 14 d. 12 h. 53 m. (Della Torre does not express this result, but the result he does express, March 14 d. 6 h. 53 m., is derived through the result March 14 d. 12 h. 53 m. by his reduction of astronomical to civil time; see the next note); but he proceeds upon the supposition that the *motus solis in una die* is constant (whereas it really varies slightly from day to day) and upon the supposition that the data of the *Opus* are intended to be correct to the zodiacal second (whereas it is evident, since the zodiacal second is in no case specified, that they are intended to be correct only to the zodiacal minute). The adjustment of the zodiac to the calendar as indicated upon the astrolabe is probably intended to be correct within an hour (see note 3, p. 13). It is uncertain what relation this adjustment has to the quadrennial variation in the length of the Julian year (see note 3, p. 13). The astrolabe allots twenty-eight days to February: the possibility that the adjustment represents the facts of correspondence in a leap-year is therefore excluded. It may represent the average correspondence for a full four-year cycle, the average correspondence for a series of three common years, the correspondence obtaining in the first of a series of three common years, that obtaining in the second year of such a series, or that obtaining in the third year of such a series.

<sup>5</sup> Boccaccio, *Genealogia deorum*, I, 33 (cited in part by Torraca, p. 30): "Dierum uero naturalium initium non aequae nationibus omnibus sumitur. . . . Vmbri qui & Hetrusci sunt, a meridie illi fecere principium, & in sequenti diei meridiem terminabant, quae consuetudo adhuc ab astrologis obseruatur" (ed. I. Micillus, Basle, 1532, p. 27). Boccaccio must have known, and cannot have ignored, the usage of Andalò. Della Torre (pp. 52-53), being unacquainted with this passage of the *Genealogia*, holds that in the usage of Andalò the astronomical day began at sunset and received the same calendar number as the civil day beginning at the preceding midnight. He points out that this was the usage of Paolo da Perugia; but there is no reason to think that the usage of Andalò was identical with that of Paolo. He argues further that Boccaccio followed this usage, adducing as evidence a passage in the *Fiammetta* in which it is related that Fiammetta every day at sunset added a pebble to the collection by which she kept record of the days of Panfilò's absence. But it is clear, as Torraca remarks (p. 30), that Fiammetta selected sunset for this ceremony simply because it marked the end of the "artificial" day—the 12-hour day extending from sunrise to sunset.

as to lead Boccaccio to associate the vernal equinox with one of the two civil days March 14 and March 15.<sup>1</sup>

In the *Tractatus* Andalò says, in the course of a general discussion of the retrocession of the equinoxes, "Nunc autem intrat sol in capricorno die 14 decembris."<sup>2</sup> It is uncertain whether Andalò is here speaking in terms of the astronomical or the civil day.

The opinion indicated by this statement is apparently at variance with the opinion indicated by the adjustment of the zodiac to the calendar in the *Opus*, for according to the conditions of that adjustment the entrance of the sun into Capricorn falls on December 15 at about the ninth hour of the day.<sup>3</sup> The statement of the *Tractatus*, therefore, probably indicates an opinion as to the relation of the zodiac to the calendar different from that expressed in the *Opus* in that the several points of the zodiac are advanced one day upon the calendar.<sup>4</sup>

If then Andalò's statement in the presence of Boccaccio was based upon the opinion indicated in the *Tractatus*, it was probably such as to lead Boccaccio to associate the vernal equinox with one of the two civil days March 13 and March 14.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> If Andalò said "the vernal equinox falls upon March 14" without specifying "astronomical time," Boccaccio may have associated it with the civil day March 14. If the teaching was subsequent by twenty years to the composition of the *Opus*, the retrocession (see note 3, p. 13) would have brought the vernal equinox into the civil day March 14 (Andalò accepted the dictum of Ptolemy as to the rate of the retrocession; see note 3, p. 13, and Della Torre, p. 49). It is barely possible that Andalò made a statement from which Boccaccio could have inferred that the vernal equinox fell on the civil day March 13. This possibility results from the unlikely combination of the suppositions that the astrolabe is adjusted for the correspondence between zodiac and calendar obtaining in the last of a series of three common years (see note 4, p. 14) and that Andalò's statement was in terms of the correspondence obtaining in leap-years.

<sup>2</sup> Della Torre, p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> According to the *Opus* table referred to in note 2, p. 14, the position of the sun at the end of the 15th day of December is Capricorn 0° 37'. The exact time of the entrance into Capricorn, according to the *Opus*, would be not earlier than December 15 d. 9 h. 17 m. and not later than December 15 d. 9 h. 44 m. The apparent variation in the statements may possibly be due merely to the choice of a different year or average of years in the four-year cycle as basis for statement. It is explicable, for example, on the combination of the suppositions that the astrolabe of the *Opus* is adjusted for the last of a series of three common years and that the *Tractatus* statement is in terms of the correspondence obtaining in leap-years.

<sup>4</sup> Such an opinion would as a matter of fact be more correct than that expressed in the *Opus*; see note 3, p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> It is barely possible that Andalò made a statement from which Boccaccio could have inferred that the vernal equinox fell on the civil day March 12. Cf. note 0, p. 000.



Upon the basis of the indications of Andalò's opinion in the *Opus* and the *Tractatus*, then, it is probable that Boccaccio placed the vernal equinox on one of the three days March 13, 14, 15.

A zodiacal degree is virtually equivalent in length to a day.<sup>1</sup> The phrase "essendo già Febo co' suoi cavalli al sedecimo grado del celestiale Montone pervenuto" may mean either "the sun having reached the space constituting the 16th degree of Aries" or "the sun having reached, in Aries, the line of division which would be numbered and read 'degree 16.'"<sup>2</sup> If it has the first meaning, Boccaccio may have had in mind a calendar date as early as March 28. If it has the second meaning, Boccaccio may have had in mind a calendar date as late as April 1.

The period thus defined, March 28–April 1, contains only one of the days upon which Holy Saturday fell in the years in question: March 30, which was the date of Holy Saturday both in 1331 and 1336. The date of the enamorment, therefore, was probably either March 30, 1331, or March 30, 1336.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See note 3, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> See note 2, p. 1, and note 3, pp. 5–6.

<sup>3</sup> Della Torre reaches the same conclusion, but his argument is invalid. His conclusion rests upon the assumption that the zodiacal phrase necessarily has the first of the two meanings noted as possible, and upon the claim that Boccaccio placed the vernal equinox on March 14 at 6.53 A.M. That claim, based upon the statement of the *Opus*, ignores the statement in the *Tractatus*. It ignores also the possibility that the statement made by Andalò in the presence of Boccaccio may have been general (like the statement in the *Tractatus*) rather than particular, the possibility that that statement was made in terms of the correspondence of the zodiac to the calendar obtaining in a year or series of years different from that chosen for the adjustment of zodiac to calendar in the *Opus*, the possibility that Boccaccio understood as referring to civil time a statement made by Andalò in terms of astronomical time, the possibility that the time indicated by Andalò in his statement in the presence of Boccaccio differed from the time indicated in the *Opus* as a result of correction for retrocession occurring after the composition of the *Opus*, the probability that the adjustment of the zodiac to the calendar as indicated upon the astrolabe is intended to be correct only within an hour, and the minor facts that the data of the *Opus* are supposed to be correct only to the zodiacal minute and that the *motus solis in una die* is not constant. It rests also upon the erroneous notion that the astronomical day, in the usage of Andalò, began at sunset (see note 5, p. 14). Torracca (pp. 29–35), after rejecting the argument of Della Torre (on invalid grounds; see note 2, p. 12), proposes in its place an argument based upon the supposition that Boccaccio associated the vernal equinox with the date March 13. He shows reason to believe that there existed in Tuscany, in Boccaccio's time, a popular belief that the vernal equinox did fall upon that date. He offers, as evidence that Boccaccio was acquainted with that belief, the following passage of the *Ameto*: "I festevoli giorni dalla reverenda antichità dedicata a Venere, sono presenti, tenendo Apollo con chiaro raggio il mezzo del rubatore di Europa." Torracca interprets this as meaning "May 1, the sun being precisely at the middle of Taurus," and then argues that if the vernal equinox fell on March 13 the sun would reach the middle of Taurus on May 1, whereas according to the *Opus* of Andalò the sun on that day would be well past the middle of the sign. But the precision of Torracca's



I expect to show in a later publication, by non-astronomical evidence, that the enamorment cannot have occurred as early as 1331.

My conclusions with regard to the enamorment of Boccaccio are therefore that his love began probably, though not certainly, at a Holy Saturday service in San Lorenzo, and that the date with which he associated his enamorment was probably, though not certainly, March 30, 1336.

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interpretation is quite unwarranted, both in its supposition that the plural "I festevoli giorni" means "May 1" and in its supposition that "tenendo Apollo . . . il mezzo del rubatore di Europa" refers to a particular degree. Moreover, if the sun entered Taurus on the 17th of April, as it would (according to Torraca) if the vernal equinox fell on March 18, it would reach the exact middle of Taurus *not* on May 1, but on May 2. Surely it is extremely improbable that Boccaccio derived his opinion as to the date of the vernal equinox from an antiquated Tuscan popular belief rather than from the professional astronomer with whom he studied enthusiastically at Naples—an astronomer who, in a work of which Boccaccio owned a copy, discusses specifically the question of the retrocession of the equinoxes.



## STANDARDS OF SPEECH AND THEIR VALUES

It should be clear at the start that the question of the way in which standards in speech are established and the question of the values of these standards are not one and the same but two separate and distinct matters. In determining standards one has to do with objective facts, like the descriptive material of geological science; but in determining values, our concern is with matters purely relative, with conclusions that must be based upon opinions and judgments and which need not necessarily appeal to all men in the same way. The naïve observer of language simplifies matters by assuming that when he has established his standard he has also established his test of values. The custom of his own group is for him the only standard, and also the ultimate test of right and wrong. And this naïve sense of satisfaction with what is familiar runs through all stages of language from the highest to the lowest. The shining member of "good society" needs no proof that the customs of his speech are the best, and the country yokel is just as sincerely convinced that the stranger from the city makes a fool of himself every time he uses a word out of the local manner. Kaffir children, we are told, are fond of playing at being missionaries, and one of the most amusing features of the game to them consists in speaking the native idiom with a missionary accent. The boys and girls of Siena, doubtless also of other places much frequented by travelers, have a somewhat similar game. They like to play at being tourists, and they show their contempt for the outsider's Italian and their superiority over him by substituting the infinitive for all the inflected forms of the verb.

The formation of standards is a necessary and a continual process in the growth of language. It is a first condition of speech that it shall be intelligible, and, as consequent to this, that there shall be a degree of common understanding as to the forms and the meanings of the elements of the language. But after the mere necessities of intelligibility have been satisfied there is still another unifying influence to be added. This is the universal human passion for



homogeneity, the instinct for imitation and repetition, which, though never carried out to the end of absolute regularity, continually tends in that direction. These two influences work together to bring about uniformity in language; first, the necessity of a common and accepted understanding of the forms of language, and second, the tendency or habit of mankind to repeat actions as exactly as possible and thus to reduce the number of actions from complete heterogeneity to groups of at least approximate similars.

Complete homogeneity is probably never attained in any group of actions, nor is it demanded by the practical requirements of the use of language. Communication takes place to a large extent through the suggestive power of the symbols of speech, not through any absolute meaning which might be supposed to be inherent in them. The actual understanding of speech is thus effected through a subjective synthesis which each person under every differing set of circumstances makes for himself. The speaker or writer strives to use such terms as will cause the hearer or reader to make a synthesis like his own, but a very little experience in the analysis of language tells him that the most he can attain is a general similarity, that his speech never can have the precise and exact meaning of an algebraic formula. In all practicable use of language there is, therefore, in the act of communication what might be called an area of negligible variation. Communication is not perfect, but the imperfections of it may be ignored in favor of that sense of sympathy and harmony which arises when two people think they understand each other, when they are agreed to assume that the subjective synthesis which each makes is the same.

By looking at language in some such way as this we are prepared to consider the questions how and why standards of speech arise. Every man is necessarily a member of some community group, and yet no group is absolutely homogeneous. Since absolute homogeneity is wanting, there can be no such thing as absolute standard and regularity. The question of standards is one of the degree of unity and regularity, and, by consequence of the extent of this area, of negligible variation.

Now in the establishing of the customs and habits of speech, it is a general law that the degree of homogeneity or unity varies

inversely to the extent of the area over which the fact of language under consideration is spread. This law becomes apparent by illustration. The greatest degree of similarity in the use of language is manifestly to be found in the most closely united social group, say in the family. Among members of such a group, the subjective synthesis which makes for understanding in language is most complete. Certain forms of speech will be used only among the members of the family in their family relations, and these will often be the very forms which give the group its deepest sense of intimacy and unity. But enlarging now the limits of inclusion so as to take in the customs and habits of the speech common not merely to the members of a family but to the citizens of a town, obviously we arrive at a new standard of homogeneity which has been attained by excluding from the standard the various distinctive uses which give the members of the smaller groups, the families, their peculiar sense of unity and homogeneity. The standard of the town includes a larger circle of speakers, but the ideas which it is able to express are correspondingly broader and more general, and in pronunciation the cadences of speech and the colors of sounds are less numerous and individual. Extending the circle of inclusion still farther, one may establish a grouping of similars in speech habits which will include many towns, all the speakers of a certain region, or all the speakers of a country. Every extension of the limits of inclusion geographically and numerically, however, carries with it a limitation of the number of speech habits which the members of the groups have in common. A standard of national use in speech means a grouping of those features of speech which the nation as a whole possesses in common. By the aid of these features the citizen of the nation acquires a means for expressing a feeling for a national unity, for a race. This feeling is also the result of a subjective synthesis, and it arises in the same way as the feeling for the unity of the family. But how vastly greater is the area of negligible variation in arriving at the feeling for a national or race unity, as compared with the feeling for family unity! In both instances we arrive at a standard by combining those similarities of speech which together make up the common speech habits of a group. The standard is therefore not an artificial system of regulations placed upon the language from

without, but its artificial character consists merely in that it states formally and analytically those habits which have worked themselves out unconsciously in the daily practice of speech. The question of the following of models, of right and of wrong, has consequently very little to do with the formation of standards of speech. These latter grow automatically in the practical everyday world of pleasure and business, they are the machinery of habits which men form in order to reduce the unavoidable friction of social intercourse. The machinery may be of very slight grasp, but capable of correspondingly fine workmanship; or its grasp may be practically coextensive with the limits of the speech, and then its powers will be wide rather than deep.

It will not have escaped the observation of the student of language that the processes which have been indicated as the method of the formation of standards are precisely the processes of the growth of dialects. In its popular sense, the term dialect is understood to mean a group of speech characteristics differing from, and inferior to, an approved standard. A derogatory sense has thus attached itself to the term. No one wants to confess that he speaks a dialect, although he may agree that all his neighbors do. But scientifically it is obvious that there is no difference between a dialect in the popular sense and a standard of speech, that is, a group of related speech customs, except that sometimes the standard may be made an object of conscious reflection and acceptance. But any dialect if it is thus treated may manifestly become a standard.

The same principles of inclusion and of negligible variation apply to dialects as to standards. No completely homogeneous dialect can be supposed to exist. The unity of the dialect must be found either in the personal sense of harmony of the users of it, or in the theoretical classifications of the student, who groups together those similars which he regards as characteristic and makes them the base of his artificial dialect divisions. And in the same way, the greater the comprehensiveness of the dialect, the less its intimacy and the complexity of its powers of expression. The English language as a whole has a unity of its own. Certainly it is distinct from French and German, and if in no other way than relatively, the English-speaking person acquires a feeling for a general language homo-



geneity. But imagine anyone trying to speak this standard unified English! Since it must include only those elements which are common to all English-speaking peoples, it must exclude everything which is distinctive of any minor group, of the Englishman as distinguished from the American, of the Devonshire Englishman as distinguished from the standard Englishman, of the Virginia American as distinguished from the standard American, and so down through an almost unlimited series of exclusions. When all these exclusions have been made, something will remain, in fact a good deal will remain. There will be left that central core of linguistic correspondences by virtue of which English is a language distinct from all other languages. The exclusions would represent the destructive habits, the differentiating tendencies of the speech, but the central body of standard usages would represent the homogeneous customs and habits by virtue of which a feeling for the language as a whole has been kept alive. This central body of standard uses is in modern times obviously more an eye standard than an ear standard, and, in practical speech, significant more as an ideal than as something actually to be realized.

From this extreme standard English dialect, which distinguishes English as a language from other languages, and which is established on the principle of the maximum of inclusiveness, that is, the greatest number of language forms common to the greatest number of English-speaking people, the limitations proceed down through many degrees. The standard British dialect by the same principle would be speech made up of the greatest number of forms common to the greatest number of dwellers in Britain, the standard American, by the common speech of the greatest number of Americans, the standard Virginian, by the common speech of the greatest number of Virginians, and so through all the countless groups which have in varying degrees a feeling for a homogeneous speech community.

Dialects or standards based upon geographical distribution are, however, not the only kinds that may be established. Within one and the same geographical area there exist necessarily different strata or groups of speech customs which have indeed more practical significance in the daily use of the art of language than the larger and more general distinctions which give rise to local dialects. And

each member of a community individually assumes from time to time different standards in his own speech, dependent upon the demands of varying purpose and circumstance. These different planes of speech are all English, but not the same kinds of English. The most apparent difference of kind is that between spoken and written English, each of which has its own peculiar laws and manners. Other groupings arise from an infinite variety of differing associations and ideas. The merchant meeting his fellow-merchant talks the merchant's dialect; the two instinctively feel themselves in the same group by the possession of common symbols of expression. If a politician enters into the conversation he will speak his dialect and immediately two groups will be established. The three can remain within one group only so long as they enlarge the circle of their speech to include only those ideas for which all three have a common vocabulary of expression. But the speech of the merchant in his character of merchant, of the politician, of the "educated" man, of the "uneducated," of the man of taste and of "good society," of the cosmopolitan man of the world, of the plain man of the streets, of every man within the round of his customary activities, will each have its own definite and distinguishing peculiarities. The merchant manifestly need not always speak as merchant; he may enter into various groupings, may speak the language of the man of taste or any other language. But each part as he assumes it will necessarily carry with it an appropriate set of speech habits. Instinctively we choose our groups, and instinctively we judge every man who addresses us by putting him into his group. A mere word, or an inflection in pronunciation will often suffice to lead us to a subjective synthesis of harmony or of discord. We draw the speaker into our group for the time being, or ruthlessly expel him from it; we grapple him to our souls with hooks of speech, or with the bitter instinctive hatred of tribal hostility, we push him beyond our circle of linguistic sympathy.

Such are, in brief, the ways in which standards of speech arise. They take their origin from the unconscious imitative tendencies of differing groups of people. Like other habits and customs, they are the necessary result of man's gregarious mode of life; they are the bonds of similarity by means of which each group interprets to

itself its own unity and homogeneity. In most instances the usages of standard speeches thus established by custom never raise the question of their values. They are assumed to be right because they are so, and supposedly always have been so. Long-continued habit prevents any skeptical attitude toward them by removing the necessity or occasion for skepticism. The question of values arises when one set of customary habits in speech demands attention by coming into conflict with another and differing set. Such a conflict of habits may occur as the result of a great variety of conditions. The members of two speech communities of wide geographical separation, each of which has its own distinctive habits, through conversation or through the printed page, may be brought into relation to each other. If the good will of each toward the other is sufficiently great, each side in the communication may so extend the area of negligible variation as to include the other within its circle of sympathetic unity. Or one or the other, as frequently happens, may be so unobservant of the habits and customs of others, so absolutely centered in its own habits and customs, as not to perceive those differences when they exist. This blind and comfortable state of mind always prevents any question of values from arising. But whenever a sensitive appreciation of the differences between two standards of speech is found, there also the question of the right or wrong of one or the other is bound to present itself. Whether the differences of standard are those due to geographical considerations, to social, professional, or educational, as soon as one instinctive speech habit, one of the symbols by aid of which the subjective synthesis of understanding is secured, is called in question by another, the result is always the pricking of the bubble of unity and homogeneity. The skeptical spirit enters and asks the speaker whether he has been really using the right symbol for the accomplishment of the complete and harmonious understanding which he supposed he had always been able to bring about. He is compelled for the moment to try to see himself as others see him, to discover if he has not been living in a fool's paradise of false certainties. Such questions once raised must be decided one way or the other, for only by deciding them can the speaker continue in the assumption of intelligibility and sympathy, without which effective communication is impossible.



From Horace and Quintilian down to the present day this question of the conflict of standards has been usually answered by the rule that custom is the only law of speech. Now custom is a term practically equivalent to standard. It means the accepted practice of a group of speakers whose habitual acts we are for the moment observing. And the second term of the definition obviously means the same thing. No one supposes that a law of speech has any external or autocratic authority. Linguistic laws are merely the generalizations derived by the observation of customary practice; they are the groupings of similars caused by the common human habit of imitation. The Horatian maxim therefore really begs the question in that it merely says that the standard of the speech is the law of the speech. Now it cannot be supposed that there is only one standard for a speech. On the contrary, it has been shown above that in every speech there are many standards. The real question of values consists in determining which standard under a given set of circumstances is the one to apply, and in the case of the conflict of two standards, which is to be accepted as good.

The endeavor to discover appropriate standards in speech is very similar to the task of the judge in pronouncing the law. The judge does not make the law; he has no authority to do so. His task consists in discovering the law, which itself arises from that custom or practice of the people with respect to a certain kind of action, which satisfies the sense of justice. Any arbitrary decision which transgresses the common sense of justice can maintain itself only temporarily by the power of authority, and must in time yield to the common-sense demand that the law shall not impose a judge's sense of right upon the people except when that sense of right is well founded in general human experience. Law becomes thus customary and standard practice, and is recognized as law only after the practice itself is well on the way to becoming established. In fact law, like standards in speech, becomes a matter for special attention only when there is a conflict of laws, a litigation. And again like speech, thousands of habitual human actions never become matters of law because they fall within the broad regions of negligible variation. Law, in the formal sense, consists of that whole body of custom which has been stated in definite terms as result of trial and examination.

Yet all instances of difference of opinion as to rights that may arise in the relations of men to each other are not included within the body of formulated law. The important responsibility of the judge is to find the law in each specific instance, whether it is expressed by precedent or whether it can be arrived at only by the combination of different principles hitherto not brought to bear upon the situation.

The task of scholarship in both the judge of law and the critic of speech is to place each individual instance as it comes into question in its proper place, to find the justice of its situation as the sense of justice is determined, not by the theory of the judge or the critic, but by the sound and long-continued customary practice of men. When Horace says that custom is the law of speech, he says nothing more than what everyone instinctively believes and practices, and what everyone wishes to practice when the matter becomes conscious and didactic. The difficulties consist in finding the true custom, not in imposing it upon the speech.

Whenever it becomes necessary to determine the values of standards it is apparent that a choice must be made between two or more standards. The mere descriptive statement of a custom in speech does not automatically carry with it the solution of the problems of right and wrong in speech. After the standards have been determined, there still remains the task of choosing from the standards just the one which satisfies the sense of justice for each separate instance. The choice is not always easy or simple. It depends frequently upon the observation of details which do not lie on the surface, but which are perceived only by one who has acquired skill and experience in the analysis of the activities of language relations. A broad theoretical solution of the difficulties is of little practical help. One may say that the best custom in speech is a national custom. But all speech and writing are not national in their appeal. If they were we should be limited to what would soon come to seem a very formal and flavorless expression. All we can say is that the best national custom in speech is the one that is national. When one wishes to be intimate and personal, a generalized national speech cannot help him far along his way. The defense may be made that in advocating a national speech, the speech of the greatest number, as a standard for all, we shall keep, at any rate, on

safe ground, that national usage is never bad usage. But this is a way of disposing of difficulties merely by evading them. If one will limit his speech to those things which the national speech is capable of expressing, he will never need any other than the national standard. Unfortunately, however, men must be individuals before they can become members of states.

Another absolute standard often proposed is the authority of good writers. In essence this theory implies that good writers present a kind of code of all the possible customary practices of the language. Whenever any question of practice is to be decided, all we need do is to go to the body of good literature and search it diligently. Imbedded in it some place, one will find the custom or practice which he may apply then as governing the special instances.

Now it is manifestly possible to define good use in such a way as to include only those forms of language which have had the good fortune to receive their credentials, so to speak, by being taken into the favor of some good writer. Other forms of speech which have not been thus ennobled may do very well in their way, but they cannot enter the inner circle of good use until they receive the stamp of literary approval. We may group them under the head of probationary use, if we will, but may not accept them unreservedly until we have sanction for so doing. But the arbitrariness and narrowness of such a theory of good use immediately secures its rejection. A more reasonable defense of the authority of good writers may be made on the ground that their writings are not a dogmatic, standardizing authority, but that they embody in themselves a code of use which is merely formulated practice, like the codified bodies of civil laws. It is hardly necessary to attempt to discuss here who "good writers" are, or just what are their chronological and other limitations. On such points, two opinions will never agree. Nor need we pause to show that good writers offer a body of usages almost as extensive and varied as those of spoken language, in the complexities of which it is quite as easy to lose oneself, nor that if a good writer is a dogmatic authority in favor of a good use, he is just as strong an authority in favor of the instances of bad use which are bound to occur in his pages. It is more to the purpose to call attention to the fact that all communication is not written and literary,



and that a literary standard, like the national standard, has value only when it is appropriate to the purpose in view. The authority of good writers is powerful when it comes to the question of determining the historical practice of good writing; under other circumstances it carries no weight at all, unless indeed one assumes the ideal attitude that it is the whole duty of every man to become a good writer and to rule his life accordingly. Even so it might be questioned whether the following of literary models would be the best means of attaining the end.

Whatever absolute standard we may attempt to establish, whether it be the standard of education, of literature, of "good society," of official society, of the "upper class" in general, we shall find that in the end our standard can only be partial. The actual practice of language shows that the values of standards are always relative, that a custom is good only so long as it fits the circumstances in which it has developed. Theoretically and ideally we may wish that one set of customs, the one naturally of which we approve, should replace another, and we may even strive to bring this about. In that case, however, we are not really changing custom, but changing the constitution of the groups of people by whom customs are made. It becomes apparent that each custom in speech, having arisen in answer to the needs of speech, is good for its own purpose. One good and effective custom cannot be transferred to another group of activities and remain equally effective. The values of speech habits are immediate and practical. The merchant talking to the merchant may meet all the requirements of the situation and may thus realize everything that speech under the circumstances can do. His language may be a complete economic adjustment of means to an end, and more than this we cannot ask of any man's language. If the merchant falls into conversation with the man of taste he may lay himself open on various sides to scorn and criticism; but his failure to maintain his own is not due to the fact that his customs of speech are intrinsically wrong or bad, but that the economic adjustment between the two is imperfect—as though a trotting and a galloping horse were being driven together.

However desirable it might seem from the point of view of theory to have such a rule, there is consequently no one rule for determining

the values of standards of speech. This question of values is indeed the question of values throughout the whole art of speech. The colors of words, their powers of suggestion, their associations, their history, origin, etymology, all these enter into the determination of the worth of the elements of language. Obviously not all persons are affected in the same way by the different aspects of language. A sensitive ear pays more heed to mere sound and the groupings of sounds than an insensitive one. A widely read speaker or writer with a good memory cannot help hearing and using words with a broad penumbra of literary associations. The historical student, on the other hand, sees words through a still wider perspective. The literal contemporary meaning of words is often qualified in his mind by the historical changes which have preceded the contemporary meaning. Who would dream of trying to fit definite standards of speech to different temperaments, or to the changing moods of daily life? We are always striving to strike the responsive chord, to bring about the subjective synthesis of sympathy and understanding. But we know that this cannot be done by any rule of thumb. It is a delicate and difficult matter, and no one, not even the most successful, always succeeds in it. And in this very difficulty lies the whole problem of getting at the heart and life of language. It may comfort some philosophers to think of a system of human ideas and emotions each of which has its final assigned place and value in the scheme of things, and which therefore may have its definite and completely adequate expression in language. An algebra of language would be quite possible with such a system. But this experiment has been tried often enough by the advocates of a universal philosophical language, and happily has been found wanting. Much of the fascination and the joy in the use of language lies in the fact that it is elusive and uncertain in its values. To be able always to say precisely what we meant and to be sure also that what we said would always be understood precisely as it should be, would make this indeed a dull world. Better occasional misunderstanding, with the play of energy and imagination necessary to prevent misunderstanding, than a smooth level of absolute certainty.

One final question of a less practical kind than the foregoing discussion of values in the habits of speech presents itself. Grant-

ing all the present diversity of standards in speaking and writing, and granting also the impossibility of dogmatic statement of the values of any custom other than that its value is dependent upon its usefulness, there still remains the question of individual attitude toward standard. For after all, standards and customs must be maintained, since it is only by the possession of symbols of homogeneous and unified expression that language is able to attain its end of communication. And moreover customs in speech are merely an index to those necessary general social customs of all kinds which make up the sum of conduct of each respective personality. But what homogeneity shall each personality set up for itself? Are there any general ideals that can be said to have any prescriptive significance? Should we strive to further consciously a national type of conduct, an educational, or the cosmopolitan one of polished society?

These questions are too difficult to answer. Every reflecting man will of necessity consider such matters from time to time, but his decisions will be very little dependent upon what someone else tells him he ought to do. The morals of language are as incapable of universal statement as the morals of other social habits. At the one extreme, we find those who feel no need at all of rules of conduct in language. "We artists," says Lamartine to Victor Hugo, "do not need to know language according to principles. We must speak as the word comes to our lips." At the other extreme stands the grammarian and rhetorician, who can give you a rule for every dot and every letter, and who is sadly given to anathematizing if you fail to follow his rules. Each practitioner in the art of language must find his own place within these two extreme limits. The speaker or writer who feels the need of the moral support of the rhetorical straight-jacket, who would rather believe a dictionary than his own judgment, may be following the best and quickest way to personal independence and certainty in his command over language. His danger is that a cold and commonplace legality may come to seem the only ideal worth striving for. On the other hand, the speaker or writer who follows mere instinct, who speaks as the words come to his lips, may be on the road to slovenliness or to eccentricity and excessive individuality in language. Therefore a



safety device of some kind is necessary for all, and we may find this in academic authority, if we are willing to submit to that kind of authority, or, if not, we must find it in the no less certain compulsion of social responsibility. Innovation and differentiation there must be, always tending toward the breaking-down of established customs and standards, and perhaps for the welfare of the speech and certainly for the heightening of its interest, the ideal attitude may be stated as that which shall lead to the highest degree of differentiation compatible with sympathetic communication. Beyond this limit lies anarchy, and on the hither side, the tendency toward the formal, indiscriminated, general, and conventional. But the maximum of individuality compatible with effective communication is a safe if broad rule. It is difficult of successful application only because it calls for several exceptional virtues in both those who hear or read and those who speak or write. In the former it calls for charity and openness of mind, and in the latter for sensitiveness in observation and discreet judgment in practice. The rule is not a magic formula opening the doors of success in expression, but its practical value is perhaps for that reason the greater. For it is the universal testimony of the masters in the art of language that excellence in the practice of that art is not easily attained, and that one man's rule is likely to prove another man's undoing.

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## SPRACHWISSENSCHAFTLICHE AUSBLICKE

Wenn hier der versuch gewagt wird, in kurzen worten bericht zu geben über einen komplex von ideen, die sich über ein weites gebiet verzweigen und doch in einem brennpunkte zusammentreffen; wenn in diesen grossen zusammenhängen sichere erkenntnisse mit dunkel vorausgeschautem, vielleicht teilweise falschem wechseln; wenn da und dort die knappste andeutung an stelle von schrittweiser, klarer ausführung geboten wird: so ist sich der verfasser der zweifelhaften wissenschaftlichen methode, die in einem solchen unterfangen liegt, wohl genug bewusst. Die vorliegende arbeit—wenn sie den namen einer arbeit verdient—ist nichts weiter als ein atemholen auf einem noch kaum begonnenen wege; ein rückblick auf die geringe verrichtete arbeit; ein ausblick auf das unendlich viele, was noch zu tun ist. Dass ich trotzdem diesen rohen entwurf meinen fachgenossen unterbreite, sie um kritik und mitarbeit bittend, das liegt an der festen überzeugung, dass in den grundzügen hier wirklich wichtige anregungen zu neuem wissenschaftlichen schaffen gegeben sind—anregungen, deren widerlegung oder bejahung von gleicher wichtigkeit ist, und zugleich an der erkenntnis, dass eine einzige menschenkraft zur ausbeutung dieser wissensminen kläglich unzureichend ist. Für form und methode bittet der verfasser also um nachsicht; für unrichtiges um kritik; für alles wertvoll scheinende aber und alles nur in keimen angedeutete um mitarbeit.

Die punkte, um die es sich vor allem handelt, und die im folgenden nur zum teil näher besprochen werden, sind: die zusammenfassung aller rein germanischen lautveränderungen unter eine einheitliche phonetische tendenz—für konsonanten wie für vokale; die rückanwendung dieser einen tendenz auf probleme der indogermanischen ursprache, wie die frage der tenuis aspirata, gewisser personalendungen des verbs und des ablauts; eine interpretation der lautgesetze als zeitweiliger etappen im zuge der phonetischen tendenzen; die psychologische interpretation der germanischen grundtendenz der sprachentwicklung und die anwendung dieser auslegung

auf die germanische tempusentwicklung, den umlaut, die wortstellung, das verhältnis zwischen metrik und inhalt und vieles andere. Während diese aufzählung in ihrer reichhaltigkeit und vielseitigkeit fast an komik grenzen mag, ist sich der verfasser bewusst, nur einige der typischsten, charakteristischsten marksteine des grossen gebietes im fluge zu berühren. Ihm steht es klar vor augen, dass die sprachwissenschaft nicht ein konglomerat von einzelheiten, sondern ein fest geschlossener geisteskomplex ist, der weit über den namen der wissenschaft hinausreicht. Denn nichts gibt es in der gesamten geisteswelt—nicht literatur, nicht musik oder bildende kunst, nicht äussere oder innere geschichte—was ein so wahres bild von der geistigen beschaffenheit des volkes gäbe wie die sprache, recht verstanden und ausgelegt. Denn nichts anderes geht entfernt in gleichem masse aus der gesamtpsyché des volkes hervor. Ich erinnere hier gern an die nicht allseits günstig aufgenommene und doch in ihrem weitblick wahrhaft grosse schrift von Nikolaus Fink, *Der deutsche Sprachbau*, die in prachtvoll klarer und kenntnisreicher, wenn auch nur andeutender weise den einklang zwischen deutscher seele und deutschem sprachbau verfolgt.

1. Das vornehmste ergebnis der sprachforschung des letzten jahrhunderts war die erkenntnis, dass die sprache sich *gesetzmässig entwickelt*, eine erkenntnis, die August Leskien im Jahre 1876 unter der formel der ausnahmslosigkeit der lautgesetze niederlegte; seine tat war in ihrer schlichtheit und klarheit bestimmend für mehr als eine generation von sprachforschern. Die glänzende reihe, an deren anfang er steht—die Brugmann'sche generation mag man sie nennen—hat vor allem das verdienst der feineren organisation, vertiefung und ausbreitung dieses gedankens der gesetzmässigkeit. Sie hat namentlich auf lautkundlichem gebiet material gesammelt, das für den praktischen gebrauch insofern wenigstens als vorläufig ausreichend gelten konnte, dass sich auf seiner grundlage neben Brugmann-Delbrücks grundriss die Hirt-Streitberg'sche sammlung von grammatiken ins leben rufen liess, die einen einstweiligen überblick über den stand der sprachwissenschaft mit einem minimum von zeitaufwand gestattet, ohne dabei an selbständigkeit der forschung einzubüssen.



2. Es ist ein grosses verdienst dieser schule, sich *ex professo* vom schriftbilde, nach Sievers'scher forderung, abgewandt und den *laut*, nicht den buchstaben *als träger der sprache* anerkannt zu haben. Die reiche ernste phonetischer erkenntnisse von Sievers bis Bremer ist die frucht. Einzelne ansätze, die neuen physiologischen funde in der untersuchung der historischen entwicklung der sprache zu verwenden, finden sich verstreut an vielen orten: in Sievers' phonetik und sprachmelodik, in der einleitung ziemlich jeder neuen sprachwissenschaftlichen grammatik und ganz besonders bei gelegentlichen diskussionen des prinzipis der ausnahmslosigkeit der lautgesetze (zb. Bremer in der einleitung zur *Deutschen Phonetik*; Herzog in den *Streitfragen der romanischen Philologie*, usw.). Und doch kann man sich der erkenntnis nicht verschliessen, dass zwischen der auffassung der lautgesetze als solcher und der physiologischen analyse der einzellaute noch beträchtliche fremdheit besteht—selbst da, wo phonetische erkenntnis und sprachhistorisches forschen in so glänzender weise vereinigt sind wie bei Eduard Sievers. In der auffassung des einzelnen lautes ist unser denken und fühlen schon mehr oder weniger bewusst physiologisch. Aber unsere auffassung des lautgesetzes, des überganges von einem laut zum andern ist trotz alledem und alledem noch recht stark im banne des buchstabens, des konkreten beispiels, und noch recht weit von einem physiologischen allgemeinempfinden entfernt.

3. *Lautgesetze* sind formulierungen periodischer ergebnisse von lautveränderungen. Wenn wir sagen, dass idg. *p* zu germ. *f* wurde, so übergehen wir mit stillschweigen eine reihe von zwischenstufen: aspirierte tenuis, bilabiale affricata, bilabiale spirans seien nur als springende punkte erwähnt. Wir betrachten das lautgesetz dieser veränderung als abgeschlossen, wenn wir an dem in der literatursprache graphisch darstellbaren resultat des labiodentalen *f* angelangt sind. Das kann für das leben der sprache einen wirklichen markstein bedeuten, wenn die entwicklung des betreffenden lautes damit zu einem stillstand gekommen ist, wie eben beim *f*. Dagegen haben wir beispielsweise bei der entwicklung von idg. *dh* > germ. *đ* > westgerm. *d* > hochdeutsch *t* zwar mehrere sprachhistorisch nachweisbare einzellaute, doch ist jeder derselben—wohl auch der letzte—nur eine vorläufige etappe in einem fortdauernden zug der

entwicklung. Die einzelnen lautgesetze, mit denen wir jede stufe bezeichnen, sind stundenschläge—die uhr ist zwischen den stundenschlägen nie stillgestanden. Die stundenschläge sind auf dem gebiete der indogermanischen sprachen mit leidlicher vollständigkeit beobachtet und registriert worden; aber wir haben noch kaum einen blick in das rädergetriebe geworfen—auf die einheitliche fort-dauer von strömungen, welche lautliche veränderungen gleicher oder ähnlicher art hervorgerufen.

4. Vielfach finden wir *reihen* von lautveränderungen, die uns zu systematischer gruppierung zwingen, da sich viele laute gemeinsam nach einheitlichen grundsätzen verändern. Die hervorstechendsten beispiele solchen gruppenweisen lautwandels sind die germanische lautverschiebung, die ungermanische palatalisierung (vgl. den artikel des verfassers in einer der nächsten nummern der *IF*, "Die Stabilität des germanischen Konsonantensystems," sowie *AJP*, XXXIII, 195 ff., "Phonetic Tendencies in the Indo-European Consonant System"), der ablaut (sofern der ausdruck "lautwandel" auf ihn passt) und der umlaut. Natürlich hat es nicht an versuchen gefehlt, für solchen reihenwandel, namentlich für die lautverschiebung, einheitliche erklärungen zu finden, doch liegt die schwäche fast aller darin, dass sie immerhin relativ isolierte erscheinungen, wie einerseits die germanische lautverschiebung für sich, die hochdeutsche lautverschiebung für sich, Verners gesetz für sich usw., behandeln, mit einem worte, dass sie erklärungen für ein lautgesetz oder eine kleinere gruppe von lautgesetzen, nicht aber für die *gesamte lautliche entwicklung einer sprache* zu geben beabsichtigen.

5. Die letztere absicht, wenn auch dort noch nicht klar ausgesprochen, liegt meinen beiden aufsätzen "Forchhammers Akzenttheorie und die germanische Lautverschiebung," *JEGP*, XI, 1 ff. und "Die zweite Lautverschiebung und die Völkerwanderung" (noch nicht veröffentlicht, jedoch ende 1912 vor der Central Division der Modern Language Association vorgelesen) zugrunde. Sie stellen die tatsache fest, dass sämtliche lautverschiebungserscheinungen im weitesten sinne des wortes (also auch Verners gesetz, Holtzmanns gesetz, Sievers' gesetz und die germanische tenuisgeminierung) auf einer *gemeinsamen physiologischen grundlage* beruhen: auf einem stetigen entgegenwirken von intensivem atemdruck und intensiver



muskelspannung der sprachorgane. Als Gegenteil stellt sich in den nicht-germanischen sprachen, bald mehr, bald weniger, geringer atemdruck oder geringe muskelspannung dar, die zum fehlen von aspiration, zu leichter assimilation und ganz besonders zu palatalisierung (assimilation an vordervokale mit gleichzeitiger depression der mittellinie der zunge: rillenbildung) führen. Für das letztere liefert mein obenerwähnter aufsatz über die stabilität des germanischen konsonantensystems das belegmaterial. Dort wird gezeigt, dass die ausbreitung der palatalisierung innerhalb der indogermanischen sprachen sich in form konzentrischer gürtel um das germanische sprachgebiet darstellen lässt, indem diese lautveränderungen umso früher und umso allgemeiner auftreten, je früher sich das betreffende volk von dem germanischen zentrum entfernt hat, bzw. je weiter es von demselben entfernt ist. Ebenso ist nicht der geringste zweifel, dass die assimilation von konsonanten an vokale, die gleichfalls eine folge geringen drucks und gegen drucks ist, in den germanischen sprachen in geringerem masse auftritt als in jeder andren indogermanischen sprachgruppe; doch ist der detaillierte beweis dafür noch zu erbringen.

6. Innerhalb des germanischen sind, wie die angeführten artikel nachweisen, geradezu *alle konsonantenveränderungen* mit ausnahme der assimilationen, also alle fälle unbedingten lautwandels, sowie die lediglich vom akzent abhängigen lautveränderungen im konsonantismus, lediglich jenem *druck- oder intensitätsprinzip* zuzuschreiben. Die liquide und nasale sind ja so gut wie unveränderlich—einige einzelheiten sind bei andrer gelegenheit zu behandeln—die halbvokale aber ändern sich genau nach den normen, die im einklang mit diesem grundsatz in meinem aufsatz über die germanische lautverschiebung festgestellt sind; s.u., § 7. Unter "germanisch" ist hier natürlich wie in all den erwähnten artikeln das germanische sprachgebiet ohne fremdsprachliche beimischung zu verstehen. Beträchtliche fremdsprachliche, also *fremdvölkliche einflüsse* treten den germanischen sprachtendenzen hindernd in den weg, wofür die zweite lautverschiebung ein klassisches beispiel gibt; in dem oben erwähnten vortrage wird nämlich dargelegt, dass wir die phonetischen zwischenstufen zwischen der sogenannten ersten und der sogenannten zweiten lautverschiebung gewissermassen in



versteinerungen in den deutschen dialekten vom althochdeutschen herauf aufbewahrt finden. Die chronologische aufeinanderfolge der lautverschiebungsakte hat sich in der weise in geographische lagerung umgesetzt, dass bei der fächerförmig vom ostelbischen zentrum zuerst nach nordwest- dann nach mittel- und zuletzt nach süd-deutschland sich ausbreitenden auswanderung jeder germanische stamm die germanische sprache in dem zustand mit sich nahm, in dem sie sich eben zur zeit seiner auswanderung in der alten heimat befand. In jedem streifen der neuen heimat nun, vom anglofriesischen bis zum bairischen, hörte bald nach der berührung der germanischen einwanderer mit der alten keltischen bevölkerung die sprachentwicklung im sinne der germanischen lauttendenzen auf, und so finden wir mit ziemlicher treue die auf einander folgenden stufen der lautverschiebung geographisch festgebannt. Mehr noch: wo die nichtgermanische beimischung besonders stark war, wie auf alemannischem und bairischem boden, treten gewisse erscheinungen zurück oder werden differenziert, wie zb. die stimmlose lenis *b, d, g* für die fortis *p, t, k* im oberdeutschen eintritt und sich auf dem ganzen hochdeutschen gebiet der sibilant *ts, s* statt der spiranten *tth*, einstellt. Die zweite lautverschiebung bei den langobarden und krimgoten ist, wie die betreffende arbeit auseinandersetzt, eine stütze dieser auffassung.

7. Wenn ein so einheitlicher zug den ganzen germanischen konsonantismus beherrscht, drängt sich die frage auf, wie sich die veränderungen der *vokale* dazu stellen. Da hier anregungen, nicht detaillierte nachweise gegeben werden sollen, sei nur in knappsten umrissen dargelegt, wie das gleiche intensitätsprinzip auch hier zur geltung kommt. Druckverstärkung führte bei halbvokalen zu weiterer zungenhebung, so dass sie zu spiranten und endlich zu verschlusslauten wurden: *j* zu got. *ddj*, nord. *ggi*, *w* zu *ggw* (Holtzmanns gesetz); druckschwächung führte, infolge von zungensenkung, spiranten in halbvokale über: *gw* wurde zu *w* (Sievers' gesetz). Unser heutiges deutsch lehrt uns, dass bei germanischen sprachtendenzen nachdruck—also druckverstärkung—einen vokal dehnt: vom proklitischen 'n schreiten wir über *dän, den*, bis zu emphatischem und darum gedehntem *de:n* vor (während die skala *æn-en-e:n* gleichzeitig eine immer höhere zungenstellung aufweist). So können wir

es leicht genug verstehen, dass die intensivere artikulation eines  $\bar{a}$  es in  $\bar{o}$ ,  $uo$ ,  $\bar{u}$  überführt, während kurzes  $o$ , mit schlafferer artikulation, zu kurzem  $a$  wird. Dass im slavischen genau das entgegengesetzte eintritt, ist sehr kennzeichnend für eine sprachgruppe, die auch so stark zur palatalisierung neigt. Die einzelheiten dieser übergänge sind einer arbeit der nächsten zukunft vorbehalten. Keiner der auf den ersten blick sich ergebenden widersprüche ist unlösbar. Vielmehr steht es für mich fest, dass auch alle vokalveränderungen ebenso wie aller konsonantenwandel im germanischen dem intensitätsprinzip entspringen.

8. Wenn wir nun diese tendenz durch das ganze germanische sprachleben (nebenbei bemerkt: bis zur gegenwart) verfolgen können, lässt sich dann nicht auch ein *zurückverfolgen in die vorgermanische zeit* denken? An der hand der siedlungsverhältnisse, verglichen mit den örtlichen ergebnissen der zweiten lautverschiebung, vermögen wir der germanischen konsonantenentwicklung durch vielleicht tausend jahre schritt für schritt zu folgen. Nun sind doch ähnliche wanderungen indogermanischer völker vorausgegangen. Wenn wir vorläufig die hypothese annehmen, die gegenwärtig die meisten anhänger zu haben scheint, dass nämlich die indogermanischen wanderungen, vom mittleren nordeuropa ausgehend, sich zunächst nach südosten, dann nach süden und endlich nach westen richteten, dann ergibt sich ein arbeitsfeld von überraschender reichhaltigkeit. Von den zahlreichen neuen ausblicken auf diesem gebiete sei nur wenig als besonders charakteristisch erwähnt.

9. Bei der zweiten lautverschiebung sehen wir, dass die *tenuis*, und unter diesen die dentale, sich zuerst verändern; am stärksten ist die neigung zur verschiebung anscheinend in nicht anlautender stellung. Gewiss ging der verschiebung zur spirans eine immer stärker werdende aspiration und dann eine affrizierung voraus, wie das beispiel des heutigen dänischen zeigt. Nun finden wir im indogermanischen ein merkwürdiges nebeneinander von *tenuis* und *tenuis aspirata*, das bei den dentalen am häufigsten und sichersten vorkommt. Doch ist bloss im indischen und im griechischen dieses nebeneinander von  $t$  und  $th$  klar ersichtlich—zwei indogermanischen sprachen, die völkern angehören, bei denen der rassengegensatz in der form sozialer gliederung sich besonders lange erhielt. Es liegt

nahe, zu folgender interpretation zu greifen: zur zeit, als das germanische sich als volkseinheit von den andren, vielleicht zum teil schon auswandernden indogermanen loslöste, war die lautverschiebung schon im gange; die nicht-germanischen indogermanen behielten sie vorläufig in der form bei, in der sie damals bestand, nämlich als aspirierung von *tenuis* unter mehr oder minder bestimmten bedingungen; nur in den beiden genannten sprachstämmen aber drang dies in die literatursprache ein; in den anderen nicht-germanischen sprachen fiel der unterschied zwischen den beiden arten der *tenuis* ebenso wieder weg wie etwa im oberdeutschen der unterschied zwischen *k* und *kch*, während im germanischen (und teilweise im keltischen) ein zusammenfall nach anderer richtung eintrat: die verschiebung ging nicht zurück, sondern ergriff alle *tenuis*. Auch hier ist der nähere nachweis (für den ich indessen aus dem indischen und griechischen vollständiges material gesammelt habe) noch zu erbringen. Doch ist wenigstens ein punkt auch hier von interesse, da er auf den begriff der ausnahmslosigkeit von lautgesetzen, ohne ihn in der tat im mindesten zu erschüttern, ein besonderes licht wirft: *th* neben *t* zeigt sich nämlich ganz besonders in gewissen personalendungen des verbs und in gewissen demonstrativstämmen—also in fällen, wo kontrastbetonung zu erwarten ist; aus der fülle des vorkommenden sei nur darauf hingewiesen, dass für die zweite person des plurals die absolute, also stärker betonte endung *-the*, die konjunkte, also schwächer betonte dagegen *-te* ist; dass ferner der demonstrativstamm *to-*, der in dieser form lediglich korrelative bedeutung hat, in der form *tho-* deiktische bedeutung annimmt (ai. *itthā*, hier u.a.). Das macht den eindruck—mehr als das ist es vorläufig nicht, obwohl ein grosser teil des indischen materials nach der richtung zu deuten scheint—als ob bei starkem nachdruck die verschiebung früher erfolgt sei als sonst, sodass wir es vielleicht anerkennen mögen, dass unbeschadet der lautgesetze bei emphatisch (vielleicht auch bei besonders häufig?) gebrauchten formen oder wörtern lautverschiebungen der germanischen art besonders früh und oft zu erwarten sind. Dass aus dieser erwägung möglicherweise sogar ein licht auf die herkunft der personalendungen geworfen werden könnte, davon in einer andren arbeit. Ob auch das nebeneinander von *media* und *media aspirata* eine ähnliche



erklärung finden kann, scheint mir zweifelhaft, unmöglich aber nicht.

10. So ergibt sich für das indogermanische zum mindesten die starke möglichkeit, dass sein konsonantensystem zur zeit der trennung schon in einer verschiebung begriffen war und es fragt sich, ob das vokalsystem ähnliches aufweise. Da bietet sich als selbstverständliche folge einer nachdrucksbetonung der *quantitative ablaut*, der sich ja in nichts von dem unterscheidet, was das heutige deutsch bei wörtern, die starken akzentunterschieden ausgesetzt sind, wie dem artikel, aufweist. Ob aber nicht auch in den *flexionsendungen des verbs*, die so starken dynamischen ablauterscheinungen ausgesetzt sind (*sai-si-s* usw.), schon eine vorstufe zu der germanischen entwicklung von *o* zu *a* zu finden ist? Der sonst im idg. seltene vokal *a* tritt mit merkwürdiger häufigkeit in formen auf, wo nach sonstigen analogien eher *o* zu erwarten wäre (in der ersten und zweiten person des perfekt, den medialendungen und vielleicht auch anderen formen). Auch hier liegen neue aufgaben.

11. Wie aber mit den *qualitativen ablaut*? Dass der *e*-, *o*- ablaut, um den es sich vorwiegend handelt, unterschiede in der tonhöhe darstellt, ist lange anerkannt; diese erkenntnis ist ja fast die einzige stütze der theorie von der teilweise musikalischen betonung des indogermanischen. Dass *e* "höher" ist als *o*, bedeutet vorerst, dass es einen höheren eigenton, also geringeren resonanzraum hat als *o*, was an sich mit musikalischer betonung nichts zu schaffen hätte. Es ist aber zuzugeben, dass tatsächlich ein enger zusammenhang zwischen höherem eigenton und höherem stimmton besteht, indem wir geneigt sind, zur hervorbringung eines hohen stimmtons auch einen vokal mit hohem eigenton (also *i* oder *e*), für tiefen stimmton dagegen einen "tiefen" vokal (*u* oder *o*) zu verwenden, und umgekehrt, indem wir *i* mit höherem stimmton auszusprechen geneigt sind als *u*; das kleine kindersprüchlein von den achtzehn kleinen gesellen (den konsonanten) und den fünf dolmetschern (den vokalen) ist dafür sehr bezeichnend. Hoher stimmton bedeutet aber anspannung der stimmbänder, also muskeldruck. Wie nun, wenn die *e*-formen lediglich formen grösserer spannung, lebhafteren interesses und darum stärkeren nachdruckes wären? Ich möchte geneigt sein, diese art des nachdruckes die subjektive, auf den sprechenden

konzentrierte zu nennen, dagegen die quantitative art, also die dehnung, als die objektive zu bezeichnen, indem ihr ziel das verständnis seitens des angeredeten zu sein scheint. Bedenken wir, dass das hauptgebiet des *e*-ablautes die präsensformen des verbs sind, also formen, die direkte subjective beziehung zum gegenwärtigen handeln ausdrücken; dagegen der *o*-ablaut vorwiegend den erreichten zustand—sagen wir, die perfektidee—ausdrückt, also etwas, was nicht so direkt in der vorstellung des sprechenden liegt. Ich bin mir klar darüber, dass dies müssige spekulationen sind, solange darin nicht die experimentelle phonetik und psychologie ihr wort gesprochen; deren rüstzeug fehlt mir fast gänzlich, aber zu meiner freude hat eine unzweifelhafte autorität auf beiden gebieten mir unterstützung zugesagt, sodass mir die lösung dieser frage in greifbare nähe gerückt scheint.

12. Schon hier lässt sich ohne psychologische deutung nicht auskommen. Eine erklärung der ganzen tendenz aber, jenes mehrfach erwähnten intensitätsprinzips, ist nun gar überhaupt nur auf rein psychologischer grundlage denkbar. Und hier bin ich in der glücklichen lage, meine seit jahren vertretenen anschauungen nicht einzig und allein mit meinen mangelhaften psychologischen kenntnissen stützen zu müssen, sondern mich auf Nikolaus Fink berufen zu können, der, wenn auch nicht psycholog von fach, doch über psychologische schulung von grosser gründlichkeit verfügt. In seinem schon 1898 erschienen buche über den deutschen sprachbau, das mir leider erst vor einem oder zwei jahren bekannt wurde, kommt er für die deutsche satzkonstruktion zu demselben ergebnis, das ich in laienhafter weise schon seit langem für die indogermanische oder—was dasselbe ist—germanische sprachentwicklung überhaupt angenommen hatte. Ohne mich direkt an ihn anzulehnen, weiche ich doch nicht allzuweit von ihm ab, wenn ich den indogermanen und unter ihnen vor allem den germanen, als den einzigen relativ unvermischt gebliebenen, ausgesprochene subjektivität—also beherrschung der vorstellungen durch das ich-bewusstsein—zuschreibe, verbunden mit einem "umspannungsvermögen," das bei grosser intensität und dauer sowohl der gefühle wie der vorstellungen einen grossen komplex umfasst, ihn unter die vorherrschaft einer überwiegenden vorstellung oder eines überwiegenden gefühls stellend. Das heisst:



Alles wahrgenommene wird in intensivster weise auf das individuum bezogen; und *ein* element überwiegt stets im denken und sprechen des germanen über andre, ihm angegliederte.

13. Die intensität der reizbarkeit und die dauer von eindrücken erklären die besprochenen druck- und spannungsverhältnisse. Denn sie lassen uns verstehen, wie sich in der rede gipfelpunkte mit besondrer bestimmtheit hervorheben, die den ausgangspunkt zu solchen lautveränderungen wie lautverschiebung und ablaut bilden; die erscheinungen des lautwandels, die zunächst an besonders stark oder auch besonders schwach hervortretenden lauten stattfinden, werden allmählich verallgemeinert. Das aus diesen faktoren hervorgehende "umspannungsvermögen" aber bringt uns der erklärang eines anderen gruppenweisen lautwandels näher, des *umlautes*, in dessen spätem auftreten nur auf den ersten blick etwas über-raschendes liegt. Die grundzüge einer dringend gebotenen näheren untersuchung stelle ich mir etwa so vor: Die physiologische erklärang des umlautes—palatalisierung durch vermittlung des zwischenstehenden konsonanten—die beispielsweise für das russische fraglos zutrifft, befriedigt für das germanische aus vielen gründen nicht. Die bisherige anschauung der psychologischen vorausnahme hat ohne zweifel einen richtigen kern, lässt sich aber doch erst mit hilfe jener umspannungsfähigkeit verstehen: Diese fordert solche eigenheiten der deutschen wortstellung, wie sie sich im nebensatze, in der endstellung des trennbaren verbalpräfixes, in den adverbial bestimmten attributen usw. zeigen; das hat Fink auseinander-gesetzt, wenn er auch nicht den ausdruck "umspannungsvermögen" gebraucht. Dieselbe denkart nun, die uns in dem satze "es hörte nach drei tagen endlich zu regnen auf" im worte "hörte" schon in akzent und tonhöhe auf das letzte wort des satzes bezug nehmen lässt—genau diese denkart hat es gefordert, dass in dem worte *tochterlîn* > *töchterlîn* das *i* der endsilbe schon einen einfluss auf die zungenstellung des vokals der stammsilbe hervorrief. Es sei ausdrücklich bemerkt dass ich in diese andeutende erklärang die von Axel Kock nachgewiesene ältere umlautschicht des nordischen (*gestr*) nicht einbeziehe, sondern in dieser tatsächlich einen rein physiologischen vorgang sehe. Darauf einzugehen würde hier zu weit führen.



14. Die subjektivität des germanen muss natürlich auf jedem gebiete des geisteslebens—literatur, bildende kunst, musik, religion usw.—von einfluss sein, aber sie muss sich notwendigerweise auch in der sprache zeigen. Wichtige faktoren im verbalsystem und im satzbau hat Fink hervorgehoben, aber natürlich kann seine kurze behandlung bei weitem nicht vollständig sein. Ein typisches beispiel in der entwicklung des verbs sei hier flüchtig gestreift. Das indogermanische besitzt bekanntlich noch keine tempora, sondern drei (oder mehr) besondere verbalstämme, die nicht das subjektive element der zeit, sondern den objektiven faktor der dauernden oder der momentanen handlung und des erreichten zustandes bezeichnen; so ist es wenigstens in der hauptsache. Dass in den personalendungen schon im indogermanischen auch das subjektive element stark hervortritt, mag hier beiseite bleiben. Im germanischen findet nun aus mehreren gründen, unter denen die auslautgesetze eine grosse rolle spielen, eine starke verschmelzung von formen statt, und das endergebnis ist, dass die "aktionsarten" beträchtlich in den hintergrund getreten sind und jetzt die bezeichnungen der momentanen handlung und des erreichten zustandes gemeinsam die funktion der dem sprechenden ferner liegenden, also vergangenen zeit übernehmen. Das gefühl des subjektiven einwirkens auf die umgebung bewirkt aber dann eine derartige ausbreitung der bezeichnung von blossem besitz (ich habe das feld gekauft=als ein gekauftes), dass diese ausdrucksweise in die funktion einer neuen form für den erreichten zustand, ja zum teil für die vergangenheit überhaupt, eintritt. Einzeluntersuchungen über die bildung der zusammengesetzten zeiten sind trotz schöner vorarbeiten (zb. Paul) noch für alle germanischen dialekte von nöten.

Vielleicht zeigen diese andeutungen, wie vieles auf diesem gebiete zu erreichen—oder zu widerlegen—ist, nicht nur für den sprachforscher, sondern auch für den kulturhistoriker, den literaturhistoriker, den psychologen. Verhältnismässig einfach sind die aufgaben noch auf germanischem gebiete zu nennen, da wir hier nach allem anschein eine im wesentlichen geradlinige entwicklung im sinne einer allgemeinen tendenz vorfinden. Aber bei anderen sprachen und volksgruppen, wie den romanen, den slaven usw.

muss es sich doch um ein zusammentreffen von mehreren strömungen handeln, eine ablenkung der indogermanischen strömung durch vermengung mit urbevölkerung oder neuem, nicht-indogermanischem zuwachs. Da werden die probleme natürlich an schwierigkeit ins ungemessene steigen. Doch braucht man deswegen noch lange nicht die hände vor dem versuch in den schoss zu legen; lieber das schöne motto eines deutschen verlags im auge behalten:

Arbeiten und nicht verzweifeln!

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## SPENSER AND THE PURITAN PROPAGANDA

The confusion that attends the use of the terms "Puritan" and "Puritanism" as applied to sixteenth-century England can best be appreciated through the analogous use of the words "socialist" and "socialism" today. The "standpatter" calls every effort at economic reform "socialistic," and the arch-conservative lavishes the title "socialist" upon professors of political science, social workers, municipal reformers, labor leaders, and utopians and anarchists of various stripes, with generous indiscrimination.

"Puritan" and "Puritanism" are employed with a corresponding looseness, and consequently such diverse personalities as Archbishop Grindal, Bishop Cox, the Earl of Leicester, Sir Philip Sidney, and Thomas Cartwright are all denominated Puritans, or credited with Puritan sympathies. Yet Grindal regarded Cartwright as a dangerous fellow who was poisoning the minds of the young men of Cambridge;<sup>1</sup> Bishop Cox did not hesitate to class the Puritans with the Papists as very anti-Christ;<sup>2</sup> and, to borrow a suggestion from Matthew Arnold, fancy the distress of Sidney or of Leicester if he had found himself confined for a three months to the "Mayflower," with only the Pilgrim Fathers for a solace! Like "socialism" today, "Puritanism" in the sixteenth century was a relative matter.

With the terms thus loosely used, it should be a matter of both critical and historical interest to determine the character and extent of the Puritanism of the great Elizabethan poet who is regarded as the sixteenth-century exponent of Puritanism in English letters and as the precursor of Milton.

Behind the varied, complex, and oftentimes incongruous manifestations of any notable movement in human affairs, behind its motley array of adherents, is the animating principle, the heart, of the movement, seldom fully understood at the time even by those who are its exponents. What was the essence, the determining impulse, of that movement in English religious life which we call Puritanism?

<sup>1</sup> Strype, *Life of Archbishop Grindal*, p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> *Zurich Letters*, I, 309, Parker Society.

The question has been variously answered by Roman Catholic, by High Churchman, by Low Churchman, by Dissenter, and it is hard even today for men to discuss it without prejudice or passion.

Puritanism was essentially a passionate belief in, and desire for, a direct and immediate communion between the soul and God, together with the conviction that man is by nature impure and unholy, and that the senses are, and must continue to be, at enmity with God's purposes. While the Catholic used the visible to approach the invisible, believing that only after a long series of approaches by such indirection, with the gradual sublimation of the senses, would man be prepared for direct perception of, and interblending with, the divine life; while the Catholic recognized that the "natural man" possessed some favor in God's sight because the good was therein mingled with evil, recognized that the natural conscience needed to be quickened and the natural will disciplined by the workings of God's spirit of grace; while the Catholic gratefully accepted the life of the senses as a part of God's gift to man, and tried to employ them to God's honor for the fuller realization of his own life and the more complete objectification of his partial perception of the divine; the Puritan believed that the elect had in a sense already arrived and might walk here and now with God; believed that unconverted man was odious in God's sight and that the soul that was not saved was lost; believed that the flesh was not given to help the soul, but was present as a dreadful menace until God should rescue his chosen ones therefrom.

These were the convictions that prompted and dictated the protestations of the Puritan. He protested against ceremonialism because he felt that it hindered rather than helped direct communion with God. Away with the altar that smacked of Roman idolatry! Away with cape and surplice and amice that ministered to the vanity of priests, increased reverence for sinful man, and obstructed the vision of God! Away with organs and canticles that soothed the sinful ear! Away with candles and deckings that pleased the sinful eye! Away with incense and flowers that captivated with sweet odor! Away with fair houses of worship, since the soul of a righteous man is the living temple of God!

Again, the Puritan protested against an ecclesiastical hierarchy, partly because he felt that it exalted man at the expense of God,

partly because he thought that it had no warrant in Scripture. Still again, the Puritan protested against tradition and reliance upon the Church Fathers, because he believed that the Scriptures offer the only sure revelation of God, and because therein God spoke directly and clearly to every man.

Behind all of these protestations was the congenial Calvinistic theology, which first attracted the Puritan type of mind and thereafter directed its bent.

It was but natural that the Puritan movement should influence men in varying degrees, and that one phase should appeal to one man, another to another. Thus Archbishop Parker, who is credited with having invented the derisive term of "Puritan,"<sup>1</sup> and who was constantly at war with those who objected to ecclesiastical vestments, nevertheless accepted the theological teachings of Calvin and responded enthusiastically to Calvin's proposal for a union of all Protestant bodies; Archbishop Grindal, who was with difficulty persuaded to accept the bishopric of London because of his scruples against ecclesiastical vestments, either *extra sacra* or *in sacris*,<sup>2</sup> was a staunch supporter of the episcopal hierarchy and of the union of Church and State; Bishop Jewel, who had like scruples against the habits, accepted the teachings of the Church Fathers of the first six centuries as absolute authority; and Bishop Cox, who excused himself from ministering to the Queen in her chapel because of the lights there,<sup>3</sup> was zealous in upholding the discipline of the church, and urged the Archbishop of Canterbury to be circumspect and vigilant "that these godless schismaticks [the Puritans] overrun not the realm."<sup>4</sup> The clergy aside, some men were attracted to Puritanism by its simple and austere regimen of life, some because it furnished a potent political tool, some because they could express thereby a sincere social protest, and still others—a great mob of violent and restless spirits, foul-mouthed revilers and anarchistic agitators, the Jacobinists of the sixteenth century—because they could express thereby their hatred of all law, order, and decency. This was the type of man who could characterize Archbishop Whitgift

<sup>1</sup> "Puritanism," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

<sup>2</sup> Strype, *Life of Grindal*, pp. 42-44.

<sup>3</sup> Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, I, ii, 260.

<sup>4</sup> Strype, *Life of Archbishop Parker*, II, 193.



as "Beelzebub of Canterbury, the chief of the devils," an "ambitious wretch" sitting "upon his cogging stool which may truly be called the chair of pestilence."<sup>1</sup> Thus Puritanism attracted various men for various reasons, and in varying degrees. Indeed, there was no man holding an important position in the church who was free from Puritanism as we have interpreted its genius above, no man who, both in doctrine and in his conception of worship and of church organization, would have satisfied the High or moderate Churchman of today. The evangelical party was in the saddle.

Such being the character of Puritanism and such its varied appeal, what was Spenser's attitude toward it, first with respect to its outward propaganda, secondly with respect to its inner and essential spirit? The first of these questions will be considered in the present paper, leaving the more subtle and elusive question for later treatment.

When Spenser went up to Cambridge in 1569, he entered the very storm center of the agitation against the vestments, and his seven years of residence there were coincident with the most heated period of the struggle. No Cambridge student could have remained indifferent to the controversy. Indeed, at this very time did not the anti-vestiary party in Trinity College take advantage of the temporary absence of the master to preach against the habits and did not all but three of the members of the college appear at service without the surplice?<sup>2</sup>

From the very beginnings of the English Reformation, Cambridge had been the home of the evangelical party, and Pembroke Hall, which was Spenser's college, had been conspicuous from the third decade of the century as one of the colleges most devoted to religious and ecclesiastical reform.<sup>3</sup> A master of Pembroke, Matthew Hutton, had been one of the five heads of colleges, who, in 1565, memorialized the chancellor, Cecil, against the Queen's proclamation for enjoining the habits, since "there was a multitude of pious and learned men, who thought in their consciences all using of such garments was unlawful to them."<sup>4</sup> In vain did the Chancellor lament "this

<sup>1</sup> *Works of Archbishop Whitgift*, III, xviii, Parker Society.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Archbishop Whitgift*, III, viii, Parker Society.

<sup>3</sup> Strype, *Parker*, I, 12.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 386.

insolency of the youth"<sup>1</sup>; in vain did the Archbishop pronounce that "Execution, execution, execution of laws and orders, must be the first and the last part of good government"<sup>2</sup>; in vain did the erudite scholar who sighed for academic peace complain of the *Fanatici Superpelliciani et Galeriani* who "made such disturbances by their counsels, that the time that before was wont to be taken up in the study of the arts and sciences was now spent and trifled away in fruitless disputations *de lana caprina*."<sup>3</sup>

In 1571 appeared the famous Puritan document *An Admonition to the Parliament*, which in twenty-three chapters attacked the whole constitution of the Church of England, both its organization and its ceremonials, as unscriptural and untenable. Four editions appeared in rapid succession and were so warmly received that reply was unavoidable. Consequently in 1572, at the instigation of Archbishop Parker, Whitgift replied with an *Answer to the Admonition*, and the battle was on. Cartwright, smarting under his recent expulsion from Cambridge, for which he had Whitgift to thank, quickly produced a *Reply to the Answer to the Admonition*. Whitgift in turn brought out a *Defense* of his *Answer* in 1574; to which Cartwright rejoined with a *Second Reply*, the first part of which was published in 1575, the second part in 1577. In these documents the gentle art of calling names was refined to the last degree of nicety. Imagine now the merry din at Cambridge, with the vice-Chancellor on the one hand and the expelled Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity on the other leading the respective forces in this holy war!

The principal contentions of the *Admonition* were that the ecclesiastical hierarchy should be replaced by a seignory and the ministers elected by the congregations, that the clergy be better educated, that more be made of preaching and less of the sacraments, and that vestments and other adornments be given up. In the words of the *Admonition*:

These and a great many other abuses are in the ministry remaining, which unless they be removed, and the truth brought in, not only God's justice shall be poured forth, but also God's church in this realm shall never be builded. For, if they which seem to be workmen are no workmen in deed, but in name, or else work not so diligently and in such order as the work-master commandeth, it is not only unlikely that the building shall go forward,

<sup>1</sup> Strype, *Parker*, I, 391.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 389.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 393.

but altogether impossible that ever it shall be perfitted. The way therefore to avoid these inconveniences, and to reform these deformities, is this: Your wisdoms have to remove advowsons, patronages, impropriations, and bishops' authority, claiming to themselves thereby right to ordain ministers, and to bring in that old and true election which was accustomed to be made by the congregation. You must displace those ignorant and unable ministers already placed, and in their rooms appoint such as both can and will, by God's assistance, feed the flock. You must pluck down and utterly overthrow, without hope of restitution, the court of faculties. . . . Appoint to every congregation a learned and diligent preacher. Remove homilies, articles, injunctions, a prescript order of service made out of the mass-book. Take away the lordship, the loitering, the pomp, the idleness, and livings of bishops, but yet employ them to such ends as they were in the old church appointed for. Let a lawful and a godly seignory look that they preach, not quarterly or monthly, but continually; "not for filthy lucre sake, but of a ready mind." So God shall be glorified, your consciences discharged, and the flock of Christ (purchased with his own blood) edified.<sup>1</sup>

In defense of preaching Cartwright wrote:

First, therefore, he asketh, and so that he doth most boldly and confidently affirm it, whether "the word of God is not as effectual when it is read as when it is preached"? or whether "reading be not preaching"? In which two questions, although the one of them confuteth the other, . . . yet I will answer to both. I say, therefore, that the word of God is not so effectual read as preached. For St. Paul saith that "faith cometh by hearing, and hearing of the word preached"; so that the ordinary and especial means to work faith is by preaching, not by reading.<sup>2</sup>

And again, of the relative efficacy of preaching and sacraments:

And, whereas you say that it is manifest that our Saviour Christ was baptized without preaching, I would know of you what one word doth declare that, when on the contrary rather doth appear in St. Luke, which seemeth to note plainly that our Saviour Christ was baptized when the people were baptized. But the people, as I have shewed, were baptized immediately after they heard John preach; therefore it is like that our Saviour Christ was baptized after that he had heard John preach. And it is very probable that our Saviour Christ, which did honour the ministry of God by the hand of men so far as he would vouchsafe to be baptized of John, *would not neglect or pass by his ministry of the word, being more precious than that of the sacrament*; as it appeareth by John that our Saviour Christ was present at his sermons; forsomuch as St. John doth, as he was preaching to the people, point him out with the finger, and told them that he was in the midst of them which was greater than he.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Whitgift*, III, 8, Parker Society.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.



To add to the intensity of feeling at Cambridge, in 1576, the year that Spenser proceeded M.A., Archbishop Grindal, a graduate of Pembroke College, sometime its master, its frequent benefactor,<sup>1</sup> and ever its idol,<sup>2</sup> fell into royal disfavor because of his expostulations with the Queen, who had ordered him to abridge the number of preachers and to put down the "prophecyings," conferences of ministers for the discussion of the Scriptures. As to preaching, the Archbishop argued that plentiful preaching was commanded by the Scriptures, that it was the means of salvation, that it bred loyalty to Her Majesty, "that whereas it was thought that the reading of the godly homilies might suffice, he acknowledged that the reading of the homilies had its commodity, but that it was nothing comparable to the office of preaching."<sup>3</sup> As to the exercises he urged "that the ministers of the Church became more skillful and ready in the Scripture, that it withdrew them from idleness, and that some suspected in doctrine were brought to open confession of the truth."<sup>4</sup> "As for that inconvenience that was urged by some, that one and the same place in Scripture hath diverse senses put upon it according to the various understanding of these exercises, this appeared worse than it was indeed, so that all senses were agreeable to the analogy of faith: for the ancient Fathers and Doctors of the Church did the same, and commonly expounded one text of Scripture diversely, yet all to the good of the Church."<sup>5</sup> Elizabeth did not argue: she simply said that "it was good for the Church to have few preachers, and that three or four might suffice for a county, and that the reading of the homilies to the people was enough."<sup>6</sup>

With this controversial setting in mind, it must be evident to students of Spenser that the episode in *Mother Hubberds Tale*, ll. 342-574, in which the Fox and the Ape fall in with the priest and are induced to try his trade, are a satire in which Spenser voices the Puritan protest. He satirizes the ignorance and frivolity of the clergy and the Queen's distrust of preaching and prophecies, in the priest who could

Ne tell a written word, ne write a letter,  
Ne make one title worse, ne make one better:

<sup>1</sup> Strype, *Grindal*, p. 462.

<sup>2</sup> See the letter sent by the College at Grindal's advancement to the see of Canterbury, *ibid.*, p. 461.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 330.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 331.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 332.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 329.

Of such deep learning little had he neede,  
 Ne yet of Latine, ne of Greeke, that breede  
 Doubts mongst Divines, and difference of texts,  
 From whence arise diversitie of sects  
 And hateful heresies of God abhor'd.  
 But this good Sir did follow the plaine word,  
 Ne medled with their controversies vaine;  
 All his care was, his service well to saine,  
 And to read Homelies upon holidayes;  
 When that was done, he might attend his playes.<sup>1</sup>

He satirizes the contention for the efficacy of the sacraments as opposed to preaching, and the sufficiency of the reading of the Scriptures, in the easy-going philosophy of the priest:

To feede mens soules (quoth he) is not in man;  
 For they must feed themselves, doo what we can.  
 We are but charg'd to lay the meate before:  
 Eate they that list, we need to doo no more.  
 But God it is that feedes them with his grace,  
 The bread of life powr'd down from heavenly place.  
 Therefore said he, that with the budding rod  
 Did rule the Jewes, *All shalbe taught of God*.  
 That same hath Jesus Christ now to him raught,  
 By whom the flock is rightly fed, and taught:  
 He is the Shepheard, and the Priest is hee;  
 We but his shepheard swaines ordain'd to bee.

Nor do the vestments escape:

Ne to weare garments base of wollen twist,  
 But with the finest silkes us to aray,  
 That before God we may appeare more gay,

<sup>1</sup> The ignorance of some of the clerks who presented themselves for livings, as well as the summary treatment that they received from Archbishop Grindal, Spenser's ideal churchman, is illustrated by the following episode: "He [Grindal] shewed his faithfulness in his inspection over his Church, by taking what care he could that none but men of some ability and learning might be admitted to the cure of souls. And for this purpose he provided that such as came for institution to any living should be first well examined; and such as were found unlearned he rejected, notwithstanding their presentations. . . . One William Ireland was presented to the Rectory of Harthil; who coming to the Archbishop was examined by the Archbishop's Chaplain. In his presentation were these words, *vestri humiles et obedientes*; which the Chaplain required him to construe, to understand his ability in Latin. But he expounded them, *Your humbleness and obedience*. The Chaplain asked him again, Who brought up the people of Israel out of Egypt? he answered, King Saul. And being asked, who was first circumcised, he could not answer. Wherefore the Archbishop rejected him." Strype, *Grindal*, p. 273.

Resembling Aarons glorie in his place:<sup>1</sup>  
 For farre unfit it is, that person bace  
 Should with vile cloaths approach God's magestie,  
 Whom no uncleannes may approachen nie;  
 Or that all men which anie master serve,  
 Good garments for their service should deserve;  
 But he that serves the Lord of hoasts most high,  
 And that in highest place, to approach him nigh,  
 And all the peoples prayers to present  
 Before his throne, as on ambassage sent  
 Both too and fro, should not deserve to weare  
 A garment better than of wooll or heare.

That Spenser is here directing his satire against the Anglican rather than the Roman clergy, or at least is putting the Anglican in the same category with the Roman in this regard—a practice consistently followed by the Puritan writers—is evident from the couplet that follows, marriage being sanctioned by the Anglican church:

Beside, we may have lying by our sides  
 Our lovely Lasses, or bright shining Brides.

The corruption attendant upon the securing of benefices is exposed in the advice given to that end by the priest, and the evils of simony are made a subject of special scorn:

Doo not thou therefore seeke a living there,  
 But of more private persons seeke elsewhere.  
 Whereas thou maist compound a better penie,  
 Ne let thy learning question'd be of anie.  
 For some good Gentleman, that hath the right  
 Unto his Church for to present a Wight,  
 Will cope with thee in reasonable wise;  
 That if the living yerely doo arise  
 To fortie pound, that then his yongest sonne  
 Shall twentie have, and twentie thou hast wonne:  
 Thou hast it wonne, for it is of franke gift,  
 And he will care for all the rest to shift,  
 Both that the Bishop may admit of thee,  
 And that therein thou maist maintained bee.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The propriety or impropriety of following the practice of Aaron's priesthood was the historical starting-point for the discussion of vestments; cf. *Whitgift*, III, 38, Parker Society.

<sup>2</sup> The extent to which this evil practice was carried is shown by the following passage from a letter to Archbishop Parker under date of 1567: "I sent my visitors into Norwich, Dion's county and mine, to set order and to know the state of the county, whereof I



The practice of holding more than one living, which the Puritans regarded as a very great evil, is brought to book in the conclusion of the episode: the Fox and the Ape, having brought down upon themselves the wrath of their parishoners,

made a composition  
With their next neighbor Priest, for light condition,  
To whom their living they resigned quight  
For a few pence and ran away by night.

Spenser is thus found to voice the general Puritan complaint of the prevailing ignorance of the lower clergy, of the subordination and neglect of preaching, of vestments, of impropriations and advowsons, and of plural livings. Is he, then, an out-and-out follower of Cartwright? Is he, at the time of writing *Mother Hubberds Tale*, in spirit a dissenter? From the foregoing it would seem as though he were, but there yet remains to be determined his attitude toward the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Did he, like Cartwright and his school, wish the English church organization to be assimilated to the presbyterian standard? If he did, in the light of the above he must be regarded as a dissenter; if he did not, he must be classed with the Low Churchmen of the type of Grindal, Jewel, and Pilkington, bishops who accepted the organization of the church, preferred that vestments should not be used—though they yielded this point for the sake of harmony—and steadily strove to correct those abuses in the church that sprang from ignorance or worldliness.

The following verses from the *Mother Hubberds Tale*, taken by themselves, might be regarded as a thrust at the hierarchy, for the offices and titles mentioned are among those which the *Admonition* attacked as having no warrant in the New Testament:

heard, of credible and of worshipful persons, that Gehazi and Judas had a wonderful haunt in the county, that *Quid vultis mihi dare?* had so much prevailed there among the Simonians, that now to sell and to buy benefices, to fleece parsonages and vicarages, that *omnia erant venalia*. And I was informed the best of the country, not under the degree of knights, were infected with this sore, so far that some one knight had four or five, some other seven or eight benefices clouted together, fleecing them all, defrauding the crown's subjects of their duty of prayers, somewhere setting boys and their serving-men to bear the names of such livings. Understanding this enormity, how the gospel was thus universally pinched, to the discouraging of all good laborers in God's harvest, I meant to inquire of it, etc. In such inquisition was presented at Norwich, that my lord had set a serving man not ordered, a mere lay-body, in the face of the whole city, to be a prebendary of the church there, and that he had another at home at his house, another prebendary; and bearing themselves great under my lord's authority, despiseth mine, to be at the Church's visitation, etc."—*Correspondence of Archbishop Parker*, p. 311, Parker Society.

It seemes (said he) right well that ye be Clerks,  
 Both by your wittie words, and by your werks,  
 Is not that name enough to make a living  
 To him that hath a whit of Nature's giving?  
 How manie honest men see ye arize  
 Daylie thereby, and grow to goodly prize;  
 To Deanes, to Archdeacons, to Commissaries,  
 To Lords, to Principalls, to Prebendaries?<sup>1</sup>

But it is not necessary to regard the passage as other than a criticism of the ease with which unworthy men could gain preferment in the church.

For a conclusive answer to this question of Spenser's attitude toward church organization, the testimony of the *Shepheardes Calender* must be taken in conjunction with that of the *Mother Hubberds Tale*. It is necessary, however, to discuss first the dates of these two poems, as the time of writing may be found to throw not a little light on the significance of the views expressed therein.

<sup>1</sup> Of the office of the dean, Cartwright has the following to say in his *Reply*: "As for the office of a dean, as it is used with us, it is therefore unlawful, for that he being minister hath no several charge or congregation appointed, wherein he may exercise his ministry; and for that he is ruler and as it were master of divers other ministers in the college, which likewise have no several charges or congregations; and for that (which is most intolerable) both he himself, oftentimes having a several church or benefice (as they call it), is under the colour of his deanship absent from his church, and suffereth also those that are underneath him to be likewise absent from their churches. And, whereas M. Doctor allegeth St. Augustine to prove his office to be ancient, indeed the name is there found, but besides the name not one property of the name which we have. For Augustine speaking of the works of those days, saith that the money which they gat with the labour of their hands they gave to their dean, which did provide them meat, and drink, and cloth, and all things necessary for them; so that their monks should not be drawn away from their studies and meditations through the care of worldly things: so that the dean which he speaketh of was servant and steward and cater to the monks, and therefore only called dean because he was steward and cater to works."—*Whitgift*, II, 178, Parker Society.

This passage also reveals the dissenting attitude toward the commissary as an office of dignity.

The office of archdeacon is discussed at length both in the *Admonition* and in the *Reply*, but the whole discussion may be summed up in the one declaration: "Neither did God give any archdeacon to his Church; therefore he cannot profit the Church."

The bestowing of the title of "Lord" upon officers of the church was regarded by the Puritans with intense disfavor, for the practice was held to be unscriptural, and unbecoming the humility of ministers: "Touching their names and titles, he putteth a difference in these words, 'And they are called gracious lords, but it shall not be so with you.' And so the argument may be framed as before, that, forasmuch as they are severed in titles, and that to the civil minister doth agree the title of gracious lords, therefore to the ecclesiastical minister the same doth not agree. For, as it is fit that they whose offices carry an outward majesty and pomp should have names agreeable to their magnificence, so it is meet that those that God hath removed from that pomp and outward shew should likewise be removed from such swelling and lofty titles, as do not agree with the simplicity of the ministry which they exercise."—*Ibid.*, I, 149.

The *Shepherd's Calendar* was completed some time before April 10, 1579, for that is the date of the epistle which precedes it, written by E. K. to Gabriel Harvey. On October 16, 1579, Spenser wrote to Harvey with reference to its dedication; on December 5 it was licensed; on May 9, 1580, Harvey referred to it as "a certain famous booke called the newe Shepherdes Calendar."<sup>1</sup> So much for known dates.

Certain internal references may also be of help in determining the time of writing. In the April eclogue Hobbinal (Harvey) alludes to Spenser in the line,

Colin thou kenst, the Southerne shepherdes boye [l. 21],

and the gloss remarks: "Seemeth hereby that Colin perteyneth to some Southern noble man, and perhaps in Surrye or Kent." In the June eclogue Hobbinal advises Colin Clout (Spenser) to

Forsake the soyle that so doth thee bewitch  
Leave me those hills where harbrough nis to see,  
Nor holy-bush, nor brere, nor winding witche:  
And to the dales resort, where shepherdes ritch,  
And fruitful flocks, bene every where to see [ll. 18-22].

In the gloss—written later than the poem—E. K. defines the dales as: "The Southpartes, where he now abydeth, which though they be full of hylles and woods (for Kent is very hyllye and woodye . . .). Yet in respecte of the Northpartes they be called dales." In the July eclogue is the well-known allusion to the sequestration of Grindal in the fable of the eagle and the shell-fish. In the September eclogue occurs the episode of Roffynn, Lowder, and the Wolf, and Spenser is called the servant of Roffynn in the line,

Colin Clout, I wene, be his selfe boye [l. 176].

The discovery of a volume of *The Traveiler*, by Jerome Tiesler, bearing on the title-page in Harvey's hand the words: "Ex dono Edmundij Spenserij, Episcopi Roffensis Secretarij, 1578"<sup>2</sup> finally proves that Roffynn is John Young, Bishop of Rochester, the master

<sup>1</sup> Grosart, l. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Described in a paper read before the British Academy, November 29, 1907, by Professor Gollancz.



of Pembroke College during Spenser's academic career, and also explains the line

Colin Clout, I wene, be his selfe boye.

This in turn probably explains the reference in the April eclogue,

Colin thou kenst, the Southerne shepheardes boye,

for, as I shall show later, Spenser was in the employ of Young before he was in the employ of Leicester, and as the April eclogue is hardly to be thought of as having been written later than the September eclogue, Young must be the southern shepherd referred to in each of these lines. The advice recorded in the June eclogue as given Spenser by Harvey probably refers to some conversation, thus incorporated in the poem, which took place at the time when Spenser was considering the offer to become secretary to Young. We do not know where Spenser was or what he was doing between the time of proceeding M.A. on June 26, 1576, and taking up the secretaryship, but the chances are that he was in or near Cambridge and in the frequent society of Harvey, for, as a recent writer has observed,<sup>1</sup> the presumption created by the Harvey-Spenser correspondence is that the friends were not separated long before the initial letters thereof.

To recapitulate, the September eclogue was written when Spenser was in the employ of Bishop Young; the April eclogue was almost certainly written at that time; and the June eclogue would seem to have been written then.

Is there reason to think that any of the poem was composed before or after this episcopal secretaryship? I think not. It *may* be that Spenser's change of service, or anticipation of such a change is recorded in the allusion to Leicester in the following advice given Cuddie in the October eclogue:

Abandon, then, the base and viler clowne;  
Lyft up thy selfe out of the lowly dust,  
And sing of bloody Mars, of wars, of giusts,  
Turne thee to those that weld the awful crowne,  
And helmes unbruzed wexen dayly browne.

There may thy Muse display her fluttryng wing,  
And stretch her selfe at large from East to West;

<sup>1</sup> J. J. Higginson, *Spenser's Shepherd's Calender*, p. 314.

Whither thou list in fayre Elisa rest,  
 Or, if thee please in bigger notes to sing,  
 Advance the worthy whome shee loveth best,  
 That first the white beare to the stake did bring.

Such advice, however, is common enough, and I cannot think that these stanzas have any chronological significance; Spenser is merely counseling one of his friends to seek the patronage of the Court, a program that he himself followed when opportunity afforded itself.

That the July eclogue was written before Spenser entered the service of Leicester is probable from the fact that Grindal was *persona non grata* with the Earl, the Earl even being supposed to have had a hand in humiliating the Bishop.<sup>1</sup> It may be argued that this eclogue was written prior to the secretaryship, because the sequestration of Grindal took place in June, 1577, and Spenser could not have had the office before February 18, 1578, the date of Young's election. But, on the other hand, the expression "lyes in longing payne" would seem to suggest that a considerable time had elapsed between Grindal's humiliation and the writing of the eclogue.

The Roffynn episode is presumptive evidence that the ecclesiastical eclogues, those for May, July, and September—perhaps for February as well<sup>2</sup>—were all written while Spenser was in the employ of the Bishop, for the eclogues are structurally alike, each one closing with a fable, and this plan of uniform treatment would seem to have been deliberately determined upon. Now as we know that the September eclogue, with its fable of Roffynn, was written while Spenser was Bishop Young's "boye," it is altogether likely that the other eclogues in the series were likewise written during the secretaryship.

Finally, the gloss supports the theory that the eclogues were written during Spenser's association with Young, for the gloss to the June eclogue says that Spenser was living in Kent at the time that the gloss was written.

In conclusion, though Spenser may have followed his practice of incorporating certain verses written at an earlier time, all of the evidence goes to show that the *Shepheardes Calender*, in the form in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Harington, Nugae Antiquae*, II, 18; Camden, *Annals*, p. 494; Higginson, p. 306.

<sup>2</sup> See the discussion of the February eclogue by E. A. Greenlaw, "The Shepheardes Calender," *PMLA*, XXVI, 419, and the criticism of the same by Higginson, pp. 339-46.

which we have it, was conceived, written, and finished, and the gloss to the same prepared by his friend E.K., while the poet was secretary to Bishop Young.

The next step is to determine, so far as may be, the date of the secretaryship. Young was elected bishop of Rochester on February 18, 1578, and was installed on April 1, 1578. Presumably he took Spenser into his service immediately on becoming bishop—if, indeed, Spenser had not been associated with him in some capacity before—for, on learning of his appointment, he would naturally choose a secretary with some care. On December 20, 1578, Spenser presented Harvey with a copy of the romance called *Howleglas*, and this presentation was made at London.<sup>1</sup> Now it would seem probable—though of this we cannot be sure—that this book and *The Traveiler* were presented at the same time, for, as a Fellow, Harvey could not easily be away from the university during terms, and on this occasion he had probably gone up to London for the Christmas recess. Presumably, then, Spenser was still secretary to Young on December 20, 1578. On the other hand, Spenser's letter to Harvey, dated October 16, 1579, was written from Leicester House, and Spenser was then in the service of the earl.

Is it possible to determine the time of Spenser's change of service even more exactly? The "Epistle by E.K." to Gabriel Harvey is dated April 10, 1579. Now, as we have seen, the gloss for June speaks of Spenser as being in Kent. Therefore, unless a considerable time elapsed between the writing of the gloss for June and of the "Epistle"—and this seems contrary to probability—Spenser could not have left the secretaryship under Young long before April 10.<sup>2</sup> Yet at Easter of 1579 Spenser was in London, and apparently a resident there, for in a letter dated "beinge the 10 of this present, and as beautiful a summer daye as came this summer—1579,"<sup>3</sup> Harvey speaks of Spenser as "de London in comitatu Middlesex,"<sup>4</sup> alludes to his "lively copesmates in London,"<sup>5</sup> and in the postscript asks if

<sup>1</sup> Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian Library*, p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> To be sure the "Epistle" remarks on the poet as "being for long time furre estranged," but this may mean nothing more than that the writer now sees little of his friend. Without the weight of strong additional evidence it certainly is presumptuous to take this as referring to foreign service performed for Leicester.

<sup>3</sup> Grosart, *Harvey*, I, 120.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 121.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 125.



Spenser has "so forgotten our long Westminster conference the verie last Ester terme."<sup>1</sup> In all probability, therefore, Spenser entered the service of Leicester sometime in the spring of 1579.

In passing, it is worth the suggestion that light may also be thrown on the dates by the Roffynn episode. This episode is clearly based upon some trouble between Bishop Young and an aggressive Roman Catholic. Just what it was, we cannot say, but in view of the fact that Thomas Watson, the "chief superior of the English Catholic clergy," the very heart of the papal cause in England, was transferred to the keeping of the Bishop of Rochester at the request of the Bishop of Winchester, who had been burdened with the custody of Watson for five years, I think it not unlikely that the episode in some way relates to him, possibly to an effort on his part to win over to his own faith Young's chancellor, Lloyd (Lowder). Now this transference took place in January, 1579, so that, if there is any force in this suggestion, Spenser did not leave the service of Young until some time subsequent thereto. Incidentally, this would also seem to show that the poem was composed quickly, for the September eclogue would thus have to be written subsequent to January, 1579, and yet the gloss was composed and the "Epistle" written by April 10.

In any case, the poem was written some time between January, 1578, and April, 1579, at least a part of it was written while Spenser was secretary to a bishop, and the criticisms of ecclesiastical conditions, instead of reflecting the bitterness of an antagonist from without, express the concern of a churchman who was attached, by friendship and by service, to an important member of the hierarchy.

The *Mother Hubberds Tale* contains two definite allusions. In l. 7 there is allusion to the plague, which devastated England in the summer of 1577 and lasted for two years, and in l. 628 allusion to Elizabeth's displeasure at the marriage of Leicester and the Countess of Essex. As the Queen did not know of this marriage until mid-summer of 1579, the latter half of the poem was not written before August of that year. On the other hand, the allusion loses its force if it was not written practically at the time.

Now the poem falls into two parts: the first being primarily a satire on ecclesiastical conditions; the second, a satire on the court.

<sup>1</sup> Grosart, *Harvey*, I, 124.

The latter again falls into two divisions: the first, describing the Fox and Ape at Court, with its contrast of the true and the false courtier, and its berating of Burleigh; the second, the assumption of the Lion's power by the Fox and Ape, with their discomfiture when the Lion wakes, a very harsh piece of satire. There seems every reason to believe that this last episode is, as Professor Greenlaw has so ably maintained,<sup>1</sup> a warning of the danger of an alliance between Elizabeth and the duke of Alençon.

What then are the most probable dates for the composition of this poem? Leicester was bitterly opposed to the marriage; Spenser of course knew that this was the case. Moreover, it was because of Leicester's opposition that Simier had revealed to Elizabeth the truth of the Earl's marriage. What more natural than that the young poet, anxious to secure the further favor of his patron, should employ his choice gift of satire to deride his master's enemies? Who knows, in fact, but the patron placed the order himself? Now the marriage negotiations reached their height in October, 1579, so presumably the poem was written before this. Furthermore, on October 13, Stubbs lost his right hand for having written his *Gaping Gulph*, a satire on the proposed marriage, and it is hardly to be supposed that Spenser would have courted a like punishment.

Taking these events into account, and remembering that it was in the summer that the Queen learned of Leicester's marriage, one is forced to conclude that the latter half of the poem was written between August 1 and October 13. A young poet-courtier, full of glowing hopes for the future and yet shocked at the baseness of court life, with true Renaissance resourcefulness and disregard of consistency contrives to depict the hypocrisy and intrigues of the court and yet at the same time to flatter his patron as the ideal courtier and to salve his wounded pride by an allegorical satire on his enemies. The first part of the poem could have been written any time between the summer of 1577 and the summer of 1579, but is it not altogether likely that, just as the satire on court life is written from first-hand observation, the satire on ecclesiastical conditions is written from like observation, and is the outcome of Spenser's intimate contact with them? While he had heard at Cambridge much discussion of these

<sup>1</sup> "Spenser and the Earl of Leicester," *PMLA*, XXV, 555.

evils, as a bishop's secretary he met them in the concrete. So I take it that this first part of the poem was written in 1578 or 1579, when Spenser was secretary to Young or shortly after he had left the office. Perhaps the middle of the poem, with its transition from Church to State, actually marks the poet's change of secretaryship from Young to Leicester.

So much for the dates of the *Shepheardes Calender* and the *Mother Hubberds Tale*. It has been found that the criticism of ecclesiastical affairs contained in these poems was written, in the main at least, when Spenser himself was actually in the service of the church, or had shortly before been in such service. We must henceforth interpret the poet's Puritanism in the light of this fact.

And now to return to the question so long in abeyance: Was Spenser opposed to the hierarchy? At least he was willing to serve under it. Did he disbelieve in bishops? At least he could say of one who was conspicuous "for his quickness in government,"

Shepheardes sich, God mought us many send,  
That doen so carefully theyr flocks tend.

But there is not wanting more specific evidence than this, for the poet's attitude toward the hierarchy is expressly defined in the May eclogue. Piers gives a review of the history of the priesthood from apostolic times, showing how God's ministers had gradually departed from the unworldly traditions of the Apostolic church, when Christ was the sole possession of value, until

Some gan to gape for greedie governaunce,  
And match them selfe with mighty potentates,  
Lovers of Lordship, and troublers of states.

Taken by itself this passage might be regarded as showing antipathy to the hierarchy, as voicing the Puritan protest against Lords Spiritual, but it is provided with a very careful gloss in which those who would destroy the organization of the church are condemned as malicious and destructive. It is not to be thought that Spenser would have been so hypocritical as to allow this gloss to misrepresent his feeling toward the opponents of the church: "*Some gan*, meant of the Pope, and his Antichristian prelates, which usurpe a tyrannical dominion in the Church, and with Peters counterfeit keyes open a



wide gate to al wickednesse and violent government, nought here spoken as of purpose to deny fatherly rule and governaunce (as some maliciously of late have done, to the great unreste and hinderaunce of the Churche) but to displaye the pride and disorder of such, as, in steede of feeding their sheepe, indeede feede of theyr sheepe." "Fatherly rule" is the rule of the bishop, who is, in the customary language of the church, the "Reverend Father in God." This gloss, whether written by Spenser or by one of his friends, is expressly designed to voice the poet's attitude toward the organization of the church.

There can be no question that in these eclogues Spenser condemns in strongest terms the pomp and greed of worldly-minded ecclesiastics, their love of office for its own sake, of soft living, of fat benefices, of fine linen and robes, but in each of the three eclogues he holds up for admiring approval a godly bishop in contrast, in the May and July eclogues Bishop Grindal, in the September eclogue Bishop Young. The July eclogue is practically devoted to a contrast of Grindal and Aylmer, and the September eclogue pays this tribute to Bishop Young:

Say it out, Diggon, whatever it hight,  
For not but well mought him betight:  
He is so meeke, wise, and merciable,  
And with his word his worke is convenable.

Shepheardes sich, God mought us many send,  
That doen so carefully theyr flocks tend.

If we could know more of the character of Bishop Young, it would be fortunate, but we do know that he was a friend of Grindal's, having at one time been his chaplain, having preached the sermon when he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and having been recommended by him for the headship of Pembroke College.<sup>1</sup> We also know that he was regarded as an efficient administrator and a ready scholar, that, as master of Pembroke and vice-chancellor, he objected to the ecclesiastical commissioners exercising any jurisdiction within the university in the matter of vestments,<sup>2</sup> that he was loved and admired by his students,<sup>3</sup> that, on his own testimony, he never sought

<sup>1</sup> See Strype, *Grindal*, p. 460.

<sup>2</sup> See Harvey's letters, frequently.

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar State Papers, Domestic*.

preferment,<sup>1</sup> that he lived very frugally and deplored the extravagance of the day,<sup>2</sup> and that he was not afraid to address the great Burleigh fearlessly and vigorously when occasion required.<sup>3</sup> Such a man represented the type of chancellor of whom Spenser approved.

To summarize in the briefest terms this answer to the question of Spenser's loyalty to the establishment, the poet's service under Bishop Young, the praise of Grindal and Young in the eclogues, and the very carefully expressed gloss, all are evidence that he upheld the order of the church.

On the other hand, his scathing denunciations of ecclesiastical abuses are evidence that he felt that some of the worst foes of the church were those of her own household, pastors who, instead of feeding their sheep, "fed of them." The first part of the *Mother Hubberds Tale* and the ecclesiastical eclogues are a warning to the evangelical wing of the church against the twofold danger of a re-establishment of Roman Catholicism and of the continuance in the national church of practices akin to those of Rome. As a Low Churchman, he did not recognize any very sharp line between the High Churchman and the Roman Catholic, and appreciated the constant danger of the High Church party swinging over to Roman Catholicism if a turn in public affairs should warrant it. The September eclogue in particular, after depicting in true Elizabethan fashion the supposed evil practices of Rome, points out the similarities between the corruption of the Roman church and of the Anglican church,<sup>4</sup> likens the Papists to wolves, and the High Church party to foxes, and alludes with alarm to the aggressiveness of the Roman Catholic missionaries. The Bishop of Rochester and his young secretary were probably peculiarly alive to this danger, for Kent lay on the seaboard and Rochester was a natural port of entry for the Roman Catholic missionaries. When one recalls that thirteen such missionaries landed in 1578 and twenty-one in 1579, it is easy to understand the alarm that dictated the following verses:

Yes, but they gang in more secret wise,  
And with sheepes clothing doen hem disguise.  
They walke not widely as they were wont,

<sup>1</sup> Strype, *Annals*, IV, 315.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Ll. 74-135.

For feare of raungers and the great hunt,  
 But prively prolling to and froe,  
 Enaunter they mought be inly knowe.

I think the examination of the evidence has now been carried far enough to justify the conclusion that Spenser as a young man was a Low Churchman belonging to that earnest part of men who, without any disloyalty to the church, felt that it needed purifying, needed to be relieved from political machinations, needed a better educated and a more godly clergy, needed to be protected against the encroachments of Rome.

In one respect Spenser held a position that was not characteristic of any party to the ecclesiastical controversies, and that was his extreme antipathy to marriage among the clergy. This is interesting as showing his independence. It might be thought at first blush that he assumed this attitude to court royal approval, but the fact that he boldly ridiculed Elizabeth's distrust of preaching and prophesying ought to relieve him from this charge.

I see no reason for thinking that Spenser materially changed his views about the church as he grew older; though he may have grown somewhat more conservative with years and with long public service. In the *View of the Present State of Ireland*, written twelve or fifteen years later than *The Shepheardes Calender* and *Mother Hubberds Tale*, one meets the same indignation at trifling ministers, the same contempt for their marriage:

It is greate wonder to see the oddes which is betweene the zeale of Popish priests, and the Ministers of the Gospell; for they spare not to come out of Spayne, from Rome, and from Rhemes, by long toyle and dangerous travell hither, where they know perill of death awayteth them, and noe rewarde nor richness to be founde, only to drawe the people to the Church of Rome; whereas some of our idell ministers, having a waye for credit and estimation thereby opened unto them, and having the livings of the countrey offered them, without paynes, and without perrill, will neither for the same, nor for any love of God, nor zeale of religion, nor for all the good they might doe by winning of soe many sowles to God, be drawn foorth from their warme nests and theyre sweete loves side to looke out into Godes harvest, which is even readye for the sickle, and all the fields yellowe long agoe: doubtless those good old godly Fathers will (I fear me) rise up in the Daye of Judgment to condemne them.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Macmillan edition, p. 479.



In a later passage of the same essay he expresses impatience with those who criticize the form and order of the church, but whether this shows any change in his attitude altogether depends on just what he had in mind when he spoke of "form" and "order":

Next care in religion is to builde up and repayre all the ruinous churches, whereof the most parte lye even within the grounde, and some that have been lately repayred are so unhandsomely patched and thatched, that men doe even shunne the places for the uncomeliness thereof; therefore I would wish that there were order taken to have them built in some better form, according to the churches of England; for the outward shew (assure your selfe) doth greatly drawe the rude people to the reverencing and frequenting thereof, what ever some of our late to nice fooles saye, "there is nothing in the seemelye forme and comely orders of the church."<sup>1</sup>

Be that as it may, he was certainly out of sympathy with the Marprelate school, for whether Jonson was right or not in identifying the Blatant Beast with the Puritans,<sup>2</sup> there is general agreement that the following lines from the *Cantos of Mutabilitie*<sup>3</sup> are a contemptuous reference to the lugubrious gravity of a certain type of Puritan:

And backward yode, as Bargemen wont to fare,  
Bending their force contrary to their face;  
Like that ungracious crew which faines demurest grace.

Again and again Spenser advocates the golden mean in the various relations and activities of life: the golden mean between communism and monopoly, between wealth and poverty, between abstinence and self-indulgence, between prudishness and wantonness, between the life of activity and the life of contemplation. I believe that he was also a consistent advocate of the golden mean in matters ecclesiastical.

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<sup>1</sup> Macmillan edition, p. 680.

<sup>2</sup> See *Works of William Drummond of Hawthornden*, Edinburgh, 1711, p. 225.

<sup>3</sup> VII vii 35, 7-9.

## JOHN BUT, MESSENGER AND MAKER

The Piers Plowman controversy has recently taken a turn which makes this "silly scribbler" and "fool" (as M. Jusserand calls him) the center of dispute. In an article in the *Modern Language Review* for July, 1911, Mr. R. W. Chambers uses him to support the single-author theory; while in the *Modern Language Review* for January, 1913, Mr. Henry Bradley points out external evidence in regard to a John But, and adds:

If we could assume (1) that the John But of the Rawlinson MS is identical with the John But of the Patent Rolls; (2) that he wrote not only the twelve undisputed lines but also the seventeen lines preceding them in the MS; (3) that when he speaks of William as dead and buried he is stating a fact within his own knowledge; and (4) that the C-revision of *Piers Plowman* cannot have been finished earlier than 1387;—the conclusion would be inevitable that the C-revision is not the work of the original author.<sup>1</sup>

Of these four assumptions, he says in effect, that the first three are doubtful, although the second and third seem to him probable, while in regard to the first there is no evidence either way, and perhaps never will be.

I had recently been collecting such documentary evidence as I could find about the name John But in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when I read Mr. Bradley's article; and upon taking up the A-text again, I observed a passage which seems to me to argue strongly that John But, the maker, was certainly John But, the king's messenger who was dead before April 17, 1387.<sup>2</sup> Among the four or

<sup>1</sup> *MLR*, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> As Mr. Bradley says, the name is uncommon; but I have found mention of (1) John But, clerk to the comptroller of customs at Bristol, 1400 (*Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of the Exchequer*, II, 60); (2) John But, who was appointed by Thomas Chaucer, chief butler, his deputy at Tawmouth, 1402 (*Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1401-5, p. 169); these two are possibly the same; (3) John But, once called "John Hore alias But," bailiff of Bridport, mentioned between 1428 and 1445 (*Catalogue Ancient Deeds*, I, c. 14, c. 1714, c. 1744); (4) John But of Northtalewrth, who demised some land for twelve years in 1360 (*Cat. of Anc. Deeds*, IV, 452); (5) John But who was one of the four executors of his wife Alice, April 30, 1384, at Salisbury. She owned property enough in Toriton, Devonshire, to have a bailiff (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1381-85, p. 369). None of these can at present be identified, with any degree of probability, with the king's messenger.

five others of that name there is none that can in any way be connected with Piers the Plowman.

But what is the case for the king's messenger? We are at once confronted with the difficulty that we do not know how much of Passus XII of the A-text John But wrote.

Mr. Chambers holds that he wrote either the whole, or only ll. 84-112.<sup>1</sup> Professor Manly<sup>2</sup> maintains that he began at l. 57. The older view was that he wrote simply ll. 100-112, the first of which begins with his name. As the manuscripts lead to no conclusion, this question must be settled, if at all, from internal evidence. Notwithstanding Mr. Chambers' skepticism as to the value of internal evidence, in this case it is so supported by external evidence as to convince me that the *maker* and the *messenger* were the same man.

My chief argument is based upon ll. 78-82:

I am masager of dep. men haue I tweyne,  
 pat on is called cotidian. a courour of oure hous,  
 Tercian pat oper. trewe drinkeres bope!  
 We han letteres of lyf. he shal his lyf [tyne;]  
 Fro dep, pat is oure duk. swyche dedis we brynge.

—A, XII, 78-82.

In this passage, Fever, who is speaking, describes himself as a messenger from Death his duke (*duke* rather than *king* for the sake of the alliteration), who with his two men bears letters for (*of* is so interpreted by Skeat) Life, to the effect that he shall die; of such a character are the deeds (i.e., documents) that they bring. The two "men" who serve Fever are Cotidian and Tercian; and they are called *courours*.<sup>3</sup>

The significance of the passage is double:

1. It contains an accurate description of the duty of a messenger and of the difference between a *messenger* and a *courier*, as can be illustrated from John But's own life.

2. It changes the conception of the allegory by introducing a royal messenger where the lines immediately preceding describe quite a different person.

<sup>1</sup> Or 89, as he numbers, to include the additional five lines in the Ingilby manuscript (*MLR*, July, 1911, p. 322).

<sup>2</sup> *Cambridge History of English Literature*, II, 21-22.

<sup>3</sup> The phrase "of our hous" must mean of the household of Death.



If it is psychologically sound that a man of limited ideas draws upon his own experience for figures and illustrations, we can scarcely escape the conclusion that the verse-maker and the messenger were one.

The distinction between *messenger* and *courier* in this passage is undoubtedly correct. It is borne out in the first instance by the entry concerning John But's successor: "Grant, for life, to William Branspathe courier (*cursor*) of the chamber, whom the King has now made messenger," of 4½*d.* a day wages at the exchequer, in the room of John But, deceased."<sup>1</sup>

This agrees with the distinction in *Catholicon Anglicon* between: *curroure*=*calcula*, *cursor*, and *messyngere*=*angelus*, *angelicus*, *bairulus emissarius*, *internunci*, *missus*, *nunci*, and *nunciolus*.

And yet by anyone except one to whom the calling of messenger was very familiar, the distinction between a king's messenger and his subordinates would be likely to be neglected. In point of fact, *courour* does not occur elsewhere in *Piers the Plowman*; the word *messenger*, used much as we use it today, serves all occasions. But to a king's messenger, in referring to his own calling, the couriers in their proper place with reference to himself would be an important factor.

Again, note the detail that these messengers were bearing letters, which were also called *deeds*, to Life, to the effect that his life should cease. The image in the writer's mind is: Death the Duke sends to Life letters by reason of which he is to lose his life. Does not this mean that the letters or deeds contained charges that would lead to death—in other words, that a king's messenger had the power of arrest? Was this true?

In the *New English Dictionary*, in a quotation dated 1696, the word *messenger* (3) is defined as one that attends upon the king and his council to carry dispatches, and waits upon the sergeant-at-arms to apprehend prisoners of state.

But how was it in the fourteenth century? There are several hints in But's own experience which seems to show that he was also an officer of the law.

March 30, 1381, John But, described as *messenger*, prosecuted

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1385-89, p. 290.

Philip Derneford, vintner of London, for a trespass in the county of Gloucester.<sup>1</sup> Derneford's forfeited goods and chattels were returned to him, so he was evidently found to be innocent. Whatever "prosecuted" means here, it suggests some legal function, as the characterization *messenger* suggests that But was acting officially. The passage I shall quote next bears out the theory that he would have received part or all of the forfeited goods, if Derneford had been found guilty.

October 8, 1378, John But, "one of the king's messengers," had a grant of lands and tenements in Barton-on-Humber, forfeited by William Bryan for felony.<sup>2</sup> In this case, it is possible that the gift was a mere act of royal favor, not given because But had had anything to do with the arrest of the prisoner. And yet, in view of the ancient custom of rewarding people who brought others to justice, with the lands and goods of the offenders, it is perfectly possible that these lands were a reward for good service in catching Bryan.

December 3, 1371, John But and two others not described were deputed to transfer a prisoner from the Marshalsea to the castle of the Prince of Wales at Wallingford.<sup>3</sup> Here But is not described as a messenger, but he is certainly acting as an officer of the law.

To sum up, in ll. 78-82, we have a description which implies a "technical" knowledge of the rank and duty of a messenger. In the A- and B-texts there is only one other reference to this calling, and that is in the phrase "minstrels and messengers" (A, II, 203; B, II, 227; C, III, 237, and X, 136). C adds a long allegory of the merchant and the messenger, in which the messenger is treated entirely from the standpoint of the observer; i.e., the messenger can soon do his errand; he cannot be stopped from crossing a wheat field; he carries only a box with a letter in it; he is "merry, his mouth full of songs"; he shows by seal and by letter with what lord he dwells.<sup>4</sup>

It will perhaps save space if I quote the entire passage, beginning with the line at which Professor Manly thinks John But began, and including within brackets the five additional lines in the Ingilby manuscript:

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1377-81, p. 615.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1377-81, p. 280.

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar Close Rolls*, 1369-74, p. 275. As this is the last published volume of the *Close Rolls*, those between 1374 and 1385 may contain more information about But.

<sup>4</sup> C, XIV, 33-89. There is only one other passage in which a messenger is named and that calls Grace Christ's messenger, C, XXII, 207-8.

- And wente forþ on my way . with *omnia probate*,  
 And ere I cam to þe court . *quod-bonum-est-tenete*,  
 Many ferlys me by-fel . in a fewe ȝeris.  
 The fyrste ferly I fond . a-fyngrid me made;  
 As I ȝede thurgh ȝouþe . a-ȝen prime dayes, 60  
 I stode stille in a stodie . and stared a-bowte;  
 "Al hayl!" *quod* on þo, and I answered "welcome . and with whom  
 be ȝe?"  
 "I am dwellyng with deth . and hunger I hatte,  
 To lyf in his lordshepe . longyt my weye, 64  
 I shal felle þat freke . in a fewe dayes!"  
 [To kyllyn him, ȝif I can; thei kynde wit helpe,]  
 "I wolde folwe þe fayn . but fentesye me hendeþ,  
 Me folweþ such a fentyse . I may no ferþer walke."  
 "Go we forþ," *quod* þe gom . "I haue a gret boyste 68  
 At my bak, of broke bred . pi bely for to fylle;  
 A bagge ful, of a beggere . I bouȝþe hit at onys."  
 Than maunged I wit [him] . vp at þe fulle, 72  
 For þe myssyng of mete . no mesour I coude.  
 [But ete as hunger me hete . til my belly swellyd.  
 Ther bad me hunger 'haue gode day' . but I helde me stille;  
 For gronyng of my guttys . I durst gon no ferther.]  
 With þat cam a knaue . with a confessoures face,  
 [Lene & rewlyche . with leggyss ful smale;]  
 He halsed me and I . asked him after,  
 Of when þat he were . and wheder þat he wolde.  
 "With deþ I duelle," *quod* he . "dayes and nyȝtes; 76  
 Mi name is feure, on þe ferþe day . I am a-prest euere;  
 I am masager of deþ . men haue I tweyne,  
 þat on is called cotidian . a courour of oure hous,  
 Tercian þat oper . trewe drinkeres bope! 80  
 We han letteres of lyf . he shal his lyf [tyne;]  
 Fro deþ, þat is oure duk . swyche dedis we brynge."  
 "Myȝth I so, god wot . ȝoure gates wolde I holden."  
 "Nay, wil!" *quod* þat wyȝth . "wend þou no ferther, 84  
 But lyue as pis lyf . is ordeyned for the,  
 þou tomblest wiþ a trepget . ȝif þou my tras folwe;  
 And mannes merþe wrouȝþ no mor . þan he deseruyþ here,  
 Why! his lyf and his lykham . lesten to-gedere. 88  
 And þer-fore do after do-wel . whil pi dayes duren,  
 þat pi play be plenteuous . in paradys with aungelys.  
 þou shalt be lauȝth into lyȝth . with loking of an eye,  
 So þat þou werke þe word . þat holy wryt techþ, 92  
 And be prest to preyeres . and profitable werkes."



Wille [wiste] purgh in-wit— . pou wost wel þe sope— pat þis speche was spedelich . and sped him wel faste, And wrouzthe pat here is wryten . and ober werkes bope	96
Of peres þe plowman . and mechel puple al-so; And whan þis werk was wrouzt . ere wille myzte a-spie, Dep delt him a dent . and drof him to þe erpe, And is closed vnder clom . crist haue his soule!	100
And so bad Iohan but . busily wel ofte, When he saw þes sawes . busily a-legged By Iames and Ierom . by Iop and by opere, And for he medlep of makyng . he made þis ende.	104
Now alle kenne creatures . pat cristene were euere, God for his goudnesse . gif hem swyche happes, To lyue as pat lord lykþ . pat lyf in hem putte. Furst to rekne Richard . kyng of þis rewme,	108
And alle lordes pat louyn him . lely in herte, God saue hem sound . by se and by land; Marie moder and may . for man þou by-seke; pat barn bryng vs to blys . pat bled vp-on þe rode!	112
Amen.	

The following points are to be noted:

1. *Omnia-probate* is last mentioned in l. 56.
2. *Quod-bonum-est-tenete*, in l. 57.
3. Kynde Wit, in the Ingilby manuscript only, between ll. 66–67.
4. The three lines between ll. 72 and 73, found only in the Ingilby manuscript, are needed for the sense.
5. The line between ll. 73 and 74 harmonizes with the preceding and seems unlikely to be an invention of the scribe; otherwise, its authenticity cannot be determined.

It is clear that somewhere in this passage where the composition takes a sharp turn from the search for Kynde Wit, with the characters and scene involved, to a meeting of Will with Hunger and Fever successively and the summary of his life and death, John But has taken up the pen. Now the author pictures Hunger with a beggar's wallet; Fever, as a knave with a confessor's face [Ingilby: "lean and pitiable, with full small legs"]; and so far the sequence seems to me logical: feeding on the beggar's scraps of Hunger would naturally bring on Fever; Fever is naturally described as looking like a confessor and emaciated; then suddenly, in l. 78, the conception changes:

Fever becomes a king's messenger with letters that will make an end of Life. If Hunger feeds Will out of his wallet, should not Fever, according to the text, confess him? But no, when the king's messenger announces that he is on his way to kill Life, and Will wishes to accompany him, Fever rebukes him and sends him away, bidding him "do after Do-wel" and he will be rewarded. In other words, the introduction of Fever leads nowhere in the allegory. The allegory practically stops after the confessor-knave has turned into a king's messenger; and the remainder of the passus is plain statement. The only natural explanation that I can find for this state of things is, that John But, in taking up the allegory, with his experience of life inferred from ll. 63-64 that Hunger was a messenger of Death, and seized the occasion to elaborate the idea in the treatment of Fever, not observing how his addition changed the original conception of Fever. After that, his invention ceased—a man of little imagination draws upon his own trade, his own life-experience, and can go no further. A sailor gets his figures and illustrations from the sea, a farmer from country life, a policeman or a king's messenger from the experiences of his calling. It is only the vivid imagination of the creative mind that can project itself into many sorts of experience.

If this reasoning is psychologically sound and in accord with the text itself,<sup>1</sup> I think we may safely believe that the messenger was also the maker of about thirty-five verses of *Piers the Plowman*.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Bradley's third assumption remains to be dealt with: Did John But know what he was talking about?

It will, I suppose, be granted that he had no discoverable motive

<sup>1</sup> It is, of course, possible that his work goes back to l. 57, as Professor Manly suggested; but I doubt whether a continuator whose object was merely to make an end (l. 104) would have introduced the idea of "many ferlys," or have begun with a "fyrst"; while if But took up the work after two had been introduced, he naturally would finish the second and then tack on his conclusion. He would *have* to finish the account of Fever or drop some of the text; and the fact is that after Fever disappears there is no more allegory (except the commonplace personification of Death in l. 99) in the passus.

Mr. Chambers' belief that the end of Ingilby MS (l. 83 of Rawlinson) may mark the transition, is based simply upon the probability that the Ingilby scribe had no more to copy. To be sure, his original may have lost its last leaf with the missing seventeen lines; but unless he had expected some day to get more to copy, why did he not crowd his last line into the preceding page, instead of beginning a new blank page with it?

<sup>2</sup> In l. 110, the phrase "by se and land" which does not occur elsewhere in *Piers the Plowman*, suggests the attitude of the traveler, just as ll. 108-9 suggest familiarity with the court of Richard; but both indications are too slight to be more than corroborative.

for lying, that at least he believed Will to be dead when he wrote. The problem resolves itself into two questions:

1. What was his motive in making an end?
2. What kind of man was he, and what opportunities had he for knowing the truth?

The first question is, I think, answered in the text itself, ll. 101-4, which, taken quite literally, say: And so John But often prayed busily when he saw these saws (stories) busily alleged (claimed to be) by James, Jerome, Job, and others, and because he meddled with (verse-) making, he made this end.

The usual interpretation of ll. 102-3 is: And because he saw these *sayings* busily *quoted from* James, etc.

What are the quoted "sayings"? According to Professor Skeat's *Index*, Jerome is not quoted at all; he is simply named with three other Church Fathers, and not in A (B, XIX, 265; C, XXII, 270); James is quoted twice, in B and C only,<sup>1</sup> and not named; Job is quoted six times in C and three times in B, but only one of these passages is found in A; and Job is not named in A except here, XII, 103.

In the light of these facts, the usual interpretation must be wrong. Even if it were right, what possible motive could it give John But for writing? What did it matter from whom the quotations came?

The only interpretation I can find that will at once make sense of the passage and supply But with a motive is found in the literal rendering given above with the parenthetical meanings of *saws*<sup>2</sup> and *alleged*<sup>3</sup>; i.e., when he saw other people busily claiming Will's work, he felt bound to write and tell what the author really wrote, and set his name to it. L. 103 I take to be merely the alliterative equivalent of Tom, Dick, and Harry. If it has a biblical twist that has misled scholars, this is possibly meant to suggest that the claimants were ecclesiastical writers, though I should not press this point, holding rather that it came from difficulties with the alliteration.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *Index* misses one case in A; I, 159 ff.

<sup>2</sup> N. E. D. *Saw* (2).

<sup>3</sup> N. E. D. *alleged* (3); Anderson's *Dictionary of Law*.

<sup>4</sup> Note that the common names William, John, Richard, and Piers were necessarily barred; also that in *Piers the Plowman* itself certain other names had come to have a special significance. Thus it would not have done to write Tom (associated with Tinker) or Mund (the Miller), or Reynald (the Reeve) or Bet (the Beadle), etc.



Beyond But's own statement I should not attempt to go for a motive. It may be that his prayer for Will's soul implies some personal acquaintance, that his prayer for King Richard implies that Richard suggested the task to him; but all that it is safe to say is that, holding a position at Court where he came into daily contact with the King, he would not have mentioned Richard's name if Will's work were viewed with disfavor there, nor would he have been likely to attach his own name under those circumstances.

What kind of man was he? Responsible, certainly. He held the post of King's messenger from 1378, probably from 1371, until his death in 1387. ✓

Some idea of his standing may be obtained from the entry in the *Issues of the Exchequer* for April 3, 1386, which shows that he was sent to Sir Matthew Gournay, Guy, Lord Bryan, Sir John Sully<sup>1</sup> and other knights, with letters from the King saying that the Feast of the Garter was postponed.<sup>2</sup>

He himself was a man of substance, owning at least some land; and his salary and perquisites were reckoned at £10 a year or more, as his successor exchanged them for that annuity.<sup>3</sup>

As for his opportunity to hear all the news that was going, there was none better in all England than that of a man who was constantly at Court and constantly wandering about the world.

If there is no good reason for doubting the truth of But's testimony, what does it mean?

It means first that there can be no allusion, in ll. 96-97, to Text C, which, scholars agree, did not come out before 1393, six years after But's death.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These three lived in Somerset and Devonshire.

<sup>2</sup> *Issues of the Exchequer*, III, 229.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1385-89, p. 290.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Chambers (*MLR*, July, 1911, pp. 309 ff.) argues from the relationship of the MSS that John But must have added his lines to a manuscript which already contained Passus I-VIII, as well as *Do-Wel*. Without attempting to discuss the relationship of the manuscripts, which I have not seen, I may point out that the chain of reasoning presented by Mr. Chambers (*op. cit.*, p. 314) has at least one weak link, the assumption that But *must* have added his lines to a manuscript that already contained the rest of A. It is at least a conceivable case that he read the *Plowman* visions and the *Do-Wel* separately, took a sheet of parchment to finish the latter, and had a fair copy of the whole made for himself in the very scriptorium from which had been sent out one or more copies of both without his addition. Instead of a common ancestor, I should incline to postulate a common birth-place for the main group of A manuscripts and for John But's manuscript as the ancestor of Rawlinson and perhaps of Ingilby. As soon as any other mode of derivation is seen to have been possible, the word *must* must be discarded.

Then if "oper werkes bope" (l. 96) cannot include C, we must find another meaning for ll. 96-97. The simplest interpretation is Mr. Bradley's, that But is referring to the two distinct visions of Passus I-VIII (whether existing separately or already connected) and to the *Do-Wel*, as the genuine works of Will.<sup>1</sup>

The question will be raised: But what of Text B, which must have been in circulation when But wrote? Exactly! Even if But wrote at the very beginning of Richard's reign, B was then in existence. Does not this very fact furnish a starting-point for But's work? Finding that the "saws" of Piers and of Do-wel were being passed about, and that there was confusion as to their authorship, John But took the trouble to make an end that should at once tell people that Will did not write anything more than the works he named, for the good reason that Death interrupted him. This is nothing more than a hypothesis, but it seems to me in entire accord with But's own statements.

Whether or not the "dent" that Death struck Will came in the pestilence of 1376, John But's testimony, in the light of the preceding discussion, seems to me to bear out Professor Manly's theory that *Piers the Plowman* was the work of several men, without including the messenger-maker himself.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Quite apart from the considerations urged above, I submit that if it had been possible for poor John But to have read all three versions I do not see how he could have carried away from them the impression that they were three separate works. Again, the shadow of Do-wel, Do-bet, Do-best is so overwhelmingly over the B and C that it would have been almost impossible for anyone to have summed them up as works of "peres be plowman and mechel puple," while this description exactly fits A, I-VIII.

<sup>2</sup> From the foregoing it would seem that *Do-wel* was a rough and imperfect draft of an unfinished poem, which is greatly inferior to *Piers the Plowman*. But we cannot tell how much we need to allow for age, sickness, or other difficulties unknown.

## CHAUCER'S TESTIMONY AS TO HIS AGE

Some years ago, when first seeing in the volumes of the *Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy* the suggestion of Sir Harris Nicolas that discredit or inconclusiveness belongs to Chaucer's testimony regarding his age in 1386, it occurred to me that the reasoning had little to commend it. Now that the suggestion of Sir Harris has been urged with apparently greater force by Mr. Samuel Moore in *Anglia*, XXV, 1-8, it seems worth examining more carefully. The reasoning of Sir Harris Nicolas may be baldly stated in syllogistic form. Some men who testified in the Scrope and Grosvenor heraldic trial were, let us not say members of an early Ananias club, but at least too careless of exactness. Chaucer was a man who testified in the aforesaid trial. Therefore Chaucer's testimony cannot be trusted.

Placed in this form the fallacy of the reasoning appears at once. Nor is the argument essentially better in the form now stated by Mr. Moore. Twenty-three of those who testified in the Scrope and Grosvenor trial varied from their true ages, as ascertained from other documents, by from three to seventeen years. Fourteen others varied from their true ages, as otherwise ascertained, either one or two years. Chaucer testified in the trial aforesaid, though we have no independent testimony as to his inaccuracy. Still we may not trust Chaucer's testimony, because some of his fellow-witnesses were inaccurate, and he may have been so.<sup>1</sup>

It is evident that this reasoning does not much assist us in the main point, the interpretation of Chaucer's testimony. It will be

<sup>1</sup> I have no desire to cavil at Mr. Moore's reasoning. Yet it may be pointed out that he assumes inaccuracy of four of the twenty-three witnesses on the Scrope side, by the statement of their ages when called in behalf of Grosvenor. This is scarcely independent evidence of a sufficient sort. If these four cannot be depended upon when called on the one side, their statements cannot be assumed to be correct when called on the other. These witnesses should rather be thrown out altogether, or at least wholly discredited. That would leave, of the twenty-three cited by Mr. Moore, nineteen who show considerable inaccuracy in the statement of their ages, besides fourteen who come within two years of their exact age. I refer to those mentioned by name in the above article. Moreover, so far as I can determine from Mr. Moore's statements, these four are the only ones who overstated their ages, a procedure quite at variance with the general practice in such cases as we shall see. There is thus another reason for distrusting their testimony in one place or the other.



clear to all, I think, that the faulty memories or deliberate deceptions of any number of Chaucer's fellow-witnesses do not really reflect upon his integrity. If it suggests a possibility of error, that error must be proved by independent evidence in Chaucer's individual case. It cannot be logically inferred from the testimony of others regarding themselves. Even if a conspiracy to conceal the truth could be proved against them, it would not involve Chaucer without independent evidence that he was a conspirator.

Nor does Mr. Moore's conjecture, that the age of the witness may have been the guess of some recording clerk, seem to be necessary, as I shall presently show. Before doing so, let me call attention to its improbability in Chaucer's case. If the age of Chaucer, as given in the Scrope and Grosvenor trial, were the guess of a clerk, we must assume the same explanation for the next statement attributed to the poet. When giving his age he also asserted that he had "borne arms twenty-seven years."<sup>1</sup> Now this twenty-seven years leads us back exactly to the year 1359, when we know that Chaucer was with the army of Edward III in France.

Besides, the words of Chaucer are even more exact than the round number twenty-seven implies. His testimony in the Scrope and Grosvenor trial was given on December 15, 1386. In 1359 the truce of Bordeaux had been extended to St. John's Day, June 24. The failure of the peace negotiations was proclaimed by the king on August 12, though Edward and his sons did not leave England until the last of October.<sup>2</sup> If, therefore, Chaucer's arming had been as early as August, 1359, it was, in December, 1386, at most twenty-seven years and four months that he had "borne arms." This significant part of Chaucer's testimony—for I shall assume it to be Chaucer's until further proof is forthcoming—is therefore accurate to a nicety.<sup>3</sup> May we not infer that the witness who was so exact in the one fact was not far wrong in the other statement, that he was

<sup>1</sup> "Armeez par xxvii ans," *Life Records of Chaucer*, p. 265.

<sup>2</sup> See my article on Chaucer's "First Military Service," *Romanic Review*, III, 325 f.

<sup>3</sup> In a brief sketch of the poet's life for a recent edition of *Poems of Chaucer*, I have based the most important inference as to the poet's age upon this part of the testimony. If, as Froissart says, "there was not knight, squire, or man of honor, from the age of twenty to sixty years, that did not go," the first age would just include a youth born in 1340, as the last-mentioned age just included Henry, duke of Lancaster, and under Edward the most important military leader.

"of the age of forty years and more."<sup>1</sup> What interpretation, then, may reasonably belong to the latter expression?

The phrase "of the age of forty years and more" does not, at first sight, lend itself to extreme exactness. Let us see, however. And first Mr. Moore also notes, in his careful examination of the testimony in the Scrope and Grosvenor trial, that a large number of the witnesses gave their ages as forty, fifty, or sixty years, with or without the "and more" (*et plus*). He comments: "It is certainly an extraordinary fact that, among about 140 persons between the ages of thirty-five and sixty-four years of age, there should be more than 75 persons who are said to be either forty, fifty, or sixty years of age." In a footnote he explains that he has disregarded the *et plus* in this computation. Yet before we assume intentional or other inaccuracy here, let us ask what these figures mean in the light of the best modern interpretation of statistics.

It is well known to statisticians of the census that returns of ages always contain a certain element of error. For example, on a-priori grounds it must be assumed that the number of persons of different ages living at one time should vary by a definite arithmetical progression. Thus, as the death-rate is a fairly constant factor, increasing from year to year, there will be fewer persons of the age of twenty-one than of twenty, of twenty-two than of twenty-one, and so on in a regular series. The actual census returns, however, do not show this regular decrease in the number reporting at different ages. In the first place, as a statistical authority states, "More persons return themselves as younger than they are, than as older than they are."<sup>2</sup> Again, "Concentration is greater on years which are multiples of ten, than on years which are multiples of five and not of ten."<sup>3</sup>

To correct such recognized inaccuracies, statisticians are accustomed to modify census reports as to ages by various methods. The methods need not concern us here. The character of the

<sup>1</sup> "Del age de xl ans et plus," *Life Records*, p. 265.

<sup>2</sup> Allyn A. Young, "Comparative Accuracy of Different Forms of Quinquennial Age Groups," *Publications of the American Statistical Association*, VII, 27, p. 38. Professor Young also wrote the article called "Age" in the *Supplementary Analysis of the Twelfth Census*, p. 130.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27. This concentration of returns on certain years is well illustrated by a chart in *Vital Statistics* (A. Newsholme), p. 3.

discrepancies between the reported ages and the corrected tables are more to the point. Thus, to illustrate the statement above, that more people give their ages as too low than too high, note these figures.<sup>1</sup> In the United States census of 1890, 1,359,566 persons reported themselves as thirty years of age, while only 891,222 reported twenty-nine years, and only 729,771 reported the age thirty-one. The correct figures, according to Professor Young, should have been 984,000 for twenty-nine years, 969,057 for thirty years, 942,977 for thirty-one years. Thus 390,509 more persons reported the age of thirty than were of that age. That is, roughly, more than every fourth person reporting the age of thirty was inaccurate. The exact proportion is 1 to every 3.7 persons.

Moreover, as Professor Young also points out, those persons who were inaccurate in reporting the age of thirty were more probably in excess of thirty rather than below thirty years old. For while, according to his corrected tables, 92,778 fewer than should have done so reported the age of twenty-nine, 213,206 fewer than should have done so reported the age of thirty-one. That is, more than one-fifth of those who were thirty-one understated their age by at least one year, and thus helped to make up the unusually large report for the age of thirty. On the other hand, less than one-tenth of those reporting the age of twenty-nine were inaccurate, and probably few of them reported the age of thirty. Clearly more people in 1890 gave their ages as too low than too high. Besides, such facts are not peculiar to one census, or to one country. So far as census tables show, they represent a tendency common to all peoples and to all periods.

Again, to illustrate the statement above, that age returns in a census today show concentration on multiples of ten, note these figures from Professor Young's table. The actual reports for the years forty, fifty, sixty—to take the ages Mr. Moore uses—were 1,037,336, 776,333, 502,788, respectively. The corrected numbers are, in the same order, 682,948, 516,735, 321,397. Thus the reports in excess of the facts were 354,388 for forty years; 259,598 for fifty years; 181,391 for sixty years. For forty and fifty years the exact proportion of inaccuracy is 1 person in 2.9, for sixty years 1 person

<sup>1</sup> Allyn A. Young, "The Adjustment of Census Age Returns," *Western Reserve University Bulletin*, V, 79 f.; table on p. 101.



in 2.8. At least every third person who reported an even number forty, fifty, or sixty was reporting inaccurately.

The relation of these figures to the testimony as to age by witnesses in the Scrope and Grosvenor trial will be evident. In our own country, in 1890, at least every third person who gave the age of forty, fifty, or sixty years reported himself as somewhat younger than he was. Contrary to Mr. Moore's idea, therefore, it is no matter of surprise that five centuries before, almost to the year, something like the same thing should have taken place. Of the 75 persons out of about 140 between the ages of thirty-five and sixty-four who testified that they were forty, fifty, or sixty years of age, with or without the addition "and more," one-third may be at once assumed to have understated their ages. This leaves 50 out of 140 to be accounted for. If all these added the phrase "and more" to the year given, as Chaucer did, we may suppose they belonged in the groups of years forty to forty-four, fifty to fifty-four, sixty to sixty-four. That is, these are the years to which belong those who wrongly concentrate on forty, fifty, or sixty by understating their ages. Now these groups include, in all, fifteen years, or one-half the period Mr. Moore takes for his basis of comparison. It would be natural enough if 50 out of 140, or a little more than one-third, had been of ages falling in one-half of the time specified, the period between the ages of thirty-five and sixty-four. Indeed, if the whole 75, only slightly more than one-half the 140, should be included in the fifteen years cited above, it would be quite within reason. As I have not access at present to the volumes of Sir Harris Nicolas on the *Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy*, I do not know exactly how many witnesses added the phrase *et plus* to the year of age given.<sup>1</sup> Nor is this necessary. Even if only a part did, the general tendency in such cases to concentrate on multiples of ten, probably stronger five centuries ago than today, would fairly account for the facts. It is therefore wholly unnecessary to suppose, as Mr. Moore does, that the ages attributed to the witnesses were the guess of a recording clerk.

<sup>1</sup> Fortunately Chaucer was one of these. We must infer that he was not content with the general concentration on a multiple of ten, and this "and more" must therefore be reckoned with in his particular case. Even in the case of other witnesses Mr. Moore is scarcely justified in disregarding this "*et plus*" as practically meaningless. The phrase may have meant different things to different individuals, but at least has some significance.

Let there be no misunderstanding of this argument. It is not my purpose to prove the accuracy of the witnesses in the Scrope and Grosvenor trial, and hence reason for Chaucer's accuracy as well. To do that would be but to repeat, in another form, the fallacious reasoning of Sir Harris Nicolas. I have tried to show that the inaccuracies of the witnesses are not so remarkable as they have been supposed to be. That they are not so different from similar inaccuracies under circumstances not wholly dissimilar today. Yet our main interest is with the testimony of a single individual, the poet Chaucer, whose appearance in this trial makes one more definite fact of his life.

Can we, then, in the light of modern statistics, make a more exact interpretation of Chaucer's reference to his age as "forty years and more."<sup>1</sup> Let us begin with another conclusion of Professor Young regarding the census statistics of 1890. He says:

It would appear that the four years below forty (thirty-six to thirty-nine) are excessively large as compared with the years above forty (forty-one to forty-four). This is probably chargeable in part to a peculiar tendency on the part of those whose ages are greater than forty to return themselves as less than forty. It would seem also that the concentration on the year forty is drawn in but very slight degree from years less than forty.<sup>2</sup>

This means, as applied to the testimony in the Scrope and Grosvenor trial, that those who testified they were forty years of age were certainly as old as that, and perhaps a little more. That is, understatement, not overstatement, of age is the rule. If, then, Chaucer had acknowledged forty years only in 1386, we may reasonably infer he could not have been less than that age. Mr. Moore is quite incorrect, therefore, in assuming from the inaccuracies of other witnesses that Chaucer may have been "only thirty-six or thirty-eight years old."<sup>3</sup> Overstatement of age cannot be assumed as likely, and cannot be argued in a case for which we have no independent testimony. Besides, if there is a tendency in the present age to hesitate in acknowledging forty years, it was probably much stronger at a time when the age of forty was regarded as "old," or approaching old age.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is some years since I purposed to make the application of modern age statistics to this problem. Mr. Moore's article merely gives the occasion.

<sup>2</sup> Allyn A. Young, "Comparative Accuracy," etc., as above, pp. 36-37.

<sup>3</sup> P. 6 of *Anglia* article cited above.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Chaucer's own allusion to his old age in the *Envoy to Scogan*, probably written when he was at most fifty-three years old, and Skeat's comment, with other examples, in *Works of Chaucer*, I, xvi.

Can we go one step farther? What light do modern statistics throw upon the further acknowledgment of Chaucer in his "forty years and more"? The authority of Professor Young has already been quoted to show that the concentration in the census reports upon the year forty is drawn mainly from the years forty-one, forty-two, forty-three, forty-four. Thus, the 354,388 who wrongly reported their age as forty in the census of 1890 are assumed by Professor Young to belong to the years forty-one, forty-two, forty-three, forty-four in the sums 171,239, 5,225, 81,078, and 96,846, respectively. Arranged in the order of frequency given, the years of these inaccurate reports are forty-one, forty-four, forty-three, forty-two. We cannot know which if any of these numbers represent Chaucer's "forty years and more." We may consider the probabilities in relation to other facts of his life. The age of forty-one in 1386 is wholly improbable for Chaucer, since his birth year would then have been 1345, and he would have been only fourteen when arming for the campaign of 1359 and only fifteen when he bore letters from Calais to England, as discovered by M. Delachenal.<sup>1</sup> The age of forty-four, the next in general probability, is also to be preferred to forty-three or forty-two on all grounds. It is more reasonable to believe Chaucer was at least seventeen when arming for the campaign of 1359, than that he was fifteen or sixteen.

But may Chaucer have been older than forty-four in 1386? It has already been implied, in the first quotation from Professor Young, that modern census tables show a concentration on multiples of five as well as multiples of ten, though the concentration is much more frequent in the latter than in the former case. In the census of 1890, 354,388 in excess of the correct number concentrated upon forty years of age, while a little more than half as many in excess of the correct number, or 204,800, concentrated upon forty-five.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps little is to be inferred from these figures directly. Yet if Chaucer had been forty-four years or under in 1386 the probabilities are great that he would have been

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire de Charles V*, II, 241.

<sup>2</sup> In the same census the concentration on thirty was more than twice as great as on thirty-five, that on fifty more than three times as great as on thirty-five. The figures in excess of the corrected ones for thirty and thirty-five are 390,509 and 181,114; for fifty and fifty-five, 359,598 and 73,824.



satisfied with the acknowledgment of forty years of age. If in 1890, as has been shown above, every third man who was forty-one, forty-two, forty-three, or forty-four reported forty years, it would not be strange if Chaucer, five centuries ago, should have been willing to do the same. His testimony to "forty years and more" is not proof that he was more than forty-four years of age. It does lend color to the idea that he may have been forty-five or a little more, and yet have reported as he did. If he were forty-four in 1386 he would have been born in 1342. If his testimony to more than forty years means anything in the light of modern statistics, he may easily have been born in 1341 or even in 1340.<sup>1</sup>

For practical purposes it is not necessary to support the validity of Chaucer's testimony. To say that he was born about 1340 is ordinarily sufficient. Yet to see in the testimony to his age in 1386 a fairly valid statement of fact is pleasant, because the impression left by Chaucer's works and what we know of his life is that of a more than usually accurate man, even of an exact man for his time.<sup>2</sup> His employment on many and important missions of diplomacy lends color to this idea. In the article above mentioned, Mr. Moore has added valuable proof of the poet's business ability, as shown by his long tenure of the controllership of customs, compared with the terms of other incumbents.<sup>3</sup> Even his works give evidence of the accuracy of the man in more ways than one. He twice recorded, in a manner we can hardly suppose accidental, the particular day of the month when he had the vision of the *House of Fame*. The *Lines to Adam Scriven* indicate his insistence on exactness in recording his verses. His references to his sources, when understood as he intended, are usually correct, as my colleague Professor Hulme suggests. His exactness in referring to the appearance of the planet

<sup>1</sup> In the interest of extreme exactness it should be noted that Chaucer may have been only forty-five when testifying in the Scrope and Grosvenor trial of 1386 and yet have been born in 1340, as he reckoned it. This would have been true if the date of his birth had fallen between December 15, 1340, and March 25, 1341. Or, if he had been born in the latter half of December, he would have still been only forty-five in 1386 and have been born in 1340, as we reckon it. Either of these possibilities would make it easy to interpret his "forty years and more" as a fairly exact statement of his age.

<sup>2</sup> I do not forget Professor Lounsbury's criticism of Chaucer for certain minor inaccuracies in his works; see *Studies in Chaucer*, II, 177-88, 416-26. Yet the number mentioned is small compared with the many allusions in his work as a whole.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 14-19, and especially p. 18.

Venus in the *Parliament of Birds* has been fruitful in dating the work. The similarly exact allusions to time in the *Canterbury Tales* are of unusual value for the same purpose. The whole of the *Astrolabe* gives proof of an exact mind, a mind inquisitive and acquisitive of what we should call science, today.

In one case, it is true, we might apparently accuse Chaucer of error in a fact about which he must have had some accurate knowledge. Curiously enough this concerns the age of a prominent man with whom the poet was more or less intimately associated. In the *Book of the Duchess* (l. 455) Chaucer gives the age of John of Gaunt as "four and twenty" instead of nine and twenty as it should have been. This has been explained, it is true, as a possible error of xxiiij for xxviii by the loss of v in copying.<sup>1</sup> Yet such explanation has always seemed to me less likely than that Chaucer was purposely flattering the young prince by an understatement of his age. In either case, however, we have good reason for not assuming a mere inaccuracy on Chaucer's part. Still, if Chaucer's understatement of John of Gaunt's age was for purposes of flattery, we have something akin to the understatement of ages by witnesses in the Scrope and Grosvenor trial. It may indicate a common tendency of the time. If, then, Chaucer's emphasis of forty was an understatement of his own age as much as he understated that of John of Gaunt in the *Book of the Duchess*, we should again reach the conclusion that he was about forty-five years old in 1386.

Yet it is better to arrive at this conclusion through such interpretation of Chaucer's testimony as I have made in the body of this paper. That interpretation assumes Chaucer's statement to have been intended as accurate, since we have no evidence to the contrary. It then explains his testimony as to his age in the light, not of statements by a few others of his own time who may or may not have given their own ages correctly, but of general tendencies among people of all nations today, tendencies likely to have been more, rather than less, pronounced five centuries ago.

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Brock's suggestion, noted by Professor Skeat.





## MONTGOMERIE AND THE FRENCH POETS OF THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Alexander Montgomerie's borrowings from Ronsard have been traced by Dr. Oscar Hoffman<sup>1</sup> and by Dr. Rudolf Brotanek.<sup>2</sup> Interesting along the line of this influence on Montgomerie is the fact that his imitations and adaptations extended, also, to the French poetry of the earlier half of the sixteenth century—particularly to that of Clément Marot. The following passages will sufficiently substantiate this relationship.

Montgomerie's "The Elegie" is an adaptation of Marot's Elegie III:

<p>Now, since the day of our depairt appeirs, Guid resone wald my hand to you suld wryt That vhlk I cannot weill express but teirs; Videlicet: "Adeu! my Lady vhyt." Adeu, my love, my lyking, and delyt, Till I returne; for vhlk I think so lang, That absence els does all my bouells byt: Sic gredie grippis I feell befor I gang, Resave, vhill than, a harte lyke for to mang, Quhillk freats and fryis in furious flammis of fyre; Keep it in gage, bot let it haif no wrang Of sik as may perhaps his place desyre. This is the summe of that vhlk I requyre:</p>	<p>Puis que le jour de mon depart arrive, C'est bien raison que ma main vous escrive Ce que ne puis vous dire sans tristesse, C'est asçavoir: Or adieu, ma mais- tresse; Doncques adieu, ma maistresse hon- orée, Jusque au retour, dont trop la demeurée Me tardera; toutesfois ce pendant Il vous plaira garder un cueur ardant, Que je vous laisse au partir pour hostage, Ne demandant pour luy autre ad- vantage Fors que veuillez contre ceulx le deffendre Qui par desir voudront sa place prendre. S'il a mal faict, qu'il en soit hors jecté:</p>
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<sup>1</sup> "Studien zu Alexander Montgomerie," *Englische Studien*, XX, 1895.

<sup>2</sup> *Untersuchungen über das Leben und die Dichtungen Alexander Montgomerie*, Wien und Leipzig, 1896.

If it has ocht offendit, let it smart;  
 If it be true, then let it haif the hyre.  
 Oh! wold to God ye might behold  
 this harte!

Quharin a thousand things ye suld  
 advert:

Thair suld ye sie the wound vhlk ye  
 it gave;

Thair suld ye sie the goldin deadly  
 darte;

Thair suld ye sie, hou ye bereft it  
 haiv;

Thair suld ye sie your image by the  
 laiv;

Thair suld ye sie your hevinly angels  
 face;

Thair suld ye soon my permanence  
 persaiv;

Thair suld ye sie your name haif only  
 place;

Thair suld ye sie my languishing,  
 alace!

Four our depairt: bot since ye knou  
 my painis,

I hope, if ye consider weill the case,  
 And spyis the teirs vhlk over my  
 visage rains,

If in your breist sik sympathie  
 remanis,

Then sall ye suffer som thing for my  
 saik.

Quhair constant love is, aluay it con-  
 stranis,

In weill or wo, coequall pairt to take;  
 Lyk as my members all, begins to  
 quake,

That of your duill the half I do  
 indure,

Quhillk I suppone ye for my absence  
 mak.

Then haif no dout that any creature  
 Can dispossesse you of my hairt, be  
 sure,

S'il est loyal, qu'il y soit bien traicté.  
 Que pleust à Dieu qu'en ce cueur  
 peussiez lire

Vous y pourriez mille choses eslire.

Vous y verriez vostre face au vif  
 paincte;

Vous y verriez ma loyaulté em-  
 praincte;

Vous y verriez vostre nom engravé,  
 Avec le deuil qui me tient aggravé

Pour ce depart; et en voyant ma  
 peine,

Certes je croy (et ma foy n'est point  
 vaine)

Qu'en souffririez pour le moins la  
 moytié

Par le moyen de la nostre amytié,  
 Qui veult aussi que la moytié je sente

Du deuil qu'aurez d'estre de moy  
 absente.

N'ayez donc peur, deffiance ne  
 doubté

Qu'autre jamais hors de mon cueur  
 vous boute.

Je suis à vous, et depuis ma  
 nayssance

Du feu d'amour n'ay eu tel' cong-  
 noissance;

Car aussi tost que la Fortune bonne  
 Eut à mes yeulx monstreé vostre  
 personne,

Nouveaux soucys et, nouvelles pen-  
 sées

En mon esprit je trouvoy amassées.

Tant que (pour vray) mon franc et  
 plein desir

Qui en cent lieux alloit pour son  
 plaisir,

Nor yit remove from you my con-  
stant mynd.  
Since I am yours, quhom love culd  
not allure,  
Sen I wes borne, till nou that I  
enclynd  
To you allone, for whom my hairt is  
pynd.  
Of lovis fyr, befor, I nevir kneu,  
Nor yit acquent with Cupid in this  
kynd;  
But look! how soon gude fortun to  
me sheu  
Your sweet behaviour and your  
hevinly heu,  
As *A per se*, that evir Natur wroght,  
Then uncouth cairs in me began  
aneu,  
Both in my spreit and in my trublit  
thoght:  
My libertie vhiik I in bondage  
broght,  
Sa that my frank and frie desyre, or  
than,  
Ane hunder places for my plesur  
soght,  
And ay sall do, whill I am leving  
man.  
Sall ye then, after our depairt, forget  
That vhiik is yours, and change on na  
wyse can?  
Hou soon myn ee no sight of yours  
culd get,  
It weeping said: "O deidly corps,  
defet!  
Quhair bene these lamps of light,  
these cristall ees,  
Quhilk maid us ay so mirrie vhen ve  
mett?"  
Quod I agane with sighing voce:  
"Thou sees,  
Thoght thou for dolour under shadou  
dees.

En un seul lieu s'arresta tout à  
l'heure,  
Et y sera jusques à ce qu'il meure.

Oublierez vous donc après ce depart  
Ce que est vostre ? hélas ! quant à ma  
part,  
Dès que mon oeil de loing vous a  
perdue,  
Il me vient dire: "O personne  
esperdue,  
Qu'est devenue ceste claire lumiere  
Qui me donnoit liesse coustumiere?"

Incontinent d'une voix basse et  
sombre  
Je luy respons: "Oeil, si tu es en  
l'ombre  
Ne t'esbahy: le soleil est caché,  
Et pour toy est en plein midy  
couché,  
C'est asçavoir, ceste face si claire  
Qui te souloit tant contenter et  
plaie  
Est loing de toy." Ainsi, m'amyte et  
dame,  
Mon oeil et moy sans nul reconfort  
d'ame  
Nous complaignons, quand vient à  
vostre absence,  
En regrettant vostre belle presence.



Be not abaised, suppose thou haif no  
sight.

Thy sun is hid, and keeps no more  
degrees;

Bot for thy sake, goes to at none, for  
night;

That is to say—that hevinly visage  
bright,

Quharon thou wont thy fantasie to  
feid,

Is far fra the; vhairthrou thou laikis  
thy sight."

So, lustie Lady, well of womanheid!  
Myne ee and I but comfort ar indeed,

And do bewaill thy wofull absence ay.  
Regrating you, my wounded hairt

does bleed

And than I think, vhen I am far  
auay,

Leist that, meintym blind Love suld  
thus assay

All meins he nicht, by craft or yit  
ingyne

To open his blindit ees, that they  
Might clerelie see these gracious ees  
of thyn;

And so, beholding sik a sight divyn,  
His mynd, to love the, shortly suld  
be moved;

And caus me, at ane instant, for to  
tyne

The thing quhilk I sa lang and leall  
haiff lovd.

Be ye not constant, vhen ye sall be  
provd,

Love sall overcome your honest  
ansueirs all;

That ye sall think, to yeild, it you  
behovd:

Love is so slie; vhaiss fairdit language  
sall

Peirce and get entrie throu a stony  
wall.

Et puis j'ay peur, quand de vous je  
suis loing,

Que ce pendant Amour ne prenne  
soing

De desbander ses deux aveuglez  
yeulx

Pour contempler les vostres gracieux  
Si qu'en voyant chose tant singu-

liere

Ne prenne en vous amytié familiere,  
Et qu'il ne m'oste à l'ayse et en un

jour

Ce que j'ai eu en peine et long sejour.

Certainment, si bien ferme vous  
n'estes,

Amour vaincra vos responses hon-  
nestes.

Amour est fin, et sa parolle farde  
Pour mieulx tromper: donnez vous

en donc garde,

Car en sa bouche il n'y a rein que  
miel,

Mais en son cueur il n'y a rien que  
fiel.

S'il vous promet et s'il vous faict le  
doulx,

Repondez luy: "Amour, retirez  
vous:

<p>I wish you, thairfor, with him to be war: His mouth is hony, bot his hairt is gall. On kitlest huiks the sliest baits they ar. If he the heght, or slielie drau the nar, Thou ansueir him: "Go, Love, reteir the hence; For I love one who hes my hairt so far, He merits not to tyne him, but offence."</p>	<p>J'en ay choisy un qui en mainte sorte Merite bien que dehors moy ne sorte."</p>
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The French poem has seventeen additional lines, which I do not quote, as they have no parallel in the Scotch; however, it will be seen that Montgomerie's tendency is to expand what he takes for his model.

The first stanza of Montgomerie's "An Admonition to Young Lassis" has almost an exact parallel in Marot's Epigram LXVIII ("De Oui et Nenny"). Montgomerie continues with two additional stanzas in much the same strain. These I do not quote.

<p>A bony "No," with smyling looks agane, I wald ye leirnd, sen they so comely ar. As touching "yes" if ye suld speik so plane, I might reprove you to haif said so far. Noght that your grant, in ony wayis, might gar Me loth the fruit that curage ocht to chuse; Bot I wald only haif you seme to skar, And let me tak it, senyeing to refuse.</p>	<p>Un doulx Nenny, avec un doulx soubrire, Est tant honneste, il le vous fault apprendre: Quand est d'Oui, si veniez à le dire, D'avoir trop diet je vouldroys vous repandre; Non que je soys ennuyé d'entre- prendre D'avoir le fruiet dont le desir me pointet; Mais je vouldrois qu'en le me lais- sant prendre Vous me disiez: "Non, vous ne l'aurez point."</p>
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The rhyme scheme in both these poems by Montgomerie is the linked quatrain, the second consisting of two quatrains only—*a b a b b c b c*, and the first, of continuously linked quatrains—*a b a b b c b*

*c c d c d*. . . . This is the rhyme scheme of twelve more of the "miscellaneous poems," and, with the terminal couplet, is that of the sonnets. I have noted over one hundred examples of this linking, in Marot—enough to establish it as a very characteristic form. There are to be found occasional examples of the two linked quatrains in English poetry from the time of Chaucer, but it is only in Spenser that it is used extensively, and in his sonnets we find, first, the continuous linking. Dr. Hoffman<sup>1</sup> thinks Montgomerie's sonnet form original with him and noted by Spenser in the examples occurring in James VI's *Essays of a Prentise*. Stevenson<sup>2</sup> says the priority must rest with Montgomerie, but thinks the forms independent developments. Since both poets borrowed from Marot's material, is it not highly probable that he is a common source, also, for the idea of continuous linking?<sup>3</sup> In no case, however, does Marot close his linked quatrains with the couplet.

There is good evidence that Montgomerie was experimenting with the various intricate interior rhymes of the *grands rhétoriciens*, thus going back to French poetry of the first quarter of the century.<sup>4</sup> Instances follow of Montgomerie's use of all these different rhymes. The fact that he tried so many seems proof positive that he was consciously imitating. All the references which follow are to Dr. Cranstoun's edition of Montgomerie, unless otherwise given.

*Rime renforcée*: Caesura rhymes with the end of the line.

Quhilk armes on *far* so uglie *ar*,  
And ay convoyd with Dolour and with Dvil,  
That Hope nicht *skar*, if they come *nar*,  
And fray ane hairt perhaps out of his huill.

*Melancholie, Grit Debut of Despair*, p. 171.

See, also, "Banks of Helicon," p. 273; "The Cherrie and the Slae"; "Love, if Thou List," p. 160; "He Bids Adeu to His Maistres," p. 189.

<sup>1</sup> In his "Studien zu Alexander Montgomerie," *Englische Studien*, XX, 1895.

<sup>2</sup> In his supplementary volume, 1910, Introduction, xlvii.

<sup>3</sup> R. E. Neil Dodge, in the Cambridge Spenser, and C. H. Herford, in his edition of Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*, suggest Marot as the source of Spenser's linked quatrains.

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of these interior rhymes see L. E. Kastner, *History of French Versification*, Clarendon Press, 1903.



*Rime batelée*: end of line rhymes with caesura of next line.

Stay, Passinger, thy mind, thy futt, thy ee:  
 Vouchsafe, a *we*, his epitaph to *view*  
 Quha left but *fue* behind him, sik as *he*;  
 Syn leirnd to *de*, to live agane *aneu*.

"Epitaph of the Maister of Work," p. 221.

See, also, "Flyting," p. 61; "Poet's Legacy," p. 170.

*Rime brisée*: Caesura rhymes with caesura.

When ye wer *pleisit* to pleiss me hertfully  
 I was *appleisit* to plieiss yow sicklerly;  
 Sen ye ar *pleisit* an vyir me,  
 Be nocht *displeisit* to pleiss quhair pleisit am I.

"When Ye Were Pleisit," p. 279.

*Rime enchaînée*: last word of one line repeated at first of next line.

I wald se mare nor ony thing I *sie*;  
 I *sie* not yit the thing that I *desire*;  
*Desire* it is that does content the *ee*;  
 The *ee* it is vhlk settis the hairt in fyre.

"Sonnet to James Lauder," p. 109.

See, also, "Sonnet to Issobell Yong," p. 110.

*Rime en écho*:

Quhat lovers, Echo, maks sik querimony? Mony,  
 Quhat kynd of fyre doth kindle their courage? Rage  
 Quhat medicine, (O, echo! knowis thou ony?) Ony?  
 Is best to stay this Love of his passage? Age.

"Echo," p. 138.

*Rime senée*: all words of each line begin with the same letter. Instances of this in Montgomerie are too numerous to require particular illustration. Alliterative verse was, of course, common with the Scotch poets.

The tendency to combine these forms, which the *rhétoriqueurs* carried to an absurdity, is also evident in Montgomerie:

*Rime renforcée* and *rime batelée*:

Remember rightly, when ye *reid*,  
 The woe and *dreid*, but hope to *speid*,  
 I drie into dispair.

My hairt within my breist does *bleid*  
 Unto the *deid*, without *remeid*;  
 I'm hurt, I wot not vhair.

"He Prayis to His Maistres for Pitie," p. 197.

*Rime renforcée* and *rime brisée*:

Polwart, yee *peip* like a mouse amonst thornes;  
 Na cunning ye *keepe*; Polwart, yee *peip*;  
 Ye look like a *sheipe* and ye had twa hornes;  
 Polwart, ye *peipe* like a mouse amongst thornes.

"Flyting," p. 59.

See also: "Redolent Rois, My Onlie Shois" (p. 208, supplementary vol.<sup>1</sup>); "Grund The on Patience" (p. 213, supplementary vol.<sup>2</sup>); "I Hoipe to Serve" (p. 217, supplementary vol.<sup>3</sup>).

Dr. Brotanek suggests that this interior rhyme is the result of an indirect Italian influence; but the French influence seems clearly to be more immediate and more probable.

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<sup>1</sup> G. Stevenson, *Poems of Alexander Montgomerie*, Supplementary Volume (Scottish Text Society, 1910).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

## A NEW LIGHT ON THE SONNETS

Sitting in the old-fashioned garden which takes the place of Shakespeare's last home in Stratford, I was running through a volume of the Sonnets which I had just bought of the bookseller now established in the house where Judith Shakespeare went to live after her marriage. I came to the line, "So I, made lame by fortune's dearest spite," in the thirty-seventh sonnet. A thought struck me. I turned to sonnet eighty-nine and read "Speak of my lameness and I straight will halt."

A lame actor! True Malone, Dowden, and other critics had argued that lameness is used metaphorically. There is a possible chance for such an interpretation of the second quotation, but common-sense rebels against applying it to the first, and even in the second a literal lameness is much more consistently indicated. The context shows that the lameness was a deformity, one of the physical defects which the writer admits in his despair and self-pity.

Other critics explain that it was probably a slight, a barely perceptible lameness, and that Shakespeare was probably cast for old men and other slow-moving characters. But the records give him as a *principal* actor, and his brother Gilbert remembered him as the Ghost in *Hamlet*. I pictured to myself the original production. I imagined the actor saying, "See! It stalks away!" and then seeing a lame ghost *hobble* across the stage. Is it possible, I asked myself, that the author would permit his scene to be broken up by the absurdity of a limping specter?

I looked at the sonnets again. The writer insists that he is "bated and chopped with tann'd antiquity" (Sonnet LXII). But we know from the contemporary allusions of Meres and from other undeniable evidence that the sonnets were written while Shakespeare was in his thirties, perhaps before. Surely this is not at "the twilight of such day as after sunset fadeth in the west" (Sonnet LXXIII). And these inconsistencies having appeared, others introduced themselves. Why the insistence at one time that the suitor is without artistic skill (XXIX), at another boasting of his



verses (LXXXI)? Why the querulous, senile, unmanly attitude contrasted with the wonderful smoothness, nobility, and power of the poetry? And why finally, why above all, the dedication to Mr. W.H., "the onlie begetter of these ensuing sonnets"? If the young lord who was the sonneteer's rival was William Herbert, earl of Pembroke (and there are many arguments against it), he would still not be the "onlie begetter," for the verses are addressed partly to the woman in the case. And why *Mr. W.H.*? If a cypher or an alias is required, would the publisher fail in the servility which never forsakes the Elizabethan bookseller by robbing his patron of his title? Something is clearly wrong.

Then suddenly came this thought. Have not the commentators in their eagerness to preserve the only ostensible bit of autobiography left by the poet, overlooked the obvious fact that the sonnets were written *by Shakespeare for some one else*—for this senile, lame Mr. W.H., who simply paid the young poet to write love-letters for him in the fashion of the period, exactly as he accuses his rival sonneteer (LXXXVI) of doing?

Now the other enigmas begin to solve themselves. Read the sonnets one by one in this new light and you will see the drama. In Sonnets one to seventy-six inclusive, an old man (LXXII and LXXIII), ugly, poor, friendless, without artistic skill or influence (XXIX) fawns upon a younger one, fulsomely praising his looks and merits and urging him to marry. Why is he so anxious that his friend should wed?

This friend (who like himself is named William, as appears by CXXXV and CXXXVI) has won from him the woman he loves (XLII), and although young Will, as we may call him, expresses sorrow (XXXV) for his conduct he continues to keep old Will out of his mistress' favor. Now old Will knows that he is powerless with the usual weapons against so brilliant a rival. To anger young Will can have the effect only of making him indifferent to the wrong he has done and old Will realizes the desperateness of his case. Appeals to young Will's sense of honor then must be the program, united to a very subtle scheme.

Young Will is unmarried. He is rich, powerful, handsome, probably a nobleman (XXXVII). The woman is not beautiful as

the time regards beauty (CXXXI) (CXLI), nor chaste (CXLII). Having been the mistress of this lame, insignificant, old man, she cannot be a woman of young Will's class, so old Will knows that young Will is not likely to marry her and that young Will's marriage to some other woman will put an end to the rivalry and give old Will a chance to come back to favor. Hence the first group of sonnets addressed to young Will.

Old Will, though claiming much for the verses which he has inspired, makes no pretensions to literary skill. He envies young Will's ability in that direction, first in an impersonal manner (XXIX), then directly (LXXXV), and then in a more malicious tone, hinting that young Will, pretending to write his own verses, was really, like himself, aided by another (LXXXVI). But old Will must meet his rival where he can. Young Will sends love poems to the lady (LXXXIII). They may or may not be original. But old Will can, hiring Shakespeare and throwing doubt upon the authorship of young Will's tributes, secure perhaps an advantage.

This he does, and while appealing to young Will through that poetic form of which young Will is himself so fond, he at the same time sends to the woman a series of sonnets, the first accompanying the gift of a notebook or diary (LXXVII).

The first group (I to LXXVI) is a unit by itself. The first twenty-six are ingenious exercises in superlative praise in the artificial Elizabethan manner. The terms of endearment are laid on with a trowel purposely, it seems, to keep the good-will and arouse the remorse of the young rival, while at the same time they subtly suggest to others a reaction from all this sweetness and an impression of effeminacy on the part of the object. The marvelously turned phrases hide all but the obvious motive, but watchfulness will discover the other two in every line.

Then in XXVII we get a suggestion of complaint which deepens in each succeeding section until XXXV. The accusation, though made in terms of painful tenderness or whining timidity, is perfectly clear—young Will has robbed old Will of his mistress. Then something happens. The verses suddenly break into a weak and agitated sonnet (XXXVI), the last two lines of which are copied from another (XCVI) addressed to the woman. Then they burst

into louder laments and clearer reproaches to XLII. With XLIII and the following sonnets we perceive that old Will has gone away from young Will and his mistress, gone somewhere. We find out the reason at the end of LVIII.

I am to wait, though waiting so be hell,  
Not blame your pleasure, be it ill or well.

Old Will has been induced by young Will's promise to go away for a while, perhaps on the representation that young Will is repentant (XXXV), and will try to undo the mischief he has brought if old Will promises not to interfere by his continuous appeals and complaints. Old Will believes, also, that absence will raise something like jealousy in the woman (CIX). So Will, the elder, goes to the country and waits. He grows tired of waiting (LXIV, LXVI) interspersing the expression of his impatience with more extravagant praise of his rival (LXIII, LXV to LXIX). He hints that people tell him that the affair is not being broken off (LXX); grows melancholy and hopeless (LXXI, LXXV), reminding young Will that there is not much time left for him to enjoy the reward he has been promised.

In the meantime he has been writing and sending sonnets to the woman. They begin with LXXVII and run on in a strange mixture of adoration and detraction as if he feared the lady would think herself too good for him. He is afraid to attack the younger lover, hoping still that the prize may be turned over to himself. Still he gradually allows a bitter note and a sarcastic tone to slip in (LXXXVI), and as hope fades away his honeyed praise of her changes to peevish scolding (LXXXVIII, LXXXIX, XC). More sarcasm (XCI) and more scolding (XCII to XCVII) and the same fear of approaching death (XCII), and then a softer, tenderer, more genuine set of spring memories (XCVII to XCIX).

Then another shift of the course. He invokes his muse to sing again the praise of the noble youth who has evidently done something which pleased the venerable Pantaloon very much. What can it be except that he has left the woman and gone to other fields, leaving her to be wooed back to her original swain? From C to CVIII he sings his gratitude to his "sweet boy" (CVIII).



With CIX he addresses the woman again. He announces his return. He promises that his appetite he never more will grind "on newer proof to try an older friend" (CX). It thus appears that his exile was for the purpose (the double-edged humor of young Will's advice is seen) of making the woman jealous. But though he directs his verse at her in confident style (CIX to CXV), she admits impediments and principally his age, for he answers these objections in one of the finest of all the sonnets (CXVI) and protests that his love has not changed (CXVI to CXXIV). One suspects that to get rid of him she affects to believe that during his absence he has been false to her.

Then another catastrophe happens. Young Will again appears on the scene and the intrigue shows signs of being renewed. Old Will half-heartedly sends another warning that young Will had better marry before he grows too old (CXXVI), and then resumes his sour sweet epistles to the darkly fair beauty (CXXVII to CXXXII). But alas! The nobleman is soon firmly reintrenched in Love's stronghold, and nothing is left for the Pantaloon but to beg for the dregs of her affection (CXXXIII to CLII) and peevishly upbraid her until at last (CLII) he impotently relinquishes her altogether.

The last two sonnets are obviously not connected with the drama—mere fanciful conceits, stuck on, probably, so that the collection may be complete.

We may now read the dedication and realize that "the only begetter of these insuing sonnets Mr. W. H." is old Will, the man who ordered and paid for them and perhaps can still be induced to pay something toward the perpetuation of his romance—not Lord W. H. nor Lord H. W. nor any lord, but a plain bourgeois commoner as we expect to find him.

But no more of identity. And nothing of the Herbert-Fitton or the Southampton or Sidney Lee's literary exercise, or any other theory. This is not a synthesis, nor a stretching of the poems to fit over some specific external fact. It is merely the bare statement of what appears from the internal evidence to one whose profession it is to discover from the verbal expression of others the facts of their lives and experience in a given case.

This is the story seen by the light of the first premise. That it robs us of what we thought was an autobiographical record is not

really deplorable, for it also erases the stains upon Shakespeare's character as established by the pure moral tone of the plays—stains of sycophancy, of querulousness, even of homo-sexuality. True, the theory here presented, if correct, indicates that Shakespeare in a mercenary spirit was satisfied to cater to the senile and caddish desires of a weak old man, but the consistent financial purpose is no novelty in the estimate of his qualities.

A real loss is the reduction of the sonnets from genuine expressions of feeling to mere hack writing; still we have left to us the marvelous phrases, the profound generalizations, and occasionally a burst of emotion which we feel must be real and personal and oblivious of the mercenary task.

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## A SHAKESPEARE CRUX

A Shakespeare crux of long standing is the passage in *All's Well That Ends Well*, IV, ii, 38, in which Count Bertram, seeking to persuade Diana to yield her honor to him, is answered by her thus:

I see that men make rope's in such a scarre,  
That wee'l forsake our selves.

Although the passage cannot compare with the famous "runawayes eyes" of *Romeo and Juliet* in the amount of discussion evoked, it is a good second to *Hamlet's* "dram of eale" in the number of emendations it has suffered. Doubtless the temptation to emend has in this case been peculiarly great because of the large number of similar words that can be substituted for "rope's" and "scarre." Thus, among something like thirty emendations that have been proposed, are "hopes in such affairs," "hopes in such a scene," "hopes in such a cause," "hopes in such a war," "slopes in such a scarre," "ropes in such a staire," etc., some of which have from time to time been adopted. Conservative editors of the present time mostly preserve the folio text, as above, letting the crux stand; some of them regard it as hopelessly corrupt. Dr. Ingleby once adopted the word "rope-scarres" as a family name by which to designate an entire class of "corrupt idiotisms."

As long as we have amateur editors we shall probably have emendations, but critics of experience have mostly learned the lesson that the solution of these difficulties is nearly always to be found, not in emendation, but in the text as we have it. Certainly in this case nothing more is required than the omission of the apostrophe from "rope's." A "scarre" ("scar," "scaur") meant, up to Shakespeare's time, a bold rock or crag—such a crag, for instance, as Dumbarton Castle stands on—and the figure here is the sufficiently familiar figure of the rock or fortress of a woman's honor, which men, with arguments and persuasions, attempt to scale and so enforce a surrender. Compare *Lucrece*, 481:

Under that colour am I come to scale  
Thy never-conquered fort.



Diana pretends to be yielding, for her very next words are a demand for the ring which she knows Bertram will not part with on any lesser terms. The ring being at first withheld, she refuses to capitulate, in language which keeps up the figure:

Thus your own proper wisdom  
Brings in the champion Honour on my part,  
Against your vain assault.

Thereupon Bertram gives up the ring as the price of conquest.

Be it observed further that in the early part of the play there is a passage running thus (I, i, 123):

*Helena:* Man is enemy to virginity; how may we barricade it against him?

*Parolles:* Keep him out.

*Helena:* But he assails; and our virginity, though valiant, in the defence yet is weak: unfold to us some warlike resistance.

*Parolles:* There is none [etc.].

It is true, this particular discussion between Parolles and Helena is not altogether above the suspicion of having been interpolated. But there is another passage even more apposite. It is found where Helena is addressing the mother of Diana (III, vii, 17):

The count he woos your daughter,  
Lays down his wanton siege before her beauty,  
Resolved to carry her: let her in fine consent [etc.].

Clearly, Diana's words to Bertram, when the crisis comes, are an echo of this very figure.

If the intruded apostrophe in "rope's" needs accounting for, there are several places in the same column of the Folio text from which it might have fallen out and been wrongly replaced—the word "Tis" some lines above, or the elided "is" in "Mine Honors such a Ring" below (in the next column an apostrophe is found in a similar elision of "is," "When his wife's dead"). It is more likely, however, that the apostrophe is due either to some blot on the manuscript copy, or to a mere inadvertence on the part of the typesetter such as occasioned the omission of the apostrophes in the two cases just cited.

The use of ropes in actual escalade is several times alluded to by Shakespeare. Indeed, the very situation which has furnished the metaphor in our text is literally and circumstantially described in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*:

*Valentine:* Ay, and we are betroth'd: nay, more, our marriage-hour,  
With all the cunning manner of our flight,  
Determined of; how I must climb her window;  
The ladder made of cords; etc. (II, iv, 179).

*Proteus:* Know, noble lord, they have devised a mean  
How he her chamber-window will ascend,  
And with a corded ladder fetch her down;  
For which the youthful lover now is gone,  
And this way comes he with it presently (III, i, 38).

*Valentine:* What lets but one may enter at her window?

*Duke:* Her chamber is aloft, far from the ground,  
And built so shelving, that one cannot climb it  
Without apparent hazard of his life.

*Valentine:* Why, then, a ladder, quaintly made of cords,  
To cast up, with a pair of anchoring hooks,  
Would serve to scale another Hero's tower,  
So bold Leander would adventure it (III, i, 113).

Juliet describes Romeo's resort to ropes in similar phrasing (*Romeo and Juliet*, III, ii, 132):

Take up those cords. Poor ropes, you are beguiled,  
Both you and I, for Romeo is exiled.  
He made you for a highway to my bed,  
But I, a maid, die maiden-widowed.

For the use of a rope on a scar may be cited the description of the samphire-gatherer in *King Lear* (IV, vi, 15):

Half way down  
Hangs one that gathers samphire.

"Make ropes" might seem to be an inexact phrase for "make ropes into a ladder" or "make a ladder of ropes," but observe that precisely the same form of expression is employed in the passage cited from *Romeo and Juliet*: "Poor ropes, you are beguiled . . . He made you for a highway to my bed." Manifestly "ropes" is used as the equivalent of rope-ladder, or the entire scaling-apparatus. Moreover, in the present passage the word is used metaphorically for Bertram's cunningly woven arguments, and the expression would offer no difficulty even without this parallel. For "*in* such a scarre," where later usage would incline toward *on*, compare: "For in thy shoulder do I build my seat" (*3 Henry VI*, II, vi, 100); "Or in the beached margent of the sea" (*A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, II, i, 85).

Finally, the phrase "that we'll forsake ourselves" so obviously means "that we'll abandon our better selves, give up our honour," that it scarcely needs illustration. Yet there chances to be an exact equivalent of this in *The Rape of Lucrece* (148-57):

So that in venturing ill we leave to be  
The things we are for that which we expect. . . .

Such hazard now must doting Tarquin make,  
Pawning his honour to obtain his lust;  
And for himself himself he must forsake.

It seems rather strange that so simple an explanation should not have occurred before. Yet I turned the passage over in my own mind many days, wondering whether Shakespeare knew anything of mountain-climbers tied together with ropes, or trying to learn whether ropes may not have been used along the cliff-walks of Scarborough, and the like, when finally the word "assault" in the context suggested the explanation here offered. Knight appears to have come nearest to it. His punctuation is puzzling, but he prints "ropes" as a plural and comments: "*Scaur* is still used for a precipitous rock in Scotland. Thus, figuratively, it may be used for a difficulty to be surmounted. Men, according to Diana, pretend to show how we can overpass the obstacle, by furnishing the ropes by which the rock is to be climbed." But Knight evidently had only a somewhat vague picture in mind, having missed the definite image of an assault by escalade.

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## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ANALYTIC GENITIVE IN GERMANIC

The appearance of Mr. Bradley's *The Making of English* in 1904 brought to the writer of this article several very delightful hours and a little later great unrest of mind and much weary labor, for the two pages 59 and 60 treating of the origin of the English analytic genitive with "of" presented views quite different from those which had for years been slowly ripening in the course of his own investigations. Among other things Mr. Bradley says: "We do not know whether, apart from French influence, the English language would not have evolved this convenient device for obviating the ambiguities arising from the decay of the old inflections; but imitation of French idiom certainly helped it attain currency." The opinion of a scholar like Mr. Bradley had considerable weight and views scarcely formed and not yet securely established began to totter. Moreover, Mr. Bradley is very fair in giving credit to both native English tendencies and the foreign influence of French. Nevertheless his words did not bring peace. Old thoughts returned and demanded a new hearing. To restore harmony once more the writer took up work again on this subject. It soon became evident that the analytic genitive did not spring at once into being. It had a very modest beginning. It was at first only occasionally used instead of the old simple synthetic genitive. Thus its history is intimately connected with the history of the older synthetic form. It became perfectly clear to the writer

that the meaning and growth of the new form could be understood only in the light of the meaning and the growth and decline of the old form. Thus, before we take up the study of the first beginnings of the analytic form, a brief history of the older synthetic genitive is here given.

Scholars would fain penetrate the darkness that surrounds the origin of the genitive case, but up to the present nothing whatever has been discovered. We do not even know whether its original use was adnominal or adverbial. As, however, the new analytic genitive, which has similar meanings and exactly the same functional force as the older synthetic genitive, is of adverbial origin, it is quite possible that this is also true of the origin of the synthetic form. While the synthetic genitive is more used than any other case to modify nouns, it was also in former periods freely used with verbs and adjectives. Only in recent times has it become restricted almost exclusively to adnominal use. On the other hand, the new analytic genitive is freely used with both nouns and verbs. In a study of the genitive it is important to remember that there has always been a close relation here between adverbial and adnominal functions. This can best be illustrated by showing the relation between adverbial and adnominal function in the new synthetic genitive which has developed in historic times where the stages of development are open to study. Thus in the following sentence *hinz* (*hin ze*) *got* has probably still adverbial force: "Swer die minne *hinz got* hat daz er durch sine hulde alle dise welt versmaht . . . . daz ist . . . . diu heilige gots minne" (*Altdeutsche Predigten*, III, 119, thirteenth century), "If anyone has his love directed to God so that he for His favor despises this world, that is truly the holy love of God." Here *ze got* may be, perhaps, more closely related to the verb than to the governing noun *minne*, but it was often felt as belonging to the governing noun and in that case it ceased to be an adverbial element and became an adnominal adjunct, the modern representative of the older objective genitive, as in "Die Liebe zur *Freiheit* [instead of the older genitive *der Freiheit*] wohnt im Herzen."

Although the development is usually perfectly clear in case of the new analytic genitive the development of the older synthetic genitive is wrapped in darkness. Thus in the Middle High German

sentence quoted in the preceding paragraph nothing is known of the origin of the objective genitive *gots*. The genitive in *gots minne* is usually explained as an objective genitive, which is a development of the possessive genitive, and *minne* is interpreted as having passive force. Thus the expression would mean "God's being loved," or "the love of God," i.e., love which God possesses in a passive sense, not love that God has, feels, but love which God has, receives as a passive recipient. There is, however, another view as to the origin of the objective genitive: "Der subjektive Genitiv ist nur eine Abart des Genitivs poss., der objektive hat ein eigentümlichere Bedeutung. Er berührt sich mit den Genitiven, die zu einem durch ein Substantivum bestimmten Verbum als weitere Bestimmung hinzutreten: Johannes vollzog die Taufe Christi = er vollzog die Taufe an Christus" (Wilmanns, *Deutsche Grammatik*, III, 600). According to this theory the objective genitive was originally an adverbial genitive of reference or specification: "With reference to Christ John performed the baptism." This theory explains a large number of objective genitives. Thus *gots minne* would mean "love with reference to God," or "love of God." It may possibly be that the objective genitive is of composite origin, sometimes a possessive genitive, sometimes a genitive of specification. The adverbial genitive of specification also has often seemingly close relation to the attributive possessive genitive: "We sceolon us gearcian on eallum pingun swa swa Godes penas . . . on micclum gepylde . . . on fæstenum, and on clænnysse *modes* and *licaman*" (Aelfric, "The First Sunday in Lent," tenth century), "We should prepare ourselves just as God's disciples by patience, by fasting, and by cleanliness of *mind* and *body*." Are *modes* and *licaman* possessive genitives or adverbial genitives of specification? We find the same ambiguity in modern German: "die Gleichheit der Gesinnungen," "der Unterschied der Jahre," "ein Muster der Trefflichkeit." In years gone by the writer had definite ideas as to the growth and development of the synthetic genitive and ready explanations for the most puzzling genitive constructions. Today these speculations seem to him perfectly idle, for we do not know anything about the *origin* of the genitive and hence cannot construct any trustworthy theories of its development.



Although the writer is not disposed to enter upon the question of the *development* of the different synthetic genitive categories, he believes that a close study of the *meaning* of these categories is very helpful. The English genitive reached its culmination in the ninth century, while it still flourished in almost full power in the thirteenth century in Germany, even in simple *prose*. At this time the genitive had in both countries developed a rich store of meanings which were identical in the two languages. It could indicate source, cause, authorship, possession, the subject, the object, material, composition, quality, characteristic, measure, the appositive idea, the partitive idea, means, removal, separation, deprivation, specification, a goal, and still other shades of meaning. It meant so much that it often didn't mean anything at all. The constructive force that built the genitive categories up, the feeling for fine shades of meaning, now began to tear them down. There arose in all the Germanic peoples a longing for a clearer and more concrete expression of these ideas. The genitive had the great disadvantage that its original force was not known. It did not convey a vivid concrete picture of any kind. Over against the vague idea of *separation* contained in the colorless genitive stood the clear forceful preposition "of" in English, *von* in German, *af* in Swedish, *de* in Late Latin and French, etc. The writer in earlier years misunderstood this common development in the direction of greater clearness and concrete force. To him then it was deterioration, decay. Today this destruction seems only intelligent reconstruction. There is, however, a grave danger here. The too extensive use of the expressive prepositions may in time destroy the vividness and forcefulness of their original meaning. They often are thoughtlessly used to replace the synthetic form in its many categories without regard to the meaning of the preposition. Thus the preposition becomes loaded down with too many meanings as was formerly the simple genitive. French has gone too far in this direction. English has gone far enough. German is fortunate in retaining the old synthetic form in such large measure. For many years the writer has studied the German development of the last century. From an extensive collection of materials it is entirely clear that there is in a number of cases a tendency in the present literary language to prefer the simple genitive to the use of *von* where this

preposition once seemed to threaten the life of the synthetic form. The large decrease of the use of the German simple genitive in adverbial function has made it more available for forceful use in the adnominal relation. Although, however, the use of the simple genitive has decreased here in adverbial function, many felicitous compounds preserve the older formation: *wesensähnlich*, *mannstoll geistesumnachtet*, etc. The writer takes no stock in the cheap fun that has often been poked at German compounds. He admires the union of simple beauty and strength in English, but he is not blind to the beauties in other languages. He loves to find them and feel them. He has often paused in reading German to muse over a compound with the pronounced feeling that the Germans here are great masters and that English would be richer today if it had not destroyed so much of its former wealth. Alas, the destruction mentioned above was not always intelligent reconstruction! We now turn to a detailed study of the development of the new analytic genitive in the different Germanic languages.

In tracing the development of the analytic genitive it is desirable to begin with the oldest examples of the new usage. It is, however, quite difficult to draw the line between adnominal and adverbial function as nicely illustrated by the use of the words in italics in the following sentence: "manna *us pizai managein* ufwopida qipands" (Wulfila, Luke 9:38), "a man *of the company* cried out saying" (King James Version). According to the King James Version the words are undoubtedly adnominal, an analytic partitive genitive. Both the use of the preposition "of" and the position of the verb show this. The verb follows the subject and its modifiers. In Gothic, however, the position of the verb could not decide this question, for it does not of necessity follow the subject *immediately*. The words "*us pizai managein*" may modify the verb as well as the subject. This difficulty is a serious one and the writer believes that it was felt in the older periods as such and gradually led to the establishment of the verb in the first place after the subject and its modifiers. This new word-order has, in general, become fixed in both English and German. In English it led to a still further step, as becomes evident by comparing the above sentence from the King James Version with the following form from the Corpus Version

1000 A.D.: "pa clypode an wer *of* *pære* menego." Here the words "of *pære* menego" may easily be an analytic partitive genitive belonging to *wer*, for the new genitive is quite common at this date, but it may also be considered as an adverbial element modifying the verb. The adnominal genitive with "of" was originally an adverbial form. Perhaps it stood originally between the subject and the verb just as the Gothic words "us *pizai* managein" in this same passage. It became adnominal when it was felt as belonging to the subject more than to the verb. The *form*, however, was at first adverbial. In 1000 A.D. when the Corpus Version arose there was as yet no differentiation between "of" in adnominal function and "of" used adverbially. Thus the words "of *pære* menego" from the Corpus Version are ambiguous. Later to give the words adnominal force they were placed immediately after the subject and before the verb, as in the King James Version, and to give them adverbial force they were placed after the verb and the form "of" was replaced by "from" or "from out": "Then a man cried *from out* the crowd." When an adverb introduces the sentence as in this example the German cannot follow the English in placing the subject and its modifier *before* the verb, but must place both *after* the verb: "Da rief ein Mann *unter dem Volk*" (adnominal element), but "Da rief ein Mann *aus dem Volkshaufen heraus*" (adverbial element). The preposition distinguishes the two elements.

A careful study of the preceding paragraph will make it perfectly plain that it is very difficult to determine accurately when the new analytic genitive arose, as it was at first adverbial in *form* and could not be distinguished from an adverbial element by any formal sign either in the words themselves or in the word-order. The new English word-order often seems to present a good test as illustrated in the preceding paragraph, but in the older periods the older word-order existed alongside the new and nothing definite can be determined by this test, and the writer absolutely rejects it as too untrustworthy for scientific purposes. It may easily be that the first beginnings of the analytic form belong to the Gothic or the prehistoric period. Although we cannot assign dates and cannot always distinguish the adnominal relation from the adverbial, there are nevertheless clear indications that the new genitive was developing. By comparing



the Gothic Testament with the Corpus Version we find that a very large number of Gothic adnominal genitives are represented in the English of 1000 A.D. by the analytic form with "of." Here we are on fairly safe ground. What Wulfila considered adnominal and translated by the synthetic genitive, which cannot in most cases be possibly interpreted as belonging to the verb, is often rendered in the Corpus Version by the analytic genitive with "of." Many of Wulfila's expressions with adverbial form may also be adnominal, but here there exists a good deal of doubt. On the other hand, the expressions with the synthetic genitive in connection with a noun are probably in every single case true adnominal elements, and if we find in the Corpus Version the form with "of," in these same passages we may be quite sure that we have the new genitive before us. A few parallel passages from the two documents are here given for careful study. Partitive genitive: "anparuh pan *siponje* is qaþ du imma" (Matt. 8:21), "ða cwæð to him oper *of hys leorningcnihtum*," "Another *of his disciples* said unto him"; "gasaihwandans sumans *pize siponje* is" (Mark 7:2), "pa hi gisawon sume *of his leorningcnihtum*," "When they saw some *of his disciples*"; "Sahwazuh saei gamarzaí ainana *pize leitane*" (Mark 9:42), "Swa hwa swa gedrefð ænne *of pyssum lytlingum*," "Whosoever shall offend one *of these little ones*." This is a very common group and is already not infrequent in the prose of the ninth century both in Germany and in England. In Latin we find the same tendency. If there has been any foreign force at work at this point on the development of the analytic form in English and German it is the influence of Latin. English and German translators often follow the Latin literally. The fact, however, that this development is stronger in dialect than in the literary language shows clearly that the Old English and German translators in following the Latin here closely were at the same time following strong native tendencies. There was early in the historic period a desire for a clearer expression for the partitive idea. The English "of" and German *von* graphically represent the separation of one or more from a group. This seems evident in case of *von*, but it is also true of "of," for it had in Old English the force of "from." Indeed, we sometimes find "from" where we now use "of." Since the Old English period, "of" has lost much of its old graphic force.

It is becoming more and more to be a mere colorless adnominal form with the force of the older colorless synthetic genitive. This was, however, in earlier periods quite different.

This new partitive genitive was not only used in adnominal function, but was also often employed with verbs instead of the old simple partitive genitive: "jabai hwas matjip *his hlaibis*" (Wulfila, John 6:51), "swa hwa swa ytt *of ðyson hlafe*" (Corpus), "if any man eat *of this bread*"; "ni sijup *lambe meinaize*" (John 10:26), "ge ne synt *of minum sceapum*," "Ye are not *of my sheep*." The German developed here in exactly the same way: "gebet uns fon iuuueremole" (Tatian, 148.5), "Give us *of your oil*"; "ir ni birut fon *minen scafon*" (*ibid.*, 134.3), "ye are not *of my sheep*."

This common genitive construction developed later quite differently in German and English. In order that the later development may become perfectly clear the origin of the construction is here given in brief with the entire subsequent development in both languages.

The freedom of position in case of the word denoting the whole so often found in partitive constructions in both English and German seems to indicate that it was originally not an attributive genitive modifying the noun denoting the part of the quantity, but was a modifier of the verb: "Des Brotes [partitive object] isst er, einen Bissen" (explanatory addition), or with different word-order: "Er isst des Brotes, einen Bissen." In time a close relation developed between the two nouns, so that the genitive was felt as belonging to the following noun rather than to the verb: "Thiu faz thiu namun lides zuei odo thriu mez" (Otfrid, 2. 9. 95), "The vessels contained two or three measures of wine." The punctuation here indicates that the genitive *lides* modifies the noun *mez*, but in such a delicate question as this we cannot rely on the punctuation of a printed text or even the manuscript itself. The punctuation may in fact represent the true state of things, but it is also possible that *lides* here is the partitive object of the verb and that "zuei odo thriu mez" is an explanatory addition. The next step in the development made the situation perfectly clear. In those cases where the genitive was felt as belonging to the noun a change in the word-order developed. The genitive instead of preceding the governing noun followed it in accordance with the general tendency elsewhere to place the genitive

after the governing noun: "Er isst einen Bissen des Brotes." English examples are not given, as they correspond in the older period exactly to the German ones just given. Later English usage varies only in that the older synthetic genitive was replaced by the new synthetic form with "of": "He is eating a piece of *the bread*."

Alongside this German and English form of statement there is another which represents a different development. The original form "Er isst des Brotes, einen Bissen" could be replaced by "Er isst Brot, einen Bissen," as the partitive object could be replaced by an accusative object. This is not a modern form but like the genitive construction is very old: "usnemun laibos gabruko sibun spwreidans" (Wulfila, Mark 8:8), "hi namon pæt of pam brytsenum belaf, seofon wilian fulle" (Corpus), "they took up of the broken meat that was left seven baskets" (King James Version), "We sceolon ealle þa ping þe us gesceotap of ures geares teolunge Gode þa teopunge syllan" (Sweet, *Selected Homilies of Aelfric*, p. 48), "We should give to God the tenth part of all the things which accrue to us from our year's work." In the King James Version we have the partitive construction, in Wulfila, Aelfric, and Corpus the appositional construction. Wulfila has followed the Greek here. This appositional construction is also found in colloquial Latin and in careless, easy style in general. It is of course also found later in English and German. "I yow foryeve this trespass every del" (Chaucer's "Knight's Tale," 969). "But there is gold and silver gret plentee" (Mandeville). "Silver and Gold have I none" (Acts 3:6). "Aber Geld sieht man keins" (Karl Schönherr, *Sonnewendtag*, p. 9). "Schmerz empfand ich keinen" (Isolde Kurz, *Nachbar Werner*). It is much more common in modern German than in English. The writer gives a long list of examples from recent German literature in his *Grammar of the German Language*, p. 515, and has since found many additional examples, which show that this construction is a conspicuous feature of colloquial speech in the German of today.

Especial attention is here called to the two forms, the usual *literary* form with the genitive and the colloquial form with the appositional construction, for the former has become fixed in English and the latter in German. The word-order in the appositional



construction, however, now more commonly follows the analogy of the word-order in the genitive form. Thus after the analogy of "Er isst einen Bissen des Brotes" the appositional form often becomes: "Er isst einen Bissen Brot." This appositional construction has in recent German almost entirely replaced here the genitive form, as the modern genitive has often no distinctive ending and the genitive construction has become confounded with the appositional construction: "Er trank ein *Glas Milch*" (perhaps genitive, but in form an appositive to *Glas*); "Er kaufte ein Paar *Schuhe*" (perhaps genitive plural, but in form an appositive to *Paar*). There is in modern English no construction exactly like this. A seemingly similar construction is found in "a dozen eggs," "much good," "a little good," "something good," "nothing good," "anything good," etc. In older English the substantive form was in the partitive genitive: "nan ping *yfeles*" (*Twelfth Century Homilies*, p. 138). A little later the synthetic genitive here ought to have been replaced by the analytic form as was the common usage outside of this little group, and this new form indeed occasionally appeared: "Of Nazareth may sum thing *of good be*?" (Wyclif, John 1:46, Pickering's ed.). The partitive genitive later disappeared as the preceding words "a dozen," "much," "a little," etc., had come to be felt as mere limiting adjectives. Hence the substantive was no longer felt as a modifier but as an independent noun.

The real appositional construction, however, as found in modern German was also employed in older English: "no morsel *bred*" (Chaucer's "The Monkes Tale," 444), "pre *þe noblest ryueres* of al Europe" (Trevisa, Higden's "Polychronicon," 1. 199, about 1387 A.D.), etc. This construction has entirely disappeared without leaving a single trace behind and the question of the cause of this disappearance naturally arises. This construction was in Old English a favorite in colloquial speech and was felt as a distinct construction. In the early Middle English period after the destruction of the older declensions an occasional indistinct trace of the older synthetic partitive genitive survived. Such defective and often ambiguous synthetic forms were finally entirely replaced by the clear analytic form. There was no strong literature which, with the natural conservatism of standard speech, held the people to their

older synthetic genitive. Only dialectic influences prevailed and all the native tendencies were toward the clear analytic form. Thus every trace of the old synthetic partitive genitive disappeared. The old colloquial appositive continued a little longer than the indistinct synthetic forms, for it was in fact quite a different construction and some feeling for it was left. Still later it was felt as the last remnant of these old defective synthetic genitives and was replaced by the clear analytic genitive.

Thus in fact the English development is the opposite of the German. In English the appositional construction was confounded with the genitive construction, while in German the genitive was confounded with the appositional form. German, on the other hand, developed as above described because there were no serious ambiguities of form which made imperative the use of *von*. All the tendencies in the literary language were in the direction of the retention and the steady use of the synthetic genitive. The modern use of *von* in the partitive category rests, in general, upon the same basis as in the ninth century. It is employed only to emphasize the idea of separation: "Geben Sie mir ein Stück vom Braten" emphasizes the idea of separation which is about to take place, while the appositional construction, "Das Kind hielt ein Stück Braten in der Hand," contains the partitive idea without the idea of separation. There is here a double form and there is always a tendency to differentiate forms. It is possible that the so-called appositional construction here is dimly felt as a reduced form of the old synthetic form so that the new analytic and the old synthetic forms stand in contrast to each other. The former emphasizes the idea of separation, the latter contains the usual partitive idea as found in the synthetic partitive genitive. Differentiation cannot usually take place here in English, as we usually have only one form. The analytic form has not now its original idea of separation as it has been pressed into service as a substitute for the older ambiguous discarded synthetic genitive. Hence without differentiation in form we say: "Give me a piece of the roast meat," and "The child held a piece of roast meat in its hand," using "of" in both cases.

The new analytic partitive genitive plays an important rôle in the development and spread of the new form. The origin of the

old synthetic genitive is wrapped in complete darkness, but the principal source of the development of the new analytic form is in the new partitive genitive with "of" and *von*, which had already in the ninth century developed considerable force. Other genitive categories closely related to the partitive genitive laid aside their old historic form and assumed the new form employed in the partitive category. We shall now take up these different categories one by one.

Very closely related to the partitive genitive is the genitive of material or composition: "and wundon cyne-helm *of þornum*" (Corpus, Matt. 27:29), "and when they had platted a crown of thorns" (King James Version), "plectentes coronam de spinis." We are here at the very source of the attributive construction. We cannot tell whether *of þornum* is an adverbial element modifying the verb or whether it is an attributive modifier of the noun *cyne-helm*. Even in the King James Version the distinction has not yet become clear. Today we can distinguish the adverbial element by using "out of" instead of simple "of": "they made a crown out of thorns." Thus the "of" in the Old English was originally employed in the sense of "out of" and even in attributive function retained for centuries its full original force. Indeed, it must have been difficult at first to distinguish attributive and adverbial functions. In the translation of these same Latin words the glossarist of the Lindisfarne MS (about 950 A.D.) in John 19:2 seems to have tried to differentiate them: "ða ðegnas gewundun *of ðornum* ða corna, or pæt sigbeg *of ðornum*." In the first use of *of ðornum* we have beyond doubt the adverbial function, in the second it seems as though the glossarist intended the attributive use, as he puts it after the noun. It seems as though he were not entirely sure whether *de spinis* was an adverbial or an adnominal element and hence gave both translations. We have a clear case of adnominal use in the Corpus Version: "se iohannes hæfde reaf *of olfenda hærum*" (Matt. 3:4), "John had raiment of camel's hair," "ipse iohannes habebat uestimentum de pilis camelorum." The Latin model has not been given because the writer thinks that the English has been influenced by it. The Corpus Version is characterized by great simplicity and independence. The development in English here runs parallel with the Latin. The analytic form is also found here in the Lindisfarne and



Rushworth MSS. It is quite probable that the analytic genitive of material was common in the plain prose of the late Old English period, for Mr. George Shipley in his *Genitive Case in Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, p. 89, gives an older example from poetry, which in general is quite conservative with regard to the use of new forms: "pære burge weard | anne manlican ofer metodes est, | gyld of golde, gumum arærde" ("Daniel," 175, eighth century), "the lord of the city set up for the people against the Creator's will an image, an idol of gold." In German we find a case in the ninth century: "flehtente corona fon thornon" (Tatian, 200:2). We find here the same ambiguity as in the first English examples given above. The later spread of the analytic form is due in both English and German to the vivid force of "of," not to the loss of the declensions. Of course the loss of inflection facilitated the development in English. In 1200 A.D. the triumph of the English analytic form is almost complete. In German the old synthetic genitive persisted throughout the Middle High German period and in figurative language is even still found: "Die Sonne versinkt hinter einer Wehr *weißer Berge* im Westen" (Ernst Zahn). Also in the broad sense of composition: "ein Schwarm Heuschrecken," "eine Reihe blühender Kinder." In spite of full inflectional forms, however, the analytic form has elsewhere by reason of the graphic force of *von* gained a complete victory: "ein Ring von Gold," etc. On the other hand, in compounds the oldest form, i.e., the synthetic genitive in the position *before* the noun, is still well preserved: "Dornenkrone," "Blumenkranz," etc.

The possessive genitive is in the new development closely related to the partitive idea as clearly seen in the following examples: "pæt gemong ðara wyrta *of tuæm treum* receles" (*Lindisfarne Glosses*, John 19:39, about 950 A.D.), "the mixture made from the leaves of two fragrant trees." "pæt he pe ðone ele syllan sceolde of þam treowe ðære myldheortnyse" ("The Harrowing of Hell," eleventh century, Bright, *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, p. 130), "that he should give thee the oil of the tree of mercy." In the first example the leaves belong to the tree but here they are represented as having been taken *from* the trees. The same is true of the oil in the second example. Here, perhaps, the idea of *separation* is stronger than

the idea of *possession*. In the following example the idea of separation is entirely absent and the idea of possession alone remains: "Ne for-wyrð a locc of *eowrum heafde*" (Corpus, Luke 21:18), "But there shall not a hair of your head perish." A single hair is a part of the head, it also belongs to the head. In still earlier periods the idea of possession ruled here supremely. From late Old English on the imagery of the language changed a little. For the expression of the conception of belonging to something as an integral part or an essential element the old synthetic genitive was discarded and the preposition "of" was employed, which retained in large measure its old original partitive idea, but with a new application of its force. Thus we read in the *Saxon Chronicle* for the year 992 E of the "Abb (ud) of Burch," "the abbot of Burch," for the year 1066 D of "Harold cyng of Eoferwic," "Harold king of York," "Harold cyng of Norwegan," etc. For this same year, however, in MS E we find the older synthetic genitive with the older conception of personal ownership: "Harold se *Norrena* cyng." The old synthetic form is still employed in warm poetic language, but by reason of the lack of a clear genitive form for the plural we today use the singular: "England's king," "Albion's queen," etc. The new analytic form also occurs in the German Otfrid: "ther keisor *fona rumu*" (1. 11. 2). As in this last example the analytic genitive is still used in German in formal titles, as in "der Kaiser von Deutschland," but in warm poetic language we can say: "Deutschland's Kaiser" (indicating pride in ownership). The analytic form is also employed in case of names of places ending in a sibilant: "die Strassen von Paris," but "die Strassen Berlins." Here the use of *von* is a mere matter of form. The s of the genitive ending in words ending in a sibilant is lost in the preceding s and the form is not felt as a clear genitive ending. Instead of the synthetic genitive we find the appositional construction where the possessive idea disappears: "das Porträt W. Zimmermann," "the portrait of [representing] W. Zimmermann," "der Antrag Rümelin," "the motion made by Rümelin," etc. In general, however, the old synthetic form is remarkably well preserved in German in the possessive category. In English on the contrary it has almost entirely disappeared in case of nouns representing things.

Why in the possessive category is the analytic genitive so much more used in English than in German? There are two chief factors which favored in English the spread of the analytic form, the graphic force of the preposition "of" with its clear idea of separation, source, or integral part, and, on the other hand, the lack of clear genitive forms in the later period of the decay of the old declensions. Let us first study the first factor. There was already in the Old English period a distinct feeling for the graphic force of "of" in the possessive category. It emphasized the idea of source more than the colorless synthetic genitive. Although the synthetic form was usually employed with nouns representing persons, "of" was sometimes even there preferred that the idea of source might become prominent: "he gesceop ealle gesceafta purh pone Sune sepe wæs æfre of him acenned wisdom of þam wisan Fæder" (Aelfric, *Preface to Genesis*, tenth century), "He [i.e., God] created all creatures through His Son, who born of Him and always with Him was the wisdom of the wise Father." This is a beautiful use of "of." It is still vividly felt when we say: "he walks in the strength of God." The picture becomes quite different when we say: "he walks in *God's* strength." This emphasis upon possession robs man of his dignity, of his independence. The full force and beauty of "of" is nicely brought out in: "fortitudo þat is, strengþe of gode" (*Vices and Virtues*, p. 81, about 1200 A.D.). The use of the synthetic genitive would entirely destroy the sense. Thus it becomes perfectly clear that although "of" is usually employed with nouns representing things it also often becomes necessary with nouns denoting persons when the idea of source becomes more prominent than the possessive idea. This was never true of German in the same measure as in English. This tendency is old in English. It arose at a period when the declensions were intact. Thus it is a question of feeling, not a mere question of form.

The natural fondness for the expressive "of" led to its use in different shades of the original meaning with different applications of its force: "bituih medo gemæro of decapol" (Mark 7:31, Lindisfarne MS, about 950 A.D.), "through the boundaries of Decapolis." The glossarist uses the analytic form with "of" although the Latin text over which he wrote the English words has the synthetic genitive



*decapoleos*. The "of" here has a force quite different from its original meaning. There is no idea of separation. It has the derived meaning of belonging to something as an integral part of it. The idea of an *integral* part is, however, rather faint. The force of "of" has here become almost as colorless as the older synthetic genitive, which we find in this same expression in the ninth century: "eal *Breotene* gemæro" (Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, p. 338), "all the boundaries of Britain." The use of "of" here in the Lindisfarne MS seems to indicate a previous usage so long and steady that the original coloring had worn off considerably, and yet the new conception of integral part was felt vividly enough to be preferred to the older conception of possession. Even if the glossarist employed the analytic form to avoid the addition of an *s* to a sibilant, it remains true that the form was felt as a genitive. The glossarist might have retained the foreign genitive as he does elsewhere and as the translator of the Corpus Version has done in this same passage. He preferred, however, the analytic form just as we do today. The idea is removed a little too far from that of personal possession for the use of the synthetic form. Modern Swedish, which has much wider boundaries in the possessive idea than English, preserves the synthetic form here even though the noun ends in a sibilant: "midt igenom Dekapolis' gränsland." The Rushworth glossarist followed the example of the Lindisfarne glossarist and wrote: "bitwih middum gimærum of decapolem." The Latin of the Rushworth text has the appositional construction with the non-inflection of the proper name: "medio finis decapolis." Thus also the Rushworth glossarist translated independently of his Latin model. Also in another passage in the Lindisfarne text, John 19:39 quoted above, the English glossarist employs the analytic genitive independently of the Latin text. Thus we are forced to the conclusion that "of" had in northern English already attained wider boundaries than a careless reading of this text might suggest. This is confirmed by the remarkable fact that in this extensive translation consisting of the Four Gospels the translator or translators have never once failed to translate an analytic genitive by the corresponding English analytic form. The two forms *de* and *ex* are used in the Latin, but the English glossarist almost uniformly uses "of." Only occasionally does he employ

"from": "hua is *from* iuh" (Matt. 7:9), "hwyle man is *of* eow" (Corpus), "what man is there of you" (King James Version). Usually "from" is employed with adverbial elements as in present usage. The "of" has begun to lose its original force and has developed perceptibly in the direction of becoming a mere substitute for the old synthetic genitive. This process has gone farther in the Lindisfarne MS than in the Corpus text: "hwa awæltas us ðone stan *from* duro ðæs byrgennes?" (Lindisfarne, Mark 16:3), "hwa awylt us ðysne stan *of* pære byrgene dura?" (Corpus), "who shall roll us away the stone *from* the door of the sepulcher?" (King James Version). Thus in the English Corpus text "of" is still used adverbially, and this usage continued for a long time. In the Lindisfarne text, on the other hand, "from" is occasionally used in adnominal genitive constructions, but "of" prevails in general, and the usage of today is already clearly foreshadowed. In German this differentiation between "of" and "from" was absolutely unknown, so that at this point the two languages from now on developed in different directions. In the Lindisfarne MS over against the many adnominal *de*'s and *ex*'s of the Latin text is the almost uniform "of" in the English glosses, a clear indication of the almost complete crystallization of the usage so familiar to us today. The firmness of this northern usage becomes apparent when we observe that the glossarist does not once put a second form, a synthetic genitive, alongside the "of," for it is his common practice to give *two* or *three* translations in cases where he is not quite sure whether he has rendered the word idiomatically. He often gives a close translation and then gives a freer, more idiomatic rendering. He is uniformly contented to translate the analytic genitive *de* or *ex* by the analytic "of," for it corresponds to the common usage of his dialect.

The use of "of" as a mere substitute for the synthetic genitive is found not only in northern English but also in the literary language of the South: "sum seoc man wæs genemned lazarus of bethania of marian cæstre and *of martham* his swustra" (Corpus, John 11:1), "Now a certain man was sick, named Lazarus, of Bethany, the town of Mary and her sister Martha" (King James Version). The word-order here is very interesting. In the King James Version we have the modern order as found when we use "of." In the Corpus

text we have the older order as found when we use the synthetic form, as in "John's hat and William's." We often find this order in the Corpus text: "iocobes broðor and Iosepes" (Mark 6:3). In the passage from John 11:1 the author of the Corpus text used a synthetic genitive in the first instance and the new analytic genitive in the second instance, which in literal translation would now read "Bethany, *Mary's* home town and also that of *Martha*, his sisters." In modern English we must insert here the determinative "that." We do not now use the mixed form much, but it occasionally occurs. It is hard to account for the analytic form here in the Corpus text on the basis of the *meaning*. The "of," as in the Lindisfarne example quoted in the preceding paragraph, has entirely lost its original meaning. It is evidently used as a mere substitute for the synthetic genitive.

The author of the Corpus text does what we told above of the author of the *Lindisfarne Glosses*—he employs the analytic genitive where his Latin model has a synthetic form: "ne eom ic asend buton to pam sceapum pe forwurdon *of isræla huse*" (Matt. 15:24), "I am not sent but unto the lost sheep *of the house* of Israel" (King James Version). The Latin text of the Lindisfarne MS has the synthetic form here: "*domus israel.*" The same Latin reading is found in the Rushworth MS, also in Tatian. We do not know whether the Latin text used by the Corpus translator was different from the other texts. In general, however, this translator proceeds quite independently of the Latin text. He often uses the analytic genitive, often the old synthetic form without regard to the Latin model. He is familiar with both forms and uses both freely. This is true not only of the possessive category of which we are talking, but also of the other genitive categories. This translator was writing in a literary language with firm transitions fixed by centuries of usage. He naturally departed from tradition only under strong pressure, for he was undoubtedly a man of culture and refinement and had the conservative regard for literary models that naturally accompanies culture and education. A learned man lives not only in the present but also in the past. Not only his thought but also his language is connected with the past. It must have been a really strong pressure that could lead a learned man to lay aside the established *grammar* of his



language. This strong pressure in the present instance was the strong tendency that undoubtedly existed in spoken English toward the use of the analytic genitive. If "of" is used a large number of times in this translation it was surely used much more in natural spoken language. When this literary language disappeared in the twelfth century and dialect took its place, in every part of England "of" appeared at once with the wide boundaries of usage that it has today. This usage had been developing for centuries in the spoken language. In the same way the instances of the use of the analytic genitive in the Late Latin were only a faint indication of the strength that the new development had acquired in popular usage. We now turn to the consideration of the possessive genitive in the later period to study the formal factors involved in the development of the analytic genitive.

We have seen in the preceding paragraphs that there was a natural inclination toward the use of the analytic genitive with "of" on account of a widespread fondness for the vivid force of its meaning over against the colorless synthetic genitive. The development of the new form was further favored by a mere formal force—the decay of the old declensions and the resulting ambiguity on account of the lack of distinctive endings. This disintegration began in the North. It can be noticed in the *Lindisfarne Glosses*: "sunu ðe monnes" (Luke 17:30), "the Son of man." The article *ðe* has lost its inflection here. Also the declensions of nouns and adjectives in this same manuscript show abundant signs of approaching disintegration. Later in all parts of England the old declensions of nouns and adjectives were quite thoroughly destroyed by a natural process of development. Doubtless the Norman-French invasion hastened this process, because it led to the neglect of the literary language. A rich, live literature always has a conserving power. The loss of inflection here completed the work of the destruction of the synthetic genitive. The form was beginning to lose its popularity on account of its colorless meaning; now it became impossible on account of the loss of the different declensions. There was nothing left to distinguish the singular from the plural. The genitive singular and plural now ended in *s*. If we did not have the analytic genitive we should have to say: The branches the trees, the marbles the boys,

the fingers the hands, the legs the chairs, the eyes the girls, the grass the fields, the sides the mountains, the soil the valleys, etc. There is here no sense at all, it is all pure nonsense. It is not the English language, it is no language at all; for the most elementary language of the crudest people means something, but these words mean nothing. Someone might thoughtlessly reply that these are only a few well-chosen examples, but the writer replies that there are many thousands of examples just as good. It was, moreover, not only the absolute danger of ambiguity that militated against the use of the old synthetic form in this reduced state of the inflectional systems. The rudest suggestion sometimes conveys an idea with perfect accuracy. A mere fragment of a sentence reveals often the entire thought. The normal thought of a people, however, usually demands a clear grammatical expression. The mind is as much disturbed by slovenly conditions of speech as our bodily feeling is sensible to slovenly conditions around us. It demands imperatively law and order. In the words "chiueringe of toðen" (*Vices and Virtues*, p. 19, about 1200 A.D.), "the gnashing of teeth," the "of" was inserted because the grammatical relations of the old synthetic genitive *toðen* was not clearly expressed. The case might possibly be nominative, genitive, dative, or accusative. The connection suggested the genitive, but the feeling of the author demanded a clear and orderly expression and hence he inserted "of." In the same way a German says: "Blätter von Blumen" to avoid the slovenly expression "Blätter Blumen." Such language would sound more like baby talk than intelligent speech.

There is a remarkable law here which defines accurately just what constitutes slovenly speech. Any deficiency of form however slight is considered unpardonable slovenliness if the form follows the governing noun, while the same deficiency is regarded as perfectly satisfactory if the form stands before the noun. This law can best be studied in the English of the twelfth century. At this time a few adjective forms occasionally retained the older inflection. In this case the older synthetic genitive was retained even where it followed the noun: "seinte poul hegest *alre* lorpew" (*Old English Homilies*, Series 2, p. 153), "St. Paul, the greatest of all teachers." It should be noticed here that the genitive is not a possessive genitive

but a partitive and hence one that would naturally incline to the new analytic form, but the clear genitive form *alre* made the synthetic form possible even at this late date. It should also be noticed that the genitive *lorþew* is not a clear genitive, as it is exactly like the singular. It expresses neither the case nor the number clearly, but it did not give offense here, as the preceding adjective expressed number and case clearly. The same thing is found in modern German: "Der Vater des jungen Goethe." Here *Goethe* has no ending at all, but it is not felt as imperfect as the preceding article expresses the genitive relation clearly. Now it should be noticed that these inflected adjective forms are in direct contact with the preceding noun. This explains the fact that the genitive that precedes the governing noun does not give offense, even though the preceding adjectives are not inflected. The genitive of the noun usually has a clear genitive form and this genitive is in direct contact with the following governing noun: "þis *childes* witige gost" (*ibid.*, p. 127), "this child's prophetic spirit." Here *þis* is uninflected but *childes* has a clear genitive form and is in direct contact with the governing noun and its modifiers. Thus inflection was demanded only at the point where the two components of the adnominal group touched each other. This law the writer names "the law of immediate contact" for the want of a better term. The law is so simple that it must have been noticed by others, but the writer has not been able to find any record of it in his studies. This simple law explains the entire development in English. The danger of ambiguity in many places must have facilitated this development but the law itself has nothing to do with ambiguity. Swedish has much fuller synthetic forms than English and thus the danger of ambiguity was not as great, but the development there as in English was *entirely* controlled by the law of immediate contact. Thus after the loss of the inflection of the article and of adjectives the synthetic form *entirely* disappeared in English and Swedish wherever it followed the governing noun.

Thus the study of this development does not point to French influence. The English language had developed the analytic form centuries before the Norman French came in. It was used at first for its vivid force. When the different declensions were destroyed, the analytic form already in a flourishing state of development simply



replaced it. The development was so natural and inevitable that the writer rejects in his own thought the suggestion of the faintest influence from the French. Swedish, far removed from French influences, has had a similar development. The only difference in the development in the two languages is the stronger life of the analytic form in English. This is amply accounted for by the strong inclination to the analytic form which was already manifest in the literary language of the Old English period and by the later destruction of this literary language. The conserving power of the literary standard form of speech was eliminated and the language entirely given over to the dialects that in still greater measure favored the analytic genitive. We can see very plainly in modern German how the dialects favor the analytic form.

The word-order is an important element in the study of the possessive genitive. The old synthetic genitive is preserved wherever it precedes the governing noun: "John's father," "the boy's father," "the emperor of Germany's father," "death's grip," "the sun's rays," "the earth's axis," "the planet's orbit," "hell's fire," "the World's Fair," "the jury's verdict," "a stone's throw," "a day's journey," "a quarter of an hour's ride," "a boat's length," "at a moment's notice," "the next day's supply," "the ship's crew," "my journey's end," "for goodness' sake," "for conscience' sake," "good for good's sake," "at his wits' end," "to his heart's content," "out of harm's way," "yesterday's mail," and many others. The list was once larger: "at his *beddes* heed" (Chaucer's "Prolog," 293), "unto our *lyues* ende" (*ibid.*, "The Shipman's Tale," 434), etc. This usage is, in general, limited to the singular, as the plural form does not differ from the singular and could not in most cases be recognized as such. We say "the children's hats," "the women's hats," "men's clothing," but "the hats of the girls," etc.

It is a remarkable fact that the synthetic genitive has not been preserved in a single instance where it formerly stood after its governing noun. The ambiguity of the form here or the slovenliness of the form by reason of the lack of clear case forms to indicate in an orderly way the grammatical relations, as illustrated above, usually made its use impossible. It might have been used in the few cases where the noun had a different genitive form in the singular and plural

as "woman's" and "women's," "man's" and "men's," "child's" and "children's," but these words almost uniformly stood *before* the governing noun. On the other hand, in the cases where these words or others stood after the governing noun the old synthetic genitive was impossible by the operation of the law of immediate contact explained above, for the preceding article was uninflected. Moreover, there was a strong tendency to the use of "of" on account of its meaning. Thus the two most powerful factors, form and meaning, conspired here to destroy the synthetic genitive wherever it followed the noun. It was purely native forces that brought about the loss of this form. The English-speaking people no longer had a choice here between the synthetic and analytic forms as in the period of richer inflection. They were forced to discard entirely the older genitive. The only way to prove French influence here would be to show that French has influenced English where the genitive stood *before* the noun, i.e., in the possessive category in the narrow sense, i.e., literal personal possession. This is, however, the only place where the old synthetic genitive has been preserved in its full extent. Thus it is quite clear that the loss or preservation of the synthetic form was solely a question of its position and its position was a question of its meaning. We turn now to a study of these two factors.

In oldest Germanic the genitive could stand either before or after its governing noun, but it preferred the position before it. The same is true of adjectives. Gradually the adjective began to abandon the position after the noun and became ever more and more fixed in the position before the noun. In the same measure the genitive began to abandon the position before the noun and became established after the noun. The process went on steadily in both English and German for centuries. Only one class of genitives remained fixed before the noun, the possessive genitive in the narrow sense of personal possession. The only explanation for this remarkable exception that presents itself to the writer is the close relation in meaning between the possessive genitive and the possessive adjective or pronoun. Thus "*his* book" might have influenced "John's book." It seems a little easier to account for the gradual movement of the other genitives to the position after the noun. With advancing

culture language loses its simplicity of structure. The sentences become more involved in intricate hypotactical formations. The genitive becomes loaded with modifiers of different kinds, other genitives, relative clauses, etc. It often became necessary to place the genitive with its modifiers after the governing noun. At the same time it often became desirable or even necessary to put the adjective modifiers before the governing noun. Neither in case of adjectives nor of genitives, however, was this change of position in every case a mere matter of convenience in the arrangement of words. There were psychological factors at work. There was a tendency for adjectives, especially pronominals, as "this," "that," "such," etc., to seek a position before the subject to establish a closer connection with what preceded. In case of genitives, as we have seen, the meaning of the genitive categories had considerable influence.

In oldest English a genitive of any kind whatever preceded the governing noun if it had the natural sentence accent: "No his lif-gedal | sárlic puhte *sécg*a ænegum, | para-pe," etc. (*Beowulf*, 841-42), "His deth did not seem grievous to any of the *men* who," etc. The measure shows clearly that *sécg*a is stressed. Hence it precedes its governing word although it is a partitive genitive which in later English preferred the position after the governing word. Of course, a possessive genitive can also stand before its governing word if it has the sentence accent: "Únferð maðelode *Écg*lafes bearn" (*Beowulf*, 499), "Únferth the son of *Écg*laf spoke." The situation changed materially before the end of the Old English period. The genitive that precedes the governing noun is often unaccented: "gif ge *ábrahames* bearn synt wyrceað *abrahames wéorc*" (Corpus, John 8:39), "if you were *Abraham's* children ye would do the *wórks* of Abraham." We have no poetic measure here with its well-known accents to guide us, but it seems quite probable that the first *abrahames* is accented, while the second one is without sentence stress. The stress falls upon *weorc*. The sentence stress has nothing to do with the position as in oldest English. Other considerations which have been mentioned in the preceding paragraph now control the word-order. The word *abrahames* in both cases precedes the governing word because it denotes possession. The more pronounced the idea of personal possession is, the more natural it is to put the genitive



before the noun. The more indistinct this idea becomes, the more natural it is to put the genitive after the noun. Of course, the genitive that followed the noun later assumed the analytic form as explained above. Hence in the translation of this last example the authors of the King James Version used "Abraham's" in the first instance but "of Abraham" in the second instance, as the first case seemed a possessive genitive while the second seemed more a genitive of characteristic. Wyclif's translation of this passage reads: "if 3e ben the sones of Abraham do 3e werkis of Abraham." The syntax of this fourteenth-century translation is here nearer that of our own time than that of the King James Version. These Jews were not the sons of Abraham in the literal sense; they had, however, descended from him. Hence the "of" of the analytic genitive expresses this idea better. Thus we should more naturally say: "if you were the genuine disciples of Christ you would be more like him" than: "if you were Christ's genuine disciples." This latter expression seems to us to apply rather to the historic company of twelve. We do not say "the hat of John," because we feel the "of" as meaningless, but we may say either "by the grace of God" or "by God's grace" according to the meaning. We incline, however, more naturally to the use of "by the grace of God," for we do not think so much of the idea of *possession* as we do of the idea of the *source* of the manifold mercies that come to us.

We may see the difference between the synthetic genitive of possession and the analytic genitive with "of," but it may be a little more difficult to see how this differentiation in large measure corresponds to the older distinction of placing the synthetic possessive genitive *before* the noun and the same synthetic genitive *after* the noun to indicate the other genitive categories. The facts of the German and English languages, however, point clearly to this differentiation. The exact boundaries of the idea of possession vary very much. A few examples are here given to show what wide boundaries this idea still had about 1000 A.D. in English: "topa gristbitung" (Corpus, Matt. 8:12), "gnashing of teeth," subjective genitive; "uppan oliuetes dune" (*ibid.*, Matt. 26:30), "the Mount of Olives," appositive genitive; "iudea cyning" (*ibid.*, Matt. 27:27), "King of the Jews," possessive genitive; "swina heord," "a herd of swine"

(*ibid.*, Matt. 8:30), genitive of composition, material, etc.; "mannes sunu" (*ibid.*, Matt. 8:20), "the son of man"; "pæs temples wahryft" (*ibid.*, Luke 23:45), "the veil of the temple"; "ðæs hælendes fet" (*ibid.*, John 12:3), "the feet of Jesus"; "godes weg" (*ibid.*, Matt. 22:16), "the way of God"; "of pæs wingeardes wæstme" (Luke 20:10), "of the fruit of the vineyard." These expressions show plainly that the idea of possession in 1000 A.D. is quite different from that which obtains today. As we do not know what the origin of the synthetic genitive was, we do not know whether we have the right to say that the idea of possession is the central thought in all these examples, but the fondness of these words for the position before the noun seems to indicate this. Many of them still maintain this position, as "a stone's throw," "a boat's length," "the sun's rays," etc. Older usage is especially tenacious in the parts of the body in connection with a noun indicating a living being: "the cat's eye," or "the eye of the cat," but "the eye of a pansy," "the eye of a needle." In the Corpus Version we find: "purh are nædle eage" (Luke 18:25), "A nedlis iʒe" (Purvey), "A needle's eye" (King James Version). The old conception is that of possession, the new one that of an integral part. The Old English expression "Mannes sunu" was also firmly fixed in English feeling. Wyclif and his reviser Purvey with their "Mannes sone" remain throughout their translation consistently true to the Old English. Later the idea of source displaced the older idea of possession as seen by the modern form "the son of man." The list of possessive genitives was greater in 1000 A.D., not only because the boundaries of the possessive idea were greater but also because the rich inflection of that period made it possible to use the genitive here freely in the plural: "wydywyna hus" (Luke 20:47), "the houses of widewes" (Purvey), "widows' houses" (King James Version). The fourteenth-century Purvey is closer to modern usage than the authors of the King James Version. Although we often follow the usage of the King James Version here and elsewhere in colloquial usage, we in general avoid the synthetic form here. The usage here in 1000 A.D. was not at all fixed except in case of geographical names, as "oliuetes dune," etc. The writer has not found a single instance where such genitives stood after the governing noun at this time. In all the other cases, however, these

genitives also followed the noun. Wherever in any case the possessive idea was not quite distinct they inclined to the position after the noun. The examples are countless and only a few need to be given to indicate the nature of the usage. In a very large number of cases the idea of possession yields to the conception of inherence: "pa micelan mihte his godcundnysse" (Sweet, *Selected Homilies of Aelfric*, p. 48), "the great power of his divinity"; "pa deopnyssa pære lare" (*ibid.*, p. 54), "the depth of the teaching"; "pære nytennysse his gecorenan Cupberhtes" (*ibid.*, p. 64), "the ignorance of his chosen follower Cuthbert." The idea of possession very often yields to the conception of source: "purh gife Hælendes Cristes" (*ibid.*, p. 31), "by the grace of our Savior Christ," but also with the possessive idea as in "purh Godes gife" (*ibid.*, p. 30), "by the grace of God." The idea of source is especially frequent in the subjective genitive: "purh mynegunge gelimplices lareowes" (*ibid.*, p. 64), "through the admonitions of a suitable teacher"; "purh gescyldnysse soþes Drihtnes" (*ibid.*, p. 68), "by the protection of the true God." These two categories, inherence and source, are very much used. Their meanings, "contained *in*" and "coming *from*," are closely related to the meaning of the preposition "of." When the declensions lost their distinctive endings it was very easy to pass from these synthetic genitives denoting inherence and source to the analytic genitive with "of." Attention has already been called to the fact that the analytic possessive genitive that originated in the partitive idea was already at this time in actual use. It was naturally adapted for use also in these two large categories, for the "of" of the new analytic possessive genitive no longer contained the possessive idea pure and simple but ideas closely related to inherence and source.

Personal pronouns in the possessive genitive case have today a position different from that of nouns. In early Middle English, however, they sometimes had the same position as nouns. Whenever the possessive idea became indistinct and the idea of inherence, an integral part, or source became distinct they assumed the analytic form and followed the governing noun. "Wherefore I wole answere in this manere | by the leve *of you*" (Chaucer's "Merchantes Tale," ll. 949-50). The idea here is that of source. In case of a genitive



of a noun we would still employ Chaucer's order and say: "I did it with the permission of my father." We also have the idea of source in Chaucer's "Withouten help or grace of thee." In "whan that I considere your beautee | and ther-with-al the unlykly elde of me" (*ibid.*, ll. 935-6) the idea is that of inherence. We do not possess age. It inheres. In case of nouns we should still say: "The beauty of the granddaughter contrasted strongly with the unsightly age of the grandmother." In Middle English this analytic genitive of a pronoun is found after the noun even in plain prose: "the voicis of hem woxen stronge" (Purvey, Luke 23:23), "The voices of them and of the chief priests prevailed" (King James Version). Again we have the idea of inherence. "Not as the scribes of hem and the Farisees" (Purvey, Matt. 7:29). The Jews did not possess scribes. The scribes were an integral part of their system. This passage from Matthew reads in the Corpus Version: "ne swa hyre boceras and sundorhalgan." Here we have the old idea of possession. The next step would be to put the genitive *after* the noun, and this order we find in the *Lindisfarne Glosses*: "ne suæ uðuta hiora." We do not know whether the order here was the one found in actual speech, for the glossarist in this manuscript usually followed the word-order of the Latin original, as he simply wrote the English equivalent of every word over the Latin word. The change in the word-order of pronouns did not occur as early as the change in case of the nouns. The writer has not found in Old English a single synthetic genitive of a possessive pronoun *after* the governing noun except in the *Lindisfarne Glosses*. These Lindisfarne forms may not represent actual spoken speech, but it is possible that they do, for the language of the North often foreshadowed the later development of the South and Midland. The writer has found in German a few cases of the synthetic genitive of a personal pronoun standing after the noun: "Meine Mutter hatte meine Abwesenheit des Morgens beim Tee durch ein frühzeitiges Ausgehen *meiner* zu beschönigen gesucht" (Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, Erster Teil, Fünftes Buch). If such forms actually existed in English the writer feels that he ought to have found some traces of them. He is inclined to the opinion that the analytic forms which stand after the governing noun as quoted above from Chaucer and Purvey arose from the analogy of the usage with

nouns and thus did not come from older synthetic genitives which had shifted their position to the place after the noun. As far as the writer can see, the Old English usage here continued without change through the transitional period up to the fourteenth century, when the pronouns began to follow the usage of nouns which had been constantly growing more common. The synthetic genitive found in the passage quoted above from Goethe originated in the same way: It followed the common usage in nouns. As the genitive of nouns with this shade of meaning followed the governing noun, the genitive of pronouns sometimes assumed the same position.

The usage of placing an analytic genitive of a personal pronoun after its governing noun has disappeared except in a few colloquial phrases: "for the life of me," as in "I couldn't for the life of *me* recall his name." "That will be the death of *you*." At one point, however, the analytic genitive of personal pronouns cannot be avoided and hence is in general use. In connection with pronouns, as "all," "both," "three," etc., a real personal pronoun must be used, and hence the analytic forms "of you," etc., must be employed, as there are no synthetic genitives of personal pronouns which are clearly felt as such: "*my* book and the books of *you all*" (or, "you both," "you three," etc.). The synthetic genitive of personal pronouns has been confounded with the possessive adjectives "my," "his," etc., which now serve not only as possessive adjectives but also as the possessive genitive of personal pronouns except in connection with the pronouns "all," "both," etc., where a real personal pronoun must be used and not an adjective. Thus in the example just given the possessive adjective "my" is used before "book," but in connection with "all" the analytic genitive "of you" is employed. The German also uses the possessive adjective in the first case, but employs the old synthetic genitive in the second: "mein Buch and Ihrer aller Bücher." About 1200 A.D. the English synthetic genitive was still in use here: "here beire friend" (*Vices and Virtues*, p. 81), "the friend of them both"; "ure alre heaved" (*ibid.*, p. 131), "the head of us all." Aside from this one special case of use with the pronouns "all," "both," "three," etc., it seems that there was once a chance of a fine differentiation between the possessive adjectives and the analytic genitive of the personal pronouns. By the disappearance

of the analytic genitive we have lost a fine and beautiful shade of meaning. Why did it disappear? The writer feels inclined to answer: "Did it really disappear?" Was it ever a fixed part of the language? After the analogy of nouns, a number of attempts were made to extend this expressive usage to pronouns, but alongside the few examples of this new usage were countless examples of the use of the old possessive in the position before the noun. At first thought it seems strange that this stupid, colorless possessive adjective could ever completely triumph over the expressive analytic form that had elsewhere scored so many victories. As we shall see below, insuperable difficulties were in the way of the spread of the analytic form at this point.

Mr. Eugen Einenkel raises the question whether the use of the analytic genitive of the personal pronouns as described in the two preceding paragraphs is not of French origin. It seems at first probable, for the examples began to appear at the time when French influence was strongest. The more, however, we study the question the less probable it seems. It is a clear fact that the objective genitive of a noun has become firmly fixed in the position after the noun, as in "the capture of the city," etc. It was only a natural result that the objective genitive of pronouns should assume this same position: "It will be the ruination of *you*." The development was a natural one, but it did not become strong. The old position before the noun is still more common: "my defeat," "his overthrow," "his ruin," "to my utter consternation," "it ended in our complete humiliation," "my bodily injuries," "his promotion to a higher grade," "his reduction to a lower grade," etc. The position after the noun is only in free use where it is necessary to prevent ambiguity: "fear of us," "hatred of us," etc. Mr. Einenkel misunderstands the English development here where he in his *Streifzüge*, p. 85, thinks that the position of the genitive of the pronoun after the governing noun is natural in case of the objective genitive, while it is imitation of the French in case of the possessive genitive. The spirit of English is equally averse to the position of the objective genitive after the noun. Violations of the rule occur more commonly in case of the objective genitive for the simple reason that the position after the noun is sometimes absolutely required to make



the thought clear. Thus we must say: "The sight of her" to keep it distinct from "her sight." That this tendency developed only in case of absolute ambiguity, in spite of the fact that it had become almost a universal rule in case of nouns, indicates very clearly that there must have been some hindering force in case of pronouns.

The writer regards the new sentence accent as the hindering force here. Within the group made up of a noun and its modifiers the element that follows invariably receives in normal speech the sentence stress: "the little *bóy*," "the boy's *fáther*," "the book on the *táble*," "the capture of the *city*," etc. Thus the objective genitive invariably receives the sentence stress wherever it follows. This is uniformly the rule in case of nouns. The objective genitive of a personal pronoun does not usually follow the noun because its weak stress would be in conflict with the general rules for sentence accent. Attempts have been made at different times to place the objective genitive of pronouns after the noun where it naturally belongs according to all grammatical rules, but the harsh conflict with the sentence melody has prevented this grammatically and psychologically natural tendency. Likewise in German we occasionally find a synthetic objective genitive of a personal pronoun after the noun: "aus Verachtung Euer" (Schiller); sometimes even in more recent literature: "die unglückliche Nachricht der Arretierung Deiner" (Johann G. Reuter to his son Fritz, November 4, 1833). Where this word-order is unavoidable, as in case of the example from Schiller, prose usage prefers here the analytic form as it is a little heavier and gives the light pronoun a little more weight: "aus Verachtung für Euch." In the example from Reuter the possessive would now be preferred: "die unglückliche Nachricht Deiner Arretierung [or better Verhaftung]." The objective genitive of the personal pronoun itself can often stand after the governing noun if an accented word follows that can bring the construction in harmony with the sentence melody: "Anbeter Deiner *sélbst*" (Wildenbruch, *Die Quitzows*, Act III). Likewise in case of the *possessive* genitive of pronouns there was an especially strong tendency to place the genitive after the noun and use the analytic form for the sake of its vivid meaning of source and inherence. In case of nouns this tendency developed into a fixed rule. In case of pronouns this natural

tendency came into conflict with the sentence accent and did not develop strength except where as above described the lack of inflectional endings made it necessary. That great poets like Chaucer and Goethe followed this tendency also elsewhere simply shows that in the war between the contending forces the forces of meaning had in their struggle with rhythm a decided advantage in the earlier periods. In one common case where it is necessary to place the genitive after the noun because a relative clause follows, modern usage replaces the personal pronoun by a stressed demonstrative, which brings the expression in perfect harmony with the sentence accent: "not the speech of *them which* [now *those who*] are puffed up" (I Cor. 4:19). Other cases of older usage have been left undisturbed because an accented pronoun follows the unaccented personal pronoun which by its weight places the construction in harmony with the sentence accent: "your books and the books of *us all*." In the light of these facts it will become perfectly clear that present usage with regard to the position of the possessive genitive is the result of conflicting native forces and has not been at any point affected by foreign influences.

[*To be continued*]

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## STUDIES IN *PIERS THE PLOWMAN*

### I. THE BURDEN OF PROOF: ANTECEDENT PROBABILITY AND TRADITION

Although it is now eight years since Mr. Manly first made public and offered for investigation his theory of the multiple authorship of *Piers the Plowman*, and although his theory has been the subject of a considerable amount of scholarly discussion, the progress that has been made toward a final solution of the problem is disappointingly small. A problem of such complexity and difficulty as this one is not, of course, to be solved except at the expense of much toilsome investigation and protracted discussion. But no fruitful discussion can be carried on unless the two parties to the controversy can find common ground to stand upon and clearcut issues to discuss. The common ground that has been lacking in the discussion of this problem is a clear understanding as to where the burden of proof lies. Jusserand, Chambers, and Mensendieck have (explicitly or implicitly) argued upon the assumption that the burden of proof rests upon those who advocate the theory of multiple authorship. Mensendieck says, in speaking of the differences between the texts, "In der Tat, wenn die Texte nicht unter einem Namen zusammengefasst wären, würde der Leser nicht vermuten, die Schöpfungen eines und desselben dichterischen Geistes vor sich zu haben."<sup>1</sup> This remarkable statement can mean only that there is a strong presumption in favor of the traditional theory, a presumption of such force as to nullify evidence that would (in the absence of such presumption) lead to a conclusion in favor of multiple authorship. If such a presumption exists, of course, the burden of proof rests upon the advocates of the new theory. They must prove their case, but the advocates of the old theory are not obliged to prove theirs. All that the advocates of single authorship need do is to show that Mr. Manly's arguments do not prove multiple authorship; when they have done that, their own theory is still firmly established and does not have to be proved.

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte*, XVIII, 11.



That this is essentially the attitude of Mr. Chambers is shown by the following sentences from his article, "The Authorship of *Piers Plowman*":

It is not argued that A, B, and C are the same man, but only that the arguments so far brought forward are insufficient to prove that they are not. And we have a right to demand strong proof, for there is strong evidence, both internal and external, for William, if not William Langland, having been the author of all three versions.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Jusserand says:

For *Piers Plowman*, we have what the manuscripts tell us in their titles, colophons, or marginal notes; what the author tells us himself in his verses; and what tradition has to say, being represented by one man at least whose testimony is of real weight. Without exception, all those titles, colophons, marginal notes, and testimonies agree in pointing to the succession of visions, forming, at first, 8 or 12, and lastly 23 passus, as being one work, having for its general title *Piers Plowman*, and written by one author.<sup>2</sup> . . . Unity of the work, condition of the MSS, allusions in the text or out of it, marginal notes, tradition concerning both work and author agree well together. From the first, the poem has been held to consist of a succession of visions forming one single poem, as the *Canterbury Tales*, composed of a succession of tales, are only one work; and to have been written by one single author, called William or Robert (in fact certainly William) Langland. An attempt has recently been made to upset all that has been accepted thereon up to now.<sup>3</sup>

If Chambers and Jusserand seem less explicit than Mensendieck in claiming an initial presumption in favor of the theory of single authorship, their logical position is perfectly clear from the construction of their articles, which consist almost entirely of rebuttal of the arguments of Manly and Bradley.<sup>4</sup> They do not undertake to prove the theory of single authorship, but only to refute the arguments that have been made against it.

If the logical position of Jusserand, Chambers, and Mensendieck is correct, if there is such a strong initial presumption in favor of the theory of single authorship as places the burden of proof upon those who attack that theory, it ought not to be very difficult to show that

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Language Review*, V, 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Modern Philology*, VI, 277, 278.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 281.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Chambers' article cited above and his article in *Modern Language Review*, VI, 302 ff., consist almost entirely of rebuttal; Mr. Jusserand's two articles in *Modern Philology* (VI, 271 ff., and VII, 289 ff.) contain a number of arguments in favor of unity of authorship. But these arguments are not developed; they are merely stated, suggested, or implied. The great bulk of these two articles consists of refutation of Mr. Manly's details of proof.

this is the case. This is a fundamental matter upon which there must be mutual agreement, or there can be no fruitful discussion of the problem at all. If the burden of proof is upon the advocates of multiple authorship, they must accept the burden and argue their case accordingly. If the burden of proof is upon the advocates of single authorship as well as upon their opponents, those who disagree with Mr. Manly must cease to content themselves with a mere rebuttal of his arguments, and must construct in favor of the theory of single authorship an independent argument that will prove their case. They must furnish proof of their position of the same validity as they are now demanding of him for his.<sup>1</sup>

The presumption that has been claimed in favor of the traditional theory must rest upon some or all of the following grounds: (1) antecedent probability, (2) "tradition," (3) the testimony of the MSS, and (4) the evidence we have in regard to the name of the author. With regard to the antecedent probabilities of the case, I believe that no one who is moderately well acquainted with mediaeval literary history would contend that the continuation commonly called A<sup>2</sup> is a priori more likely to be the work of the author of A<sup>1</sup> than of some other writer, or that it is a priori less probable that a writer should have revised and expanded another man's work than that he should have revised and expanded a work of his own. All of these processes occur so commonly that one is intrinsically as probable as the other. No presumption in favor of single authorship, therefore, can be founded upon antecedent probability.

I intend to leave for a later article the discussion of the question whether the MSS and the data we have in regard to the author's name furnish any grounds for a presumption in favor of the theory of single authorship, and I shall confine myself in the present article to a consideration of the "tradition" which Mr. Jusserand cites as evidence for his belief that all the texts of *Piers the Plowman* are the

<sup>1</sup> This disposition to place the burden of proof upon the advocates of multiple authorship is not confined to Jusserand, Chambers, and Mensendieck; on the contrary, it is a rather general attitude toward the problem. Mr. Emerson voiced the opinion of many other scholars when he said in 1908 (in a footnote to a passage upon some aberrations of higher critics): "It is right to say that these strictures have in no sense been suggested by the new question of the authorship of *Piers Plowman*. On that question it is too early to form an opinion. Yet the attitude of skepticism toward the separatist doctrine seems to me the soundest until the proof is unmistakable" (*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXIV, lxxxiii).

work of a single writer. I understand the word "tradition" as meaning the opinions of scholars as to the single or multiple authorship of *Piers the Plowman*, from the time of Crowley, the first editor, to the date at which Mr. Manly made public his theory of multiple authorship. At that date the theory of single authorship was accepted without question. We must inquire, however, upon what evidence and by means of what arguments did this theory become the universally accepted one? For a consensus of scholarly opinion has no probative value or authority in itself. Its value is solely that of the arguments by which a consensus of opinion was arrived at. And so in this case, it is the logical process, not the resulting consensus of opinion, that demands our consideration.

The most important fact for us to bear in mind in estimating the value of this tradition is that until the year 1802 scholars knew the poem in one form only, that of the B-text. I do not, of course, mean to say that no scholar had ever examined an A-text or C-text MS previous to that date. Even Crowley, who in 1550 printed the poem from a B-text MS, had access also to a MS of the C-text and another of the A-text.<sup>1</sup> After quoting from his copy of the B-text lines 328, 329 of Passus VI, he remarks that other copies read differently and quotes two corresponding lines of the C-text, 351, 352 of Passus IX. In a later impression of his edition he inserts some A-text lines which do not appear in his first impression. But his observations were not thorough enough to disclose to him the fact that the MSS of the A-, B-, and C-texts contain, not merely variant readings such as he had noticed, but three distinct redactions of the poem. Nevertheless, Crowley exhibits a better knowledge of the poem than any other scholar previous to Tyrwhitt. Bale, Stow, Selden, Pits, Wood, and the other writers who mention the poem give us no hint whatever of the existence of three different texts, but speak of the poem as if it had one invariable form.<sup>2</sup> Tanner also, though he had access to at least one MS of the A-text and two of the C-text, as well as Crowley's printed edition of the B-text, does not recognize the existence of more than one version of the poem.<sup>3</sup> It seems most probable

<sup>1</sup> Skeat, *Piers the Plowman*, Parallel Text, II, lxxiv-lxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> See the various notices from these writers printed by Skeat in his *Piers Plowman*, E.E.T.S., Part IV, pp. 866 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Tanner mentions among others MS Ashmole 1468 [A-text], MS Digby 102 [C-text], and MS Digby 171 [C-text]; see his *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, L, 1748, p. 504.



that all of these writers knew the poem chiefly in its printed form, for a collation of an A-text or C-text MS with the printed text would at once have made evident the distinction of texts. Even Warton, heroic reader of MSS though he was, quotes only from Crowley's edition, and gives no indication of knowing the poem in any different form.<sup>1</sup>

Tyrwhitt, in 1775, cites Crowley's edition, but notices variations between this text and MS Cotton Vesp. B. XVI (a C-text MS) and refers to another C-text MS, Harl. 2376.<sup>2</sup> Tyrwhitt just missed discovering the true difference between the B- and C-texts, for he says, "I cannot help observing, that these Visions have been printed from so faulty and imperfect a MS that the author, whoever he was, would find it difficult to recognize his own work."<sup>3</sup> This observation must have been the result of a collation of his printed copy of the B-text with one of the C-text MSS that he knew. The collation, however, could not have been a thorough one, for it does not seem to have caused him to suspect that the variations among *Piers the Plowman* MSS were either greater in extent or different in character from the variations which he knew to exist among the MSS of the *Canterbury Tales*.

Ritson finally, in 1802, made the distinction between the B-text and the C-text which Tyrwhitt had just failed of making. Ritson says:

In order to enable any curious person to distinguish at first sight to which of the two editions (as one may call them) any new MS he may hapen to meet with belongs, a parallel extract is here given from each:

The printed copys, and (in substance) *the Harleian MSS* 3954 [A-text], 875 [A-text], and 6041 [A- and C-texts]; the Vernon MS [A-text] in the Bodleian, Hales, in *Lincolns-Inn* [A-text], and others, without noticing the verbal alterations or corruptions of the copyists, commence as follows:

[He quotes from Crowley's edition the first 10 lines of the Prolog.]

The MSS *Vespasian B. XVI* [C-text], *Caligula A. II. 18B. XVI* [?], *Harleian, 2376* [C-text], Mr. Douce's [C-text] and others, nearly agree in reading thus:

<sup>1</sup> *History of English Poetry*, L, 1774, I, 266 ff. In his *Observations on the Fairy Queen*, however, he had cited three Bodleian MSS, one of which, Digby 102, is a C-text MS. (*op. cit.*, L, 1807, II, 251).

<sup>2</sup> *Canterbury Tales*, Oxford 1798, I, 45, 46, note 57 to the *Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

[He quotes from Cotton Vesp. B. XVI the first 11 lines of Passus I of the C-text.]

The subsequent variations, throughout the poem, are stil more considerable; so that it appears highly probable that the author had revised his original work, and given, as it were, a new edition; and it may be possible for a good judge of ancient poetry, possessed of a sufficient stock of critical acumen, to determine which was the first, and which the second.<sup>1</sup>

It will be noted, however, that Ritson's examination of A-text MSS was not sufficiently thorough to enable him to discover that the poem exists in three distinct forms, not merely two. Probably he collated the A-text MSS only through the opening lines, in which the A-text and B-text agree closely with each other, and made his more extensive collation between Crowley's edition and Cotton Vesp. B. XVI.

We are now in a position to understand why no sixteenth-, seventeenth-, or eighteenth-century scholar raised the question of single or multiple authorship of *Piers the Plowman*. They knew the poem in one form only, that of the B-text. So long as the A-text and C-text were unknown, it was impossible that the question of single or multiple authorship should be raised. If modern scholars knew only the B-text, there would be no *Piers the Plowman* problem, for the B-text is so intricately composite in character that it would be impossible for us to distinguish without the aid of the A-text between original and added or interpolated matter. And likewise with reference to the problem of the B-text and C-text, there would be no question of their common or diverse authorship as long as the C-text remained unknown. We should therefore be misrepresenting scholarly tradition previous to Ritson if we said that it held the opinion that *Piers the Plowman* was the work of a single author. It held only that the B-text of *Piers the Plowman* was the work of a single author, which is an altogether different proposition. There was, indeed, no rational alternative to this opinion.

It was Ritson's discovery of the C-text that raised the question of single or multiple authorship. Immediately the question presented itself, did the author revise his own work, or was the revision the work of some other than the original writer? Ritson himself, as we have seen, decided in favor of the former hypothesis, but he gives

<sup>1</sup> *Bibliographia Poetica, A Catalogue of English [sic] Poets of the Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth, Centurys*, pp. 29, 30.

no reasons for so doing. When we remember that Ritson did not know which of the two texts was the earlier one, it becomes clear that he must have decided the question upon *a priori* grounds rather than from a consideration of the characteristics of the texts themselves. Whitaker, who edited the C-text in 1813 and who was the next scholar to attack the problem that Ritson had opened up, was even more heavily handicapped than his predecessor in his investigation of the authorship of the two texts. For while Ritson confessed his ignorance as to the relative dates of the B-text and C-text, Whitaker adopted the erroneous opinion that the C-text was the original and the B-text the revision. Whitaker saw the problem clearly enough and realized that he must make a choice between two hypotheses. The degree of deference that we owe, however, to his decision in favor of a common authorship of the B- and C-texts can best be indicated by quoting in full his discussion of the subject. He says, after speaking of the differences between the MSS (especially Crowley's and his own) and of the fact that they form two distinct schools:

All these varieties, however, bear marks, not of the same spirit and genius only, but of the same peculiar and original manner, so that it is scarcely to be conceived that they are interpolations of successive transcribers. Whatever be the cause, however, it may confidently be affirmed, that the text of no ancient work whatever contains so many various readings, or differs so widely from itself.

To account for this phenomenon, however, in the penury, or rather in the absence of original information relating to the author, we are at liberty to suppose that the first edition of his work appeared when he was a young man, and that he lived and continued in the habit of transcribing to extreme old age. But a man of *his* genius would not submit to the drudgery of mere transcription; his invention and judgment would always be at work; new abuses, and therefore new objects of satire, would emerge from time to time: and as a new language began to be spoken, he might, though unwillingly, be induced to adopt its modernisms, in order to render his work intelligible to a second or third generation of readers. In this last respect, however, it is not improbable that his transcribers might use some freedoms; for while we deny them invention to add, we may at least allow them skill to translate.<sup>1</sup>

I think it must be admitted that we can attach no importance whatever to Whitaker's opinion. The weakness of his position does not

<sup>1</sup> *Visio Willi de Petro Ploughman*, ed. Whitaker, p. xxxiii.



consist merely in the insufficiency of his arguments<sup>1</sup> and the fact that his opinion appears to be the result of an impression, not of an adequate investigation of the problem, but in the fact that he argued from premises that would have vitiated completely the results even of the most thorough investigation. Whitaker knew nothing of the A-text and believed the C-text to have been earlier than the B-text. He was therefore obliged to beg the question to the extent of assuming that the writer of the C-text was the original author of everything which that text contains, including a very large amount of material that belonged originally to the A-text. On the other hand, passages of the B-text that are omitted in the C-text (many of which, e.g., B. III. 188-199, B. IV. 67-73, had originally appeared in the A-text) seemed to Whitaker to be the additions of the reviser. To derive correct conclusions from such premises was a logical impossibility.

It was Price, the editor of the 1824 edition of Warton's *History of English Poetry*, who made possible a more intelligent investigation of the *Piers the Plowman* problem by discovering the A-text and at least suggesting that it was the earliest form of the poem and that the B-text was earlier, instead of later, than the C-text. Price says:

It is among the remarks contained in Dr. Whitaker's preface, that the variations between his own manuscript and Crowley's text are so material, as to warrant a belief that the original writer had at some time chosen to remould his work, and that both versions have come down to us. This conclusion is strongly borne out by the amplifications in the Oxford manuscript, which, while they support the integrity of the early printed copies, clearly show that these variations are too important to have been the result of a common transcriber's caprice, or to have emanated, as Mr. Tyrwhitt believed, from the ignorance, negligence, or wilful interpolation of Crowley. But the inference which Dr. Whitaker has coupled with this remark—that his own manuscript exhibits the poem in its original state, and that Crowley's text affords a specimen of the more recent rifacimento,—is not to be admitted without considerable hesitation. Among the Harley manuscripts there is a fragment of this poem written upon vellum (No. 875) [an A-text MS

<sup>1</sup> His argument that the two texts exhibit the same spirit is too indefinite to be of value, for he does not define this spirit in such a way as to give us an opportunity of judging whether it is really individual enough to serve as evidence of common authorship, and of ascertaining whether it is as a matter of fact common to the B- and C-texts. The stylistic argument will be considered at a later point in this article. The suppositions Whitaker makes for the purpose of accounting for the existence of the revised form would apply as well to a revision made by a new writer as to one made by the original author of the work.

lacking VI. 52—VII. 2 and all after VIII. 144] of an equally early date with Vespasian B. XVI. and in a character nearly resembling it. Unhappily this fragment only extends to the 151st line of the 8th Passus, nor is it free from lacunae even thus far. Our loss is however in some measure repaired—perhaps wholly so—by the preservation of a transcript on paper, in the same collection (No. 6041) [A- and C-texts], which though considerably younger, and somewhat modernised in its orthography, exhibits a much more correct and intelligible text. From this manuscript it is evident, that another and a third version was once in circulation; and if the first draught of the poem be still in existence, it is here perhaps that we must look for it. For in this the narrative is considerably shortened, many passages of a decidedly episodic cast—such as the tale of the cat and the ratons, and the character of Wrath—are wholly omitted; others, which in the later versions are given with considerable detail of circumstance, are here but slightly sketched; and though evidently the text book of Dr. Whitaker's and Crowley's versions, it may be said to agree with neither, but to alternate between the ancient and the modern printed copies.<sup>1</sup>

This passage is an important document in the history of scholarly opinion regarding the authorship of the various texts of *Piers the Plowman*, for Price was the first modern scholar who had the knowledge that was necessary for an intelligent consideration of the problem. He contributed nothing, of course, toward proving the theory of single authorship, for he did not offer a single argument to support it. The important thing to observe is that he was the first modern scholar to hold the opinion afterward adopted by Skeat and still held by Jusserand, that all three texts of the poem are the work of a single writer. The "tradition" to which Mr. Jusserand appeals begins with Price in 1824.

Price's discovery of the A-text, important though it was, appears to have attracted little attention, for Wright, who edited the B-text in 1842, recognized the existence of the two later texts only.<sup>2</sup> Wright's introduction to his text is notable in two respects: it declares unequivocally the priority of the B-text as against the C-text, and it argues that the revision found in the C-text is the work of some other person than the original author. The most important passage for our purpose is the following:

<sup>1</sup> Warton, *History of English Poetry*, L, 1824, II, 482, 483. For some other remarks upon the A-text, see *ibid.*, II, 102, 103.

<sup>2</sup> Yet Wright had examined at least one A-text MS, Trinity College, Cambridge, R. 3. 14 (*Vision and Creed of Piers Ploughman*, ed. Wright, L, 1856, I, xl).

The manuscripts of the *Vision of Piers Ploughman* are extremely numerous both in public and in private collections. There are at least eight in the British Museum: there are ten or twelve in the Cambridge Libraries; and they are not less numerous at Oxford. As might be expected in a popular work like this, the manuscripts are in general, full of variations; but there are two classes of manuscripts which give two texts that are widely different from each other, those variations commencing even with the first lines of the poem. One of these texts, which was adopted in the early printed editions, is given in the present volumes; the other text was selected for publication by Dr. Whitaker. The following extract, comprising the first lines of the poem, will show how each text begins, and will enable those who possess manuscripts of *Piers Ploughman* to ascertain at once to which text they belong. [Here follow the extracts.]

Besides such variations as appear in the foregoing specimen, there are in the second text many considerable additions, omissions, and transpositions. It would not be easy to account for the existence of two texts differing so much; but it is my impression that the first was the one published by the author, and that the variations were made by some other person, who was perhaps induced by his own political sentiments to modify passages, and was gradually led on to publish a revision of the whole. It is certain that in some parts of Text II the strong sentiments or expressions of the first text are softened down. We may give as an example of this, the statement of the popular opinion of the origin and purpose of kingly government: [Here he quotes B. Pro. 112-22, and C. I. 139-46].

Nobody, I think, can deny that in this instance the doctrine is stated far more distinctly and far more boldly in the first text than in the second. In general the first text is the best, whether we look at the mode in which the sentiments are stated, or at the poetry and language.<sup>1</sup>

Whether we agree with Wright's opinion or not, we must acknowledge that his discussion of the problem of the B- and C-texts is distinctly superior to that of his predecessors. Though he ignores the existence of the A-text, his knowledge of the priority of the B-text insured him in a very large measure from the absurdities of reasoning to which Whitaker was liable. Besides, his knowledge of the variations between the B- and C-texts was far more complete than that of Whitaker and Price, for he had made a detailed comparison of the two texts and prints in his notes most of the passages that are peculiar to the later one. His argument for diversity of authorship is of course not conclusive, but it would have been worthy of considera-

<sup>1</sup> *Vision and Creed of Piers Ploughman*, ed. Wright, L, 1856, I, xxxii ff. Compare also Wright's comparison of the two texts in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, April, 1834, pp. 385 ff., especially his acute observations upon lines 28 (C. I. 15) and 2 (C. I. 49).



tion even if better arguments had previously been offered in support of the contrary opinion. And, as we have already seen, no valid argument had yet been made for the theory of single authorship.

We have now come to the period of Mr. Skeat's work upon the *Piers the Plowman* texts. Of his extensive and accurate learning, his tireless industry, his devotion to scholarship, and his readiness to abandon a controversial position when it had been proved untenable, it is scarcely possible to speak in terms of too high praise, and his opinion upon the *Piers the Plowman* problem is justly entitled to most respectful consideration. But no opinion can have any higher authority than that of the process of reasoning that led to its adoption, and in weighing the value of Mr. Skeat's opinion we can follow no other course than that of weighing the value of the arguments that he advances in its favor.

The earliest piece of argument that we find is the following passage in the introduction to the A-text, published in 1867:

That most of the additional matter in both the later forms of the poem was by Langland himself I have little doubt; his style is very peculiar, and many of the subsequently interpolated passages are the very best of the whole. It is easy to say that others may have added to it; but the question is, who *could* have done so? There were not two Langlands, surely; and though there are other (anonymous) alliterative poems of considerable merit, such as, for instance, "William of Palerne," I greatly doubt if they reach the high standard of poetical power which is conspicuous in *Piers Plowman*.<sup>1</sup>

The first of these arguments is that from the peculiarity of the style of the *Piers the Plowman* texts. We must agree with Mr. Skeat that the style is indeed peculiar and quite distinct from that of *William of Palerne* and other alliterative poems. But it is equally certain that it was a style that not one man merely, but many men, had at their command. This is one of the circumstances that make the textual criticism of the poems so difficult. The MSS contain hundreds of lines and short passages written in this peculiar style, which can be declared spurious only from a knowledge of the genealogical relationships of the MSS. Mr. Skeat's edition of A<sup>1</sup> alone contains nearly fifty lines that are omitted in the critical text.<sup>2</sup> Who

<sup>1</sup> *Piers Plowman*, E.E.T.S., Part I, p. xxxiii.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Thomas A. Knott's (not yet published) critical text of A. Pro. 1-VIII. 131 contains 1,728 lines; Mr. Skeat's text contains up to that point 1,777 lines.

can decide, upon stylistic evidence alone, how much of Passus XII of the A-text was written by John But and how much was written by the author of the preceding passus? There are almost as many possibilities as there are lines in the passus,<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Chambers has very properly argued that it is impossible to decide from internal evidence alone where the break occurs, and that we must be guided by the evidence of the MSS.<sup>2</sup> The numerous passages of the B-text which are peculiar to MS Rawl. Poet. 38 are written in a style that cannot be distinguished from that of the other additions in the B-text, but their genuineness must remain a matter of grave doubt unless a study of the MSS relations should furnish evidence of their authenticity.<sup>3</sup> Finally, as Mr. Skeat acknowledged, *Richard the Redeles* is written in this same peculiar style, but it has never been proved to have been of a common authorship with any or all of the *Piers the Plowman* texts.<sup>4</sup> These facts show, I think, that Mr. Skeat's stylistic argument is valueless.

The other argument advanced in the passage quoted above is of no greater value than the argument we have just examined. Mr. Skeat asks, "If Langland did not write all of the texts, who could have written them?" In this interrogation are combined two distinct arguments. One is that we have no trustworthy attribution of *Piers the Plowman* to any other author than Langland, and that

<sup>1</sup> In or shortly before 1867 Mr. Skeat was still uncertain as to the genuineness of the first 18 lines of the passus which were all he had discovered up to that time (*Piers Plowman*, E.E.T.S., Part I, pp. xxvi, xxvii). Very shortly after, however, when he became acquainted with MS Rawl. Poet. 137, Mr. Skeat was convinced that it was "Langland's beyond a doubt, every word of it, from line 1 down to the end of line 100" (l. 105 of Parallel Text). He says, "All these lines are not only in his manner, but contain his favourite words, phrases, and turns of expression, and have the same changes of rhythm as we find in his works elsewhere" (*ibid.*, p. 143\*). At a later time he suspected the genuineness of the last seven of these lines and suggested that John But began at line 99 (Parallel Text, II, ix). Mr. Manly thought it probable that John But began at line 57 (*Cambridge History of English Literature*, II, 25). Miss Rickert believes that he began at about line 78 (*Modern Philology*, XI, 113). Mr. Chambers would place the change at line 89 (*Modern Language Review*, VI, 320).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 322.

<sup>3</sup> This MS contains 160 lines not found in other MSS of the B-text (Skeat, Parallel Text, II, lxxviii). Mr. Skeat accepted these lines as genuine.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Skeat's argument in favor of common authorship is contained in his E.E.T.S. edition of the C-text, pp. cvii ff., and assumes what cannot now be granted, that the three texts of *Piers the Plowman* are all the work of a single author; moreover, the stylistic resemblances between those texts and *Richard the Redeles* are an important part of the evidence Mr. Skeat offers to prove the common authorship of that poem and *Piers the Plowman*.

Langland must therefore be the author of all of the texts. This argument *a silentio* is seen to be valueless when we remember that the great bulk (probably as much as two-thirds) of the fourteenth century literature that we have is anonymous. Why, then, should the hypothesis of anonymous authorship be barred in the case of *Piers the Plowman*? There can be no reasonable objection to the supposition that Langland may have been the author of one of the texts, and that one or more anonymous authors may have written the others.<sup>1</sup>

There is also implied in Mr. Skeat's query the *a priori* argument that it is improbable that there should have been at this period more than one poet of the degree of ability demanded by a theory of multiple authorship. This argument is rather discredited by the fact that it has generally been employed in bad cases. It has been used to support the theory that Cædmon wrote the poems in the Junian MS; that Cynewulf wrote the *Andreas* and the *Beowulf*; that Huchown wrote 50,000 lines of anonymous alliterative verse; that Bacon wrote Shakespeare's plays and the *Faerie Queene*. It has underlying it the assumption that a poet of great merit generally appears alone, though it would be nearer the truth to say that the great poet is nearly always accompanied or succeeded by several other poets of nearly equal rank. In view of the fact that the theory of multiple authorship requires us to posit only two poets of high ability (the author of A<sup>1</sup> and the author of the B-text) it must be conceded that Mr. Skeat's *a priori* argument is wholly inconclusive.

His other arguments in support of single authorship are contained in the introduction to his edition of the C-text, published in 1873. In discussing the transpositions to Passus VII and VIII which the writer of the C-text made of material upon the seven deadly sins that had originally appeared in Passus XIII of the B-text, Mr. Skeat says:

These [transpositions] can all be explained together. It is quite clear on what principle the poet made them; and, if they be carefully examined, they will be found to be *so skilfully adjusted as quite to exclude the supposition*

<sup>1</sup> This, fortunately, is the only point at which an examination of the scholarly tradition complicates itself with the matter of the evidence as to authorship afforded by the information we have as to the name of the author. I hope to show in my later article that the evidence as to the author's name lends no support whatever to the theory of single authorship.



that anyone but himself could have done it. This is a very important matter, as it assures us that the double revision of the poem is *all his own work*; and, although this might have been inferred from the style and character of the writing, it is most satisfactory to have the proof of it brought home to us in a way that cannot well be mistaken.<sup>1</sup>

The limitations of space make it impossible to reproduce here the passages that Mr. Skeat bases his argument upon; the reader will have to test the soundness of the argument by his own examination of the text.<sup>2</sup> To me these transpositions appear to be of a kind that a reviser, if he had considered it desirable, might have made quite as well as the original author, for the principle they follow is purely a mechanical one. The writer has merely amplified the confessions of the seven deadly sins which appear in B. V, by interpolating at appropriate places the portrayals of the seven deadly sins which had formed part of the description of *Activa Vita's* coat in B. XIII. That these transpositions are made with any great degree of skill will not, I think, be admitted by anyone who will read carefully the confession of Sloth, C. VIII. 63-119, and observe the awkwardness of lines 70 ff. in their new context. To me this argument is of no force at all; to no one, I believe, could it be a strong one. At any rate, whatever weight it might be judged to have, it could tend only to prove the common authorship of the B- and C-texts; it can of course prove nothing with regard to a common authorship of the A- and B-texts.<sup>3</sup>

Mr. Skeat continues the passage quoted above by saying:

It is also the more necessary, because there certainly are indications that the poet inclined, at the last, to the softening down and modification of some of his sentiments. Mr. Wright has drawn attention to this in one instance, where he prints two short passages side by side, and draws the inference that "in this instance the doctrine is stated far more distinctly and far more boldly in the first text than in the second;" Wright's edition, Pref. p. xxxv. That is to say, the poet grew more conservative in his ideas and more careful in his expressions as he grew older; a result so common and natural that it is not to be wondered at, but may be accepted as the fact.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Piers Plowman*, E.E.T.S., Part III, p. lxxix.

<sup>2</sup> See Parallel Text, I, 130 ff.

<sup>3</sup> It will be remembered that the illogicality of the description of *Activa Vita's* coat is one of the evidences Mr. Manly offers (*Cambridge History of English Literature*, II, 30) of the difference between the mental qualities of A<sup>1</sup> and B.

<sup>4</sup> *Piers Plowman*, E.E.T.S., Part III, p. lxxix.

This very indirect statement (which suppresses the inference Wright actually drew from the parallel passages) is the only allusion Mr. Skeat ever made to his predecessor's theory in regard to the authorship of the C-text. Wright's suggestion had fallen upon sterile soil; so far from provoking inquiry and stimulating investigation, it was almost completely ignored.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Skeat's final argument upon this question is also contained in his introduction to the C-text. In regard to one of the additional passages in the C-text, Passus IV. 292-415, he says:

A passage of that subtle and simile-seeking character which was no doubt once highly esteemed, but to us seems tedious and puerile. The author undertakes to establish parallels between the two kinds of Meed and the two kinds of grammatical relation. In tone and style it is much like another tedious passage in which the mystery of the Trinity is exemplified by reference to a man's hand or to a blazing torch, which first appears in the B-text (xvii 135-249). Any one who carefully compares these passages (i.e. if he thinks it worth his while) may easily see that the writer of one of them would be just the man to write the other. In other words, we cannot well put aside this passage as not genuine, because the author has already previously committed himself by penning a passage equally dull.<sup>2</sup>

The value of this argument is impaired (to say the least) by the fact that Mr. Manly has drawn from the passage on Meed and the grammatical relations an inference directly opposite to that which Mr. Skeat drew. The passage, in Mr. Manly's opinion, has no parallel elsewhere in the poems and is evidence of a quality of dry pedantry in the mind of C which does not appear in the writer (or writers) of the earlier texts.<sup>3</sup> Whether or not the passage in the C-text be accepted as good evidence of a difference of authorship, the parallel Mr. Skeat cites from the B-text cannot be accepted as proving, or even tending strongly to prove, the common authorship of these two texts. The two passages are not really of the same character. Mr. Skeat himself says in his note upon the passage in the C-text that it is "the dullest passage which our author ever wrote." The passage

<sup>1</sup> G. P. Marsh, however, accepted Wright's view; see his *Origin and History of the English Language* (originally published in 1862), New York, 1877, p. 297. The passage is not included in Mr. Skeat's extracts from Marsh (Parallel Text, II, xlvii ff.).

<sup>2</sup> *Piers Plowman*, E.E.T.S., Part III, p. lxxxvi.

<sup>3</sup> This argument does not (I think) appear in Mr. Manly's published work, but was communicated by him to his seminar in 1908.

in the B-text is not of a very exceptional kind; it is difficult to follow and not in the least illuminating, but it was the sort of thing that almost any didactic writer might occasionally indulge in, and Mr. Skeat cites in his notes parallels from St. Augustine and Aelfric.<sup>1</sup> But the passage in the C-text (IV. 335-409) is, fortunately, very exceptional indeed; to me at least it is quite unintelligible and utterly barren of all interest.

These are the arguments by which Mr. Skeat justified his belief in a single author of all the texts of *Piers the Plowman*. Unless I have failed in my endeavor to estimate them fairly but exactly at their just value, they are entirely insufficient to prove his case. Toward proving the common authorship of A<sup>1</sup> and A<sup>2</sup>, or of A<sup>2</sup> and B, they contribute no evidence whatever. Toward proving the common authorship of B and C, they contribute two pieces of evidence which no one could regard as conclusive proof, and to which I at least can allow no probative force at all.

We have now completed our examination of the scholarly tradition of a single authorship of the various texts of *Piers the Plowman*, for the passages I have quoted from Mr. Skeat's introductions, published in 1867 and 1873, are the latest discussions of the problem of authorship that I have found prior to Mr. Manly's article in 1906.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Skeat's judgment upon the question was accepted without criticism; opinion became stereotyped; and it was forgotten that there was any alternative to the theory of single authorship. Even Ten Brink appears never to have realized that a theory of multiple authorship was even a possibility that demanded consideration. In this respect his attitude toward the problem was much less scientific than that of the earlier scholars had been. Before Ritson's discovery of the C-text, as we have seen, there was no rational alternative to the theory of a single authorship of the single text that was known to exist. But Ritson himself, and Whitaker after him, realized that it was at least possible that the B-text and the C-text were not the work of the same writer. That Ritson, Whitaker, and Price rejected this hypothesis and attributed both texts to the same

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Skeat parallels the comparison of the Trinity and the torch, but not that of the Trinity and the hand.

<sup>2</sup> *Modern Philology*, III, 359 ff.



author ought not to have influenced subsequent opinion, for they offered not an iota of valid argument in defense of the theory of single authorship which they adopted. Wright's argument that the C-text was the work of some other person than the writer of the B-text, though it was of course far from conclusive, should at least have led to a more thoughtful and adequate consideration of the hypothesis of multiple authorship than that hypothesis actually received at the hands of Mr. Skeat and later scholars. But Wright's suggestion bore no fruit, and Mr. Skeat contented himself with offering on behalf of his theory of single authorship the small and inconclusive body (or rather fragments) of argument that we have just examined.

This is the scholarly tradition respecting the authorship of the texts of *Piers the Plowman*. I shall leave my reader to form his own opinion as to whether it establishes any presumption against a theory of the multiple authorship of those texts, or places the burden of proof upon those who hold that theory.

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## THE SOUTHWESTERN COWBOY SONGS AND THE ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH POPULAR BALLADS

Several writers recently have found analogy between the conditions attending the growth of cowboy songs in isolated communities in the Southwest, and the conditions under which arose the English and Scottish popular ballads—those problematic pieces which form so special a chapter in the history of English poetry. Mr. Lomax, the chief collector of southwestern folk songs,<sup>1</sup> notes, when speaking of western communities, how “illiterate people and people cut off from newspapers and books, isolated and lonely—thrown back on primal resources for entertainment and for the expression of emotion—utter themselves through somewhat the same character of songs as did their forefathers of perhaps a thousand years ago.” Professor Barrett Wendell<sup>2</sup> suggests that it is possible to trace in this group of American ballads “the precise manner in which songs and cycles of songs—obviously analogous to those surviving from older and antique times—have come into being. The facts which are still available concerning the ballads of our own Southwest are such as should go far to prove, or to disprove, many of the theories advanced concerning the laws of literature as evinced in the ballads of the Old World.” Ex-President Roosevelt affirms in a personal letter to Mr. Lomax<sup>3</sup> that “there is something very curious in the reproduction here on this new continent of essentially the conditions of ballad-growth which obtained in mediaeval England.”

The parallel felt by these writers is worked out, with more specific detail and greater definiteness, by Professor W. W. Lawrence, in a passage prefixed to a discussion of the ballads of Robin Hood:<sup>4</sup>

These men, living together on the solitary ranches of Texas, Arizona, or New Mexico, have been accustomed to entertain each other after the

<sup>1</sup> *Cowboy Songs*. Collected by John A. Lomax. New York, 1910. See also G. W. Will, “Songs of Western Cowboys,” *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XXII, XXVI.

<sup>2</sup> Lomax, *Cowboy Songs*, Introduction.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Prefixed letter, dated from Cheyenne, 1910.

<sup>4</sup> *Medieval Story*. New York, 1911.



day's work is done by singing songs, some of which have been familiar to them from boyhood, others of which they have actually composed themselves. . . . These cowboy ballads are not the expression of individuals but of the whole company which listens to them, and they are, in a very real sense, the work of other men than the author. . . . The author counts for nothing, it will be observed; his name is generally not remembered, and what he invents is as characteristic of his comrades as of himself. . . . Here we have literature which is a perfect index of the social ideals of the body of men among whom it is composed, literature which makes no pretense to literary form or to the disclosure of the emotions of any one man as distinguished from his fellows. There are few communities of the present day which are as closely united in common aims and sympathies as these bands of Western cowboys, hence there are few opportunities for the production of verse which is as truly the expression of universal emotion as are these songs.

Such Western ranches reproduce almost perfectly the conditions under which the English popular ballads were composed. . . .

It is obvious from these passages that their writers find a real parallel between the conditions leading to the growth in our own time, in certain homogeneous communities of the Southwest, of fugitive folk pieces like those gathered by Mr. Lomax, and the conditions responsible for the rise in the Middle Ages of the traditional ballads of England and Scotland. For the student of both folk-lore and literature, the parallel so clearly set forth in the paragraphs last quoted has strong interest; and its possibilities of instructiveness are warrant for making it the basis for a brief special examination. Wherein does it hold? How far is it to be pushed? What, if anything, is indicated concerning the Old World pieces by their New World analogues? Of the two leading schools of thought concerning the genesis of the English and Scottish ballads, that which may be designated the "Harvard school" emphasizes the idea of real communal composition, as by a collective village community, and adheres to a definition by origins for genuine popular ballads; that which may be called the English school<sup>1</sup> defines by destination and style. For the mass of traditional English and Scottish folk-ballads it finds necessary the hypothesis of a higher

<sup>1</sup> See chiefly W. J. Courthope, *History of English Poetry*, I (1895); G. G. Smith, *The Transition Period*, vi (1900); W. P. Ker, *On the History of the Ballads*, 1100-1500 (1910); and T. F. Henderson, *Scottish Vernacular Literature* (1898); Introduction to Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1902); and *The Ballad in Literature* (1912).

origin than spontaneous popular collaboration. Which, if either, of these schools may find support in the parallel under discussion; if it be true, as Professor Wendell suggests, that the facts concerning western songs may "go far to prove, or to disprove, many of the theories advanced concerning the laws of literature as evinced in the ballads of the Old World", in which direction, if either, is the student of English balladry led?

Let us first examine, for the sake of the generalizations to be made, the subject-matter of the American pieces, and their style.

A certain percentage of the songs in the collection of Mr. Lomax are perhaps genuine cowboy pieces, approached from almost any point of view. Those which are most typical are related very closely to the life of the communities which originated and preserved them. Some of these, the editor tells us, the singers themselves composed. There are songs dealing with the life of the ranch, of the trail, songs of stampedes, of the barroom; but chiefly they deal with cattle and the cowboys who have them in charge. There are a few passing references to their "bosses"; but songs relating to these, or to the ranch-owners, songs of the lives of their employers and their families, do not appear. A few preserve the style of the ultra-sentimental or "flowery" period of American verse,<sup>1</sup> with doubtfully westernized setting, a few are ascribed to personal authors,<sup>2</sup> and some are plainly built on or out of well-known songs;<sup>3</sup> but these are not wholly typical. Of what may be termed the real cowboy pieces, the following verses, cited as representative by Professor Lawrence also, will give a good idea:

I'm a rowdy cowboy just off the stormy plains,  
My trade is girting saddles and pulling bridle reins,  
Oh, I can tip the lasso, it is with graceful ease;  
I rope a streak of lightning, and ride it where I please.  
My bosses they all like me, they say I am hard to beat;

<sup>1</sup> "By Markentura's Flowery Marge," p. 224; or the story of Amanda and Young Albon, p. 271.

<sup>2</sup> "Night-Herding Song," p. 324; or "The Metis Song of the Buffalo Hunters," p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> "The Cowboy's Dream" (based on "My Bonnie Lies over the Ocean"), p. 18; or "The Railroad Corral" (see Sir Walter Scott's "Bonny Dundee"), p. 318. "The Little Old Sod Shanty on the Claim," p. 187, widely known in the Mid-West, is an adaptation, it seems to the present writer, of the once very popular "The Little Old Log Cabin in the Lane."

I give them the bold stand off, you bet I have got the cheek.  
 I always work for wages, my pay I get in gold;  
 I am bound to follow the longhorn steer until I am too old.  
     Ci yi yip yip yip pe ya.

Or—

Come all you jolly cowboys that follow the bronco steer,  
 I'll sing to you a verse or two your spirits for to cheer;  
 It's all about a trip, a trip that I did undergo  
 On that crooked trail to Holbrook, in Arizona oh.

Or—

Bill driv the stage from Independence  
 Up to the Smokey Hill;  
 And everybody knowed him thar  
 As Independence Bill,—  
 Thar warn't no feller on the route  
 That driv with half the skill.

As might be foreseen, though picturesque and often forceful, these pieces are crude and nearly formless, without literary quality or individual touch.<sup>1</sup> Also they tend to be songs rather than ballads; they are more likely to express collective or individual feeling than to be verse narratives. There is an established manner, but it is crude; real poetical quality they can hardly be said to have. The *Stoff* is relatively unambitious and was found by the composers close at hand. No doubt it is compositions of this nature to which may fairly be ascribed the communal origin suggested by Mr. Lomax and sketched out by Professor Lawrence. These might well have found their origin in the improvisation of a community isolated and homogeneous; and they well reflect the life, the tastes, the themes, and song modes, of those among whom they are current. To reiterate, they deal as a mass with the life and the interests of the same class of people that originate them and sing them. And among this class, it is tempting to add, the pieces so composed are likely to die!

Suppose that we endeavor to distinguish, among the songs collected by Mr. Lomax, those which have found widest diffusion

<sup>1</sup> It is more than likely that even these compositions are built from well-known songs, like those cited in the preceding footnote, i.e., are adaptations. Most of them follow the model of stall ballads, or "Come all ye's," as they are sometimes designated. Of course it would be only the framework, the suggestion that is so given; the rest would be the work of some adapter, or, it may be, series of adapters.



and greatest promise of permanence. They are not those which may fairly be thought to have originated on southwestern ranches, but rather those which may fairly be thought not to have originated there. Currency and diffusion, a sort of permanence, have been gained by a number of the better pieces; but they are pieces not peculiar to the cowboys or to the Southwest; they deal rather with outside life and topics. The very first, "O bury me not on the lone prairie," or "The Dying Cowboy," despite its title, is no communal cowboy improvisation. It has been recovered from oral tradition in Missouri, Kentucky, New England, Nebraska, and elsewhere. It is built, as is well known, on a sea piece, accessible in print,<sup>1</sup> "O bury me not in the deep, deep sea." The songs "Jesse James," "The Death of Garfield," "The Days of Forty-Nine," "The Texas Rangers," "The Boston Burglar," and others have been recovered in many states of the Mid-West, East, and South.<sup>2</sup> So with "Young Charlotte," thought by Mr. Phillips Barry to have been composed by a rural poet in Vermont, about two generations ago.<sup>3</sup> "The Dreary Black Hills," has been recovered in Missouri, Nebraska, Wyoming, and elsewhere. A version of "Mississippi Girls," localized to suit quite different conditions,<sup>4</sup> is in the possession of the writer. For songs of the cowboy type quoted from earlier in this paper, a spontaneous origin on the trail may be a probable explanation, but not for those of the type enumerated in the preceding sentences. The latter are more likely to have drifted to than from the Southwest.<sup>5</sup> But be that as it may, it seems to be true that the group which has achieved currency and permanence did not

<sup>1</sup> A text appears in Fulton and Trueblood's *Choice Readings*, Boston, 1883; but the ascription of authorship there is probably not to be trusted.

<sup>2</sup> Additional instances are "Fuller and Warren," "Jerry, Go Ile That Car," "The Cowboy's Lament," "Macaffie's Confession," "The Little Old Sod Shanty," "The Wars of Germany," "Fannie Moore," "Betsy from Pike," "Rosin the Bow."

<sup>3</sup> "Native Balladry in America," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XXII, 365-73.

<sup>4</sup> The Old World ballad "The Two Brothers" (Child, 49), in a version in the possession of the writer—otherwise pretty faithful as regards narrative—seems from the surprising "way out in Idaho" of its last line to be well on its way toward becoming a western piece. A version of "Lord Randal" (Child, 12) recovered from railway camps in Colorado, under the name "Johnny Randall," has already become such. See *Modern Language Notes*, January, 1902.

<sup>5</sup> The cowboys wandered into the Southwest from diverse regions and varying cultural conditions; they must have brought with them differing conceptions and models of verse, sung to diverse tunes. Mainly, however, their models would be of the stall or street ballad type.

concern itself with the local and the special in cowboy life, but with the general, i.e., with widely known and interesting events and persons. Some, like the ballads of Jesse James and Cole Younger, or of the death of Garfield, have or had a sort of nation-wide interest. Others have some striking interest of situation or climax, or have more sustained and "artistic" execution, as "Young Charlotte"; or they were perhaps floated into diffusion by special tunefulness.

Surely songs, or ballads proper, or both, are frequently improvised even now in remote or isolated homogeneous communities, as they were in greater degree in the past; but it does not seem that these are the pieces most likely to persist and to find permanent transmission. Behind these spontaneous and inevitably crude compositions there is too little *élan*; not enough quality, poetic style, "art," tunefulness perhaps, not enough universality of appeal.<sup>1</sup> It takes pressure, strong impetus, to "float" a piece into real transmission and diffusion. Even among the Texas cowboys, it is not their communal or improvised "dogie" songs which are likely to persist nearly intact among them for many decades. These rise and die, impermanent and fluctuating by nature. The better chance for life will be had by pieces like "Jesse James," or "Young Charlotte," too regular of rhyme and meter and too symmetrical of structure, though communal by preservation or destination, to be of communal origin. More likely yet, compositions of the character of "After the Ball," "There'll Be a Hot Time," "Juanita," or "Lorena," now belonging to folk-song though not originating as such, will linger among the cowboys long after their local improvisations have perished. The purpose in this paper is not to risk prediction, however, but merely to examine and contrast; and to this it is time to return.

What now of the general nature of the subject-matter and style, as related to the folk and their interests, of the English and Scottish traditional ballads? We have seen that the songs originated by the cowboys deal with the life nearest them and are couched in the rude and nearly formless style most to be expected. They deal

<sup>1</sup> Some songs of spontaneous local composition on Wyoming ranches are in the possession of the writer, and some of similar composition brought by emigrants from mining communities at Newcastle, England. All are crude in form, and show the same commonplaceness and lack of poetical quality as the cowboy pieces.



with the lives and the interests of the people among whom they arose and by whom they were preserved. In the many discussions regarding the authorship of the Old World ballads, the relation of the themes of the songs to the singers has had curiously little emphasis.<sup>1</sup> Yet the subject-matter of the English and Scottish popular ballads, viewed as evidence concerning the nature of their origin, deserves from critics not incidental treatment as a side issue, but to be faced clearly as a main one.

Undoubtedly the shepherds, or knitters, or weavers, the "humble people" of mediaeval communal conditions, paralleled by those on western ranches, originated pieces of their own; as, according to the testimony of Mr. Lomax, the western cowboys occasionally do. A liking for or the gift of song may surely not be denied them. Of what would these songs treat? Would they not be most likely to deal with matters belonging to daily life; to reflect the tastes, civilization, characters, paralleled, say, by "Bill" or the "dogie" songs of the cowboy pieces? Would they not be genuinely, as regards both material and style, the "homely traditional songs of simple people," i.e., be the mediaeval counterparts of the crude pieces for which modern communal origin may be affirmed? Perhaps, too, they would more probably be songs than ballads, be lyric rather than narrative; though on this nothing special hinges.

<sup>1</sup> The matter is dismissed (in a note) in Professor Gummere's *Old English Ballads* (Intro., p. xxvii) with the sentence: "This homogeneous character of a ballad-making folk, by the way, is quite enough to explain the high rank of most personages in the ballads—princes, knights, and so on." But difference between the life and interests of the hall and of the village or rural throng was very marked in the Middle Ages. This class cleavage is reflected in Froissart. Chaucer realized it when he placed knightly matter in the mouths of his aristocratic pilgrims and bourgeois matter in the mouths of those of lower class. In *The Popular Ballad*, Professor Gummere, while treating many matters minutely, contributes on this topic only (p. 309): "The favorite characters of the old ballad of communal tradition are the knight and the lady, wife or maid, who were in the focus of communal view and represented the fairly homogeneous life of that day." As if, for example, the "poor folk in cots" of *Piers Plowman*, or other humble people, were responsible for the references in balladry to bowers and falcons and knightly life, while artisans, peasants, husbandman, common soldiers, they mention not at all? Only in *The Beginnings of Poetry*, a book not primarily treating the English and Scottish popular ballads, is Professor Gummere (pp. 178 ff.) much concerned with the characters and the material of these ballads. Here there is insistence again on homogeneous conditions, the "ballad community." He is content, by specific statement, with purely communal origin for the aristocratic "Edward," "The Two Brothers," and "Babylon."

How far is the hypothesis of the homogeneous character of the mediaeval community historically tenable? Cowboy society is much more homogeneous, tested by its poetry and by the general character of the life reflected, than was the mediaeval society which fostered the English and Scottish popular ballads.



Yet folk-life and folk-themes are the one subject with which the English and Scottish traditional ballads do not deal. In direct contrast with our western pieces, the kind of people who are supposed to have preserved them are the very people who do not appear in them; much as though the cowboys sang never of themselves but only of their employers, or of those above them in the social scale. The subject-matter of the Old World pieces is aristocratic, whether they be romantic-domestic, military, or riddling; this is true, largely, even for the "greenwood" pieces. The English and Scottish ballads are well-wrought poetical tales, not crude songs, and they treat not of humble folk at all, but of kings, princesses, knights, harpers, of Lord Randal, King Estmere, Sir Patrick Spens, Young Hunting, Child Waters, Young Beichan, the Douglas and the Percy. This is true not only of a few special ballads but of the overwhelming mass, by numerical calculation. The half-dozen or so in which appear a mason, a ship-carpenter, a smith, a butler, are exceptional. The ballads are as aristocratic in their material as the metrical romances, or as mediaeval literature in general. They have a distinctive style, too, and real poetical quality, blurred by the manner of their preservation; a quality that improvised pieces, unless adaptations, do not show. The folk preserved them, but did they originate them? Somewhere, as said earlier, behind the theme, story, or melody of the ballad which is to find perpetuation, there must be more than ordinary impetus; widespread interest such as that centering about outlaws like Jesse James or Robin Hood; in battles like those between the Texas Rangers and the Indians, or those of the Scottish Border; in national characters like Garfield, or like the Percy and the Douglas. The pieces that stand out as of better execution or more striking character are those that persist. Improvised origin at some homogeneous folk-gathering would not typically afford the *élan* to bring outside currency. In the ballads collected by Professor Child, those which are nearest to folk life and to folk style, as paralleled by the western pieces, those which might most plausibly have had the type of origin sketched by Professor Kittredge for "The Hangman's Tree,"<sup>1</sup> are those farthest

<sup>1</sup> Introduction to *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, pp. xxv-xxviii. Professor C. Alphonso Smith, "The Negro and the Ballad," in the *University of West Virginia Alumni Bulletin*, January, 1913, suggests as an example of modern communal compo

from the "good" type established by pieces dealing with aristocratic themes.

The ballad last cited, "The Hangman's Tree," is selected as typical to illustrate the probable manner of composition of the English and Scottish ballads, by both Professor Kittredge,<sup>1</sup> who bases his argument on an Americanized version, and Professor Gummere.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, Mr. T. F. Henderson<sup>3</sup> urges of this piece that it is far from a typical instance in that all ballads are not fashioned on the model of this; nor are they by any means so simple in plot or so inevitable in structure and diction. It may be added here that in point of characters the ballad in question is exceptional also. It is nearly the only piece in the collection in which the main characters, at least in the older versions, do not have perforce to be interpreted as people of rank. The versions that we have of "The Hangman's Tree" are neutral; they do not specify. Possibly then this particular ballad *might* afford an instance of humble people improvising about themselves, not choosing some theme more germane to the harper and the castle hall than to the cottage and the village throng. Yet it is as likely, or likelier, that the ballad as we have it has descended from one of definitely higher life; much as "Lord Randal" evolved into the "Johnny Randall" of a Colorado railway camp, or "The Two Brothers," Sir John and Sir Willie, of the Scottish ballad,<sup>4</sup> became merely "Two Little Boys" in their New World home. To find a piece which might plausibly illustrate the unanimous village throng collaborating on a suitable theme, a composition was chosen which instead of being representative was nearly the only one of its kind to be found by canvassing the whole group.

sition certain negro revival hymns and plantation melodies. "If one will attend a negro revival in the country or suburban districts of the South he can see and hear this process of communal composition, about which so much has been written and surmised." The illustrations cited by Professor Smith are simpler than "The Hangman's Tree." They are songs, not poetical narratives, and they deal with the familiar revival material of the negroes. In general nature, in suitability to the composers and to the occasion, they are much what might be foreseen.

<sup>1</sup> Introduction to *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (1904), p. xxv.

<sup>2</sup> *The Popular Ballad* (1907), p. 101; also the *Nation*, August 29, 1907; also *Democracy and Poetry* (1911), p. 193.

<sup>3</sup> *The Ballad in Literature* (1912), pp. 72-79.

<sup>4</sup> See note 4 *supra*, p. 198.

We are told that "the ballad genesis is more plainly proved for the Faroes than for any other modern people."<sup>1</sup> But those originated by the Faroe Islanders, when they improvised ballads, seem to be wholly of the expected character and general style. Witness the narrative cited by Professor Gummere of the Faroe fisherman and his boat,<sup>2</sup> or the folk tale of the girl carried off by Frisian pirates.<sup>3</sup> Clearly, like the southwestern cowboys, the Faroe Islanders improvised concerning the events nearest them, and in equally crude style, no doubt. Nor is it proved of these pieces so created that they gained much currency.<sup>4</sup> The best ballads from the Faroes are derived admittedly from Icelandic literary tradition. They tell not of fishermen or girls carried off by pirates but of the deeds of Sigurd. They are pieces of high descent. Similarly with the songs of more contemporary communal creation in modern Europe brought together with painstaking erudition by Professor Gummere.<sup>5</sup> The pieces improvised concern the singers themselves, their own lives and daily work. They are songs rather than ballads, nor is there evidence that they ultimately developed into more elaborate form, or attained higher poetical quality; nor that they gained much diffusion. Like the Faroe pieces, they are on a par with the improvised cowboy songs rather than with the English and Scottish popular ballads. The soldiers who took part in the Battle of Otterbourne may have made their own songs of that battle,<sup>6</sup> but their songs would have had little chance to endure beside those made by the minstrels who are urged to "play up for your warison,"<sup>7</sup> or those from some yet higher source. Once a good one was made, expressing "the mind and heart of the people," much, say, as did

<sup>1</sup> Gummere, *The Popular Ballad* (1907), p. 69. His position is, specifically, that the popular ballad arises from communal beginnings, such as those found among the Faroe Islanders, followed by an "epic development." When, where, or from whom the latter comes, he cannot, or does not, clearly set forth.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 109, 150, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Accessible in H. Thuren's *Folke Sangen paa Færøerne* (1908). Mr. Henderson remarks of the Faroe fisher ballads that "they are very woeful specimens of verse, of interest only from their touching and almost childish naïveté; and they are not sung to native melodies of ancient fisher tradition or of new fisher improvisation but to lugubrious tunes borrowed, according to Thuren, from Protestant Psalmody."—*The Ballad in Literature*, p. 88.

<sup>5</sup> *The Beginnings of Poetry* (1901), pp. 202 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Gummere, *The Popular Ballad*, p. 265, but see also his admission, p. 260, of minstrel part in the ballad as we have it.

<sup>7</sup> Stanza 43.



the "Marseillaise," "John Brown's Body," "Marching through Georgia," or "Auld Lang Syne," (does it matter much to those who sing these pieces who originally composed them?), public interest in, and memory of, the event and the song would furnish the necessary impetus for diffusion. From this point of view, if songs of the Faroe fisher folk, or of the toiling village throngs of modern Europe, or of the Texas cowboys, throw light on the manner of origin of the English and Scottish popular ballads, they point to a genesis for the latter of some much higher kind.

Nor, if the parallel of the western pieces be still followed out, is the style of expression of the English and Scottish ballads a style which we should expect to find shepherds or plowmen or weavers, "spinsters and knitters in the sun," evolving from crude collaboration. The older the version, the nearer to the original form, the better is the style likely to be. The latter, like the subject-matter, bears the hall mark of a high descent. In the oldest pieces, as "The Battle of Otterbourne," there are phrases and alliterative formulae recalling that fixed poetic vocabulary not used in ordinary speech (*bern*, *freke*, *byrd*, etc.) which Dr. Bradley reminds us was characteristic of a group of professional poets about the middle of the fourteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The diction of the older ballads preserves many of the stereotyped alliterative phrases of the metrical romances. To the present writer, another mannerism of ballad expression seems well worthy of attention, in the search for stable testimony as to origins.<sup>2</sup> The liking for "shifted" or "wrenched" accent (*Douglás*, *Londón*, *forést*) is familiar to all students of traditional English balladry. For explanation of this it would seem clear that we have to proceed from French loan words, preserving for a while their final accent (*certáyne*, *countrée*, *pité*, *menyé*, *chambér*), with occasional transfer of this accentuation, through confusion, to native words having properly initial accent<sup>3</sup> (*ladié*, *daughtér*, *mornnýge*, *lesýnge*.)

<sup>1</sup> *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, I, chap. xix.

<sup>2</sup> Even Professor Gummere is troubled by the thought of an aristocratic origin for the ballad stanza, derived almost certainly, it was long believed, from the classical septenarius (*Old English Ballads*, xxx, note 3); but the whole subject of the genesis of the ballad stanza is too dark for very safe inference to be drawn therefrom. See Saintsbury, *History of English Prosody* (1906), for a recent discussion of the origin of the ballad measure.

<sup>3</sup> Some prosodists might hold that these "wrenched accents" are only instances of "pitch accent," and derive them from Old English. Others may feel that they are

The words so stressed were prominent words in the line, were often rhyme words, the most stable words in the stanza; hence the usage established itself as traditional and remained a persistent feature of ballad diction. But the origin of the practice is surely to be found in aristocratic French, not in the vernacular initial accent of the folk. The tradition was more likely to emerge from the rhyme modes of the higher classes, or from a professional singing fraternity, than from humble "spinsters and knitters in the sun." To judge from the character of the stories narrated and the life reflected, perhaps from the general nature of the ballad stanza, and of the expression, the English and Scottish pieces may well have been favored and fostered by the upper classes, as they almost certainly were in Denmark. They might well have been sung in the halls of castles or in the market place with harp accompaniment by accomplished minstrels.<sup>1</sup>

The parallel suggested by the writers quoted at the opening is as interesting as they promised; although conclusions from it, if they are to be made at all, are not to be made hurriedly. It is clear, however, that the better analogy for the Old World pieces is afforded not by those created by the cowboys themselves but by those which have drifted among them and found preservation there.<sup>2</sup> On the whole, if either of the two leading schools of thought

merely crudenesses, made possible by the fact that the ballads were sung not read. But the final accent is too clearly marked, and is used too definitely and too frequently, at least in the earlier pieces, to be explained as something merely casual or fortuitous.

<sup>1</sup> The minstrel of the pre-modern era, that conspicuous figure of the mediaeval world, was a very different figure from the minstrel of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, "ruled out of court" by Professor Kittredge. The latter says: "There is no reason whatever for believing that the state of things between 1300 and 1600 was different [as regards minstrel transmission of ballads] from that between 1600 and 1800—and there are many reasons for believing that it was not different" (Introd. to *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, p. xxiii). But the change from feudal to modern conditions, and especially the introduction of printing, would be quite enough to bring difference in the standing of minstrelsy and in the character of its song.

For the best account of mediaeval minstrels, the higher and the lower orders, the wide scope of their singing, their fondness for dialogue, and the like, see E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, (1903), I, chaps. iii and iv.

<sup>2</sup> It should not much longer be reiterated, at least without careful definition and restriction to a certain type, that the making of popular ballads is a "closed account." Already there has accumulated in outlying regions a considerable body of American ballads, somehow finding diffusion among the people and preserved in many communities by oral tradition. For a general survey of these, see H. M. Belden, "Balladry in America," in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, January-March 1912, and the bibliographical references there. The style of these American pieces is not that of the English and Scottish popular ballads; but that is no more to be expected than that

regarding the origin of the English and Scottish ballads may be said to find support in the testimony of the latter's New World analogues, it is not that school which defines by origin in folk composition, but that which presupposes a higher descent, and defines by style and by destination. In the case of the New World pieces, we are dealing with genuine "humble poetry of simple folk"; in the case of the English and Scottish popular ballads we are dealing with poetry of aristocratic material, having traces blurred by time of an aristocratic manner. Working from both subject-matter and style, it would seem that among the cowboys of the Southwest are reproduced not the conditions which created the English and Scottish popular ballads but rather, it may be, some of the conditions which preserved them.

LOUISE POUND

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modern book poetry should continue the style of mediaeval book poetry. Surely it should not be said much longer that folk-ballads or traditional ballads, "popular" ballads in the usual sense of that term, are no longer living things; that real folk-ballads are practically extinct. The distinction between "popular," "pure," or "genuine" ballads and "vulgar" ballads, the former ballad type the product of the people in a special sense, under social conditions no longer existing in England or America, the only type of ballad to be claimed for folk-lore, and a type now obsolete; the latter or so-called "vulgar" ballad type written for the people, a low form of "literature" in the usual notation of that term, and not belonging to folk-lore—this distinction, so long insisted upon and held to be of such importance, serving for many as basic in ballad classification, is probably not sound; at least not in so far as it is based on *origin* rather than *style*. It would seem that there need be no difference between the kinds in origin; that one kind does not belong to folk-lore to the exclusion of the other; also that neither, despite the special pleading of Professor Gummere, need represent or be a direct continuant of primitive poetry.





## THOU VACHE

As often as I have read Chaucer's *Truth: Balade de Bon Conseyl*, I have wondered at the supposed jest in the *Envoy*. Why should Chaucer address any man as *Thou vache*? The fact is that there is no joke; the man's name was Sir Philip la Vache, or de la Vache.<sup>1</sup> Association with Chaucer is suggested at once by the fact that he married Elizabeth, the daughter of Chaucer's friend, Sir Lewis Clifford.

References to him are so abundant that it is easy to reconstruct, in large part, his career, to form some idea of his character, and even to give a guess as to the occasion which led Chaucer to write the poem.

The Vache family was connected with Chalfont St. Giles, in Buckinghamshire (later to be associated with Milton), at least as early as 1237 when Ralph de la Vache obtained a tract of twenty acres of land there.<sup>2</sup> He may, of course, have held other lands to which this was merely an addition.<sup>3</sup>

Descended from him and in all probability his son or grandson, was Sir Richard la Vache, or de la Vache, who is frequently mentioned between 1273 and 1309 as a landowner in Buckinghamshire,<sup>4</sup> Chalfont St. Giles itself being named in this connection in 1303.<sup>5</sup>

The first reference to him is in 1265—a "remission" of the King's indignation and rancor by reason of the late disturbance, for trespass committed with several others while they were in the munition at Windsor.<sup>6</sup> This seems to show that Vache had supported Simon de Montfort.

<sup>1</sup> La Vache and De la Vache are the usual forms; but we find "*Monsieur Philipp Vach*" and "*Dame Vache*" in the *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, I, 136-37.

<sup>2</sup> *Calendar Close Rolls*, 1234-37, p. 525.

<sup>3</sup> Beltz (*Memorials of the Garter*, 1841, p. 106) says that the Vache family may be "presumed to have been of Gascon origin." It is true that in 1333 one John de la Vacarie is mentioned among merchant vintners of Gascony (*Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1330-34, p. 429); but there is nothing to show that he was related to the Buckinghamshire family, and the name may not have been peculiar to Gascony.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Calendar Close Rolls*, 1272-79, p. 56; and 1279-88, p. 305, where part of Shenley is named; also *Calendar Close Rolls*, 1281-92, p. 80.

<sup>5</sup> *Calendar Charter Rolls*, 1300-26, III, 34. Here "Shenle," "Maunsel," and "Bekenesfeld" are also named.

<sup>6</sup> *Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1258-66, pp. 461-62.

In 1278, his name occurs in a list of men "bound" to Edmund, Earl of Cornwall—in his case, for 450 marks.<sup>1</sup> As, according to Leland, Berkhamstead, only a few miles from Chalfont St. Giles, belonged to Cornwall, Vache was probably one of his tenants (*Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin-Smith, 1902, I-III, p. 105).

In 1280, Richard Vache owed the Countess of Arundel 300 marks for the custody and marriage of heirs in Maunsel, and was acquitted of that sum.<sup>2</sup>

In 1285 he was one of the attorneys appointed by the Earl of Surrey upon going abroad.<sup>3</sup>

In 1309 he was one of three commissioners in Buckinghamshire appointed to levy a twenty-fifth for the war in Scotland.<sup>4</sup>

His son, Sir Matthew,<sup>5</sup> is often mentioned in the Rolls between 1322 and 1344 as a country gentleman of substance and importance in Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire.

In 1322 and 1335 he was on tax commissions.<sup>6</sup>

In 1325, he owed £40, to be levied on his lands in Hertfordshire.<sup>7</sup>

In 1328, he and another man owed, curiously enough, a rope-maker of London £300.<sup>8</sup> Possibly the same debt is alluded to, the following year, as due from him to a citizen of London.<sup>9</sup>

The last allusion to him in the Rolls seems to be in a deed of land in 1344, witnessed by him and his son, another Sir Richard.<sup>10</sup>

This younger Sir Richard, the father of Philip, was a prominent figure at the court of Edward III.

The first allusion to him seems to be April 20, 1337, when he obtained letters of protection to go abroad on the King's service with William de Montague, Earl of Salisbury.<sup>11</sup>

This was undoubtedly the embassy which arrived at Valenciennes early in May to make peace with Jacob van Artevelde, headed by the Bishop of Lincoln and the earls of Salisbury and Huntingdon.

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar Close Rolls*, 1272-79, pp. 510-11.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1279-88, p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1281-92, p. 192.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 1307-13, p. 185.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1361-64, p. 436.

<sup>6</sup> *Calendar Close Rolls*, 1318-23, p. 447; and *Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1334-38, p. 132.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 1323-27, p. 349.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 1327-30, p. 421.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 559.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 1343-46, p. 337; and cf. *Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1361-64, p. 436, where the three generations are given.

<sup>11</sup> *Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1334-38, p. 421.



According to Froissart, there were ten "chevaliers bannerets," and forty other knights, "jeunes bacheliers."<sup>1</sup> In all probability Vache was one of the latter.<sup>2</sup>

This same year Vache witnessed a grant of land to Sir John Molyns by the Earl of Huntingdon;<sup>3</sup> and another grant to Molyns by the Earl of Salisbury.<sup>4</sup>

In 1339, he, together with the earls of Salisbury and Northampton and Sir Geoffrey le Scrope, witnessed at Valenciennes a deed of land to Molyns by Sir Walter Manny.<sup>5</sup>

There are various entries of money that this Vache owed: as 1336, £10, due to John Fitz Nichol (*Calendar Close Rolls*, 1333-37, p. 650); 1339, £14, due to Thomas Bonet, brushwood seller of London (*Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1337-39, p. 101); 1345, £100 due to the Earl of Arundel (*Calendar Close Rolls*, 1343-46, p. 588); 1351, £40 due to Thomas de Brembre, clerk (*ibid.*, 1349-54, p. 397). Of money due him, we find mentioned in 1359 a debt of £200 to him and another knight (*ibid.*, 1354-60, p. 625).

In 1338 he was on the list of those receiving a general pardon for offenses against the peace of Edward II and Edward III.<sup>6</sup>

In 1346 he had two pensions of £20 and 20 marks, respectively, for his good service and his "stay with the King."<sup>7</sup>

By this time he was married, as, by his own statement, he had a son born in 1346.<sup>8</sup>

In 1349, Amy de la Vache had a yearly grant of a tun of Gascon wine from Queen Philippa. She was almost certainly his wife, and probably a lady-in-waiting on the Queen.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Buchon, I, chap. LVIII, p. 57. See also *Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1334-38, pp. 420-21.

<sup>2</sup> In the Shenley dispute in 1283-84, his grandfather is called Sir Richard de la Vache, the elder (*Calendar Close Rolls*, 1279-88, p. 305), which at first glance suggests that the second Richard was born before that time. He would then have been fifty-three or fifty-four years old when he is first mentioned in connection with the Valenciennes embassy, and, later, would have been given important offices when he was nearly eighty. This is not impossible; but, on the other hand, there may have been an intermediate Richard, brother of Matthew, and uncle of the younger Richard.

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar Close Rolls*, 1333-37, p. 259.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 1337-39, p. 286.

<sup>5</sup> *Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1338-40, pp. 395, 409-10. Molyns, who was made keeper of the king's hawks in 1338 (*ibid.*, 1338-40, p. 47), was a neighbor of Vache's and probably related to the family, but I have not been able to determine the relationship.

<sup>6</sup> *Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1338-40, p. 159.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 1345-48, pp. 157, 445.

<sup>8</sup> *Calendar of Papal Registers*, Petitions, I, 1342-1419, p. 334.

<sup>9</sup> Beltz, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

In 1352, he was sent on the King's service, "for the safeguarding of the King's shipping and merchants on the sea."<sup>1</sup>

In 1354 and 1356, he was on commissions of *oyer and terminer* in Buckinghamshire.<sup>2</sup>

In 1355, he was made Knight of the Garter, in the place of Lord de Lisle;<sup>3</sup> and upon his death was succeeded by Henry Percy, the first earl of Northumberland.

March 5, 1356, that is, some months before the battle of Poitiers, he was granted 100 marks "for good service in the strenuous bearing of the King's standard in his wars." This was in addition to the 50 marks lately granted him for life, or until he had an equivalent of land or rent.<sup>4</sup>

This entry shows that he was distinguished for his courage, and suggests that he was ambitious to increase his estates in the country. In 1361, he acquired the manor of Asshyndon or Asshedon (Bucks.) for life, at a rent of one rose at midsummer, for the first seven years, £20 a year for the next three, and after that, £60 a year during the grantor's life.<sup>5</sup> The peculiar terms of the grant perhaps mean that a good deal of money needed to be spent on the property before it would yield returns.

In 1363, he acquired seemingly about half of the manor of Chalfont St. Giles, in which he had previously owned some land.<sup>6</sup>

Meanwhile he was made Constable of the Tower for life, January 26, 1361,<sup>7</sup> and held this office until his death.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1350-54, p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1354-58, pp. 124, 455, 498.

<sup>3</sup> Beltz, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-7.

<sup>4</sup> *Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1354-58, pp. 360-61. The changes in the form of the annuity are curious. In 1348, his 50 marks were paid out of the farm of the alien priory of St. Nicholas-lez-Angers, in Buckinghamshire—doubtless a convenient point for receiving them (*ibid.*, 1348-50, p. 195). In 1356, his 100 marks he asks to have paid thus: £59 from the priory of Neuton Lungevill and 11 marks 6s. 8d. from St. Nicholas (*ibid.*, 1354-58, p. 434). In 1358, his grants are summed up as worth £100 a year and settled as follows: the castle of Bolsovre (Derby), worth £40 a year; £10 from the farm of William Bohun, Earl of Northampton, and £50 at the Exchequer (*ibid.*, 1358-61, p. 42). Possibly this partition was for convenience in changes of residence. In 1359, when he was keeper of Clipston (see below), his fee of £10 12s. 11d., and £50 of his annuity were exchanged for the manor "Mammesfeld" (Nottinghamshire), which came into the King's hands upon the death of the queen-mother, Isabel, and which was rated at £60 a year (*Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1358-61, p. 209).

<sup>5</sup> *Calendar Close Rolls*, 1360-64, pp. 265, 276.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 549-50, 552-53.

<sup>7</sup> *Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1358-61, p. 531.

<sup>8</sup> He is mentioned as in office December 29, 1365 (*Calendar Close Rolls*, 1364-68, p. 209), and he was dead before January 21, 1366.

His deputy was one Thomas la Vache; but there is no indication as to the relation-

May 23, 1358, he was given for life the bailiwick of the stewardship of Shirewood (Sherwood) Forest with the keeping of the manor and park of Clipston and of hays in the forest, together with windfalls, chiminages, expeditation of dogs, agistments, pannages, and other profits.<sup>1</sup>

In 1363, he is called chief forester of Sherwood.<sup>2</sup>

Before September 24, 1361, he was made constable of Windsor Castle and keeper of the royal park at Windsor.<sup>3</sup> In connection with this office the Rolls mention, July 10, 1362, an interesting custom dating from the time of Henry II, by which he or his men were bound to deliver to the prior and convent of St. Peter at Westminster, on the eve of St. Peter's Chains, eight bucks and two harts, and to wind their horns twice before the high altar at Westminster.<sup>4</sup>

October 10, 1363, he received a pardon for all trespasses of vert and venison committed by himself or others in his service.<sup>5</sup>

November 20, 1363, he went abroad on the King's service,<sup>6</sup> and ten days later he was made exempt for life from service on assizes and similar duties.<sup>7</sup>

He died in January, 1366. According to the *Inquisitiones post mortem*,<sup>8</sup> he was seised of Maunsfeld, and of lands in Sutton, Carleton, and Lyndeby in Nottinghamshire; but the list is manifestly incomplete. His chief holdings were in four other counties: Buckingham, Oxford, Cambridge, and Hertford.

Like Chaucer's father, Sir Richard la Vache was of the Court, but he was a person of much more importance. He began his career as a soldier, and gradually acquired the estates and the standing of a country gentleman. John Chaucer began life as a citizen and accumulated land and tenements in London. He did not attain knighthood, or seemingly aspire to country estates. Vache, on the other hand, although he owned a little property in Broad Street<sup>9</sup>—possibly

ship of the two men (*ibid.*, pp. 152, 156, and 1361-64, p. 547). A Walter de la Vache is also mentioned as one of the King's yeomen (*Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1354-58, p. 632); but his relationship to the others does not appear.

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1361-64, p. 274.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 315.

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar Close Rolls*, 1360-64, p. 214.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 349.

<sup>5</sup> *Calendar Close Rolls*, p. 403.

<sup>6</sup> *Calendar Patent Rolls*, p. 424.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 432.

<sup>8</sup> II, p. 277.

<sup>9</sup> *Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1361-64, p. 518, and 1364-67, p. 335.



merely a town house—must have spent most of his later years in the country.

The first allusion to Philip la Vache is in 1358 when Sir Richard petitioned the Pope on behalf of his son, Philip la Vache, aged twelve, for a benefice of the value of £30 in the gift of the Bishop of Lincoln.<sup>1</sup> The petition was granted.

January 21, 1366, he became the ward of William de Wykeham, described as "the King's clerk," who was given the wardship of his lands in Buckingham and Cambridge, said to be held in chief, and the marriage of the heir.<sup>2</sup>

July 16, 1366, Philip la Vache, "chevalier," went beyond the seas by the King's license.<sup>3</sup>

In 1370 he was said to have "proved his age," and so became seised of his father's estates.<sup>4</sup>

It is curious that he should have gone abroad immediately after his father's death, and only a few months before he himself came of age, thus leaving his lands almost four years in wardship. Whether he was fighting in the Far East, or for some other reason unable to return, or whether his father, in 1358, to make sure of the benefice, had represented him as several years older than he was, is a matter for speculation.

May 8, 1374, he received a gift of 50 marks from John of Gaunt, Clifford himself being entered for twice as much.<sup>5</sup>

In 1375, he was associated with Sir Philip de Courtenay, the admiral of the fleet in the West, in the "gift and sale" of the marriage of a ward to "Dame Alice Perriers."<sup>6</sup>

Like Chaucer, he began his career as a soldier. In 1376, he and Sir John Harleston, then captain of Guines, were associated in the

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar Papal Registers, Petitions*, I, 1342-1419, p. 334. At the same time he asked for a benefice, value £40, in the gift of the Bishop of Salisbury, for his son Edward, aged eleven, which was also granted. In 1361, he asked for a canonry at Lincoln with the expectation of a prebend, for Edward, then said to be thirteen (*ibid.*, p. 371), which was granted. I have found no further mention of this Edward.

<sup>2</sup> *Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1364-67, p. 196. He also witnesses a large grant of land to Wykeham, July 4, 1375 (*Calendar Close Rolls*, 1374-77, pp. 244-45).

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1364-67, p. 298. He had letters of attorney for three persons. One of them was William Strete, whose name was later associated with Vache's in an affair which may have been the cause of the "wretchedness" alluded to by Chaucer in the poem. See p. 17, below.

<sup>4</sup> *Calendar Close Rolls*, 1369-74, p. 157.

<sup>5</sup> *John of Gaunt's Register*, 1911, No. 1, 429.

<sup>6</sup> *Calendar Close Rolls*, 1374-77, p. 280.

capture of two distinguished French prisoners whose ransoms were £1500 and £1000 respectively.<sup>1</sup>

This same year he and Nicholas or Collard Dabrichecourt lent Sir Philip le Spenser 1,000 marks, which were duly repaid.<sup>2</sup>

He was also associated in 1376 with Sir Thomas Moryeux, Sir William Beauchamp, and others in a mainprise of £200 for a case of trespass.<sup>3</sup>

He was made a Knight of the Chamber at the close of Edward III's reign (September 30, 48th year);<sup>4</sup> and was a witness early in the reign of Richard to tell what he knew about Alice Perrers in the case of Richard Lyons. He declared that he was summoned to the King's chamber at Shene "to hear what ought to be done; and when he heard the matter, he would not stay, but went forth out of the chamber."<sup>5</sup>

His office as Knight of the Chamber was confirmed by Richard II, February 3, 1378, with a grant of £50 payable at the Exchequer.<sup>6</sup> This was only about a month before similar grants were confirmed to Chaucer and his wife.<sup>7</sup>

Little more than a month after Nicholas Brembre and John Philpot were associated with Chaucer in the customs work, they with Hadley and Walworth (Walworth and Brembre had been with Chaucer in 1374-75) raised a loan of £5,000 for the King, for which he pledged some of the royal plate and crown jewels. Of these things, three large golden crowns with rubies (baleis), diamonds, sapphires, and other stones, and pearls, were in the keeping of M. Philip la Vache.<sup>8</sup> This fact shows to what extent he was trusted by the King.

Before this time, he had been made keeper of the royal manor and park of Woodstock; and April 25, 1379, this office was extended

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, *Foedera*, 1727, VII, 103; and *Calendar Close Rolls*, 1374-77, p. 316.

<sup>2</sup> *Calendar Close Rolls*, 1374-77, p. 322.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 337.

<sup>4</sup> *Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1377-81, p. 104.

<sup>5</sup> *Rolls of Parliament*, III, 13.

<sup>6</sup> *Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1377-81, p. 104. Later, exchanged for £50 a year out of the issues of Buckingham and Oxford (August 28, 10th R. II). This was probably for convenience, as he lived much in the country (*Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1385-89, p. 221).

<sup>7</sup> *Life Records*, 213-14.

<sup>8</sup> *Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1377-81, p. 25. Here only two are mentioned. They are, however, described in a document published by Rymer (VII, 187-88) as: "la meilloure corone; la corone de Spaigne; la tierce melloure corone"; i.e., they were the official crowns, not mere diadems. In this document (March 19, 1378) Vache is said to be the guardian of certain gold vessels.

for life at a yearly rental of £127 16s. 6d. at which it was granted October 7, 50th Edward III (1376), and confirmed February 3, 1st Richard II (1378), although investigation had shown that it was then worth £216 17s. a year.<sup>1</sup> If this valuation is right, Vache must have cleared almost £100 a year out of this grant alone.

Before this time he had married Elizabeth Clifford, as July 2, 1380, William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, paid 40s. for a license permitting James de Beel, a merchant of Lucca, and Amice, his wife, to grant to himself and eight others (one of whom was Walworth) the reversion, in fee, of a moiety of the manor of Combe Byset, Wiltshire, after the death of Elizabeth, wife of Philip la Vache, Knight, they being her tenants for life.<sup>2</sup>

Elizabeth la Vache also held the manor of Hognorton in chief, after William Molyns, Knight, who was dead August 11, 1382.<sup>3</sup> Evidently an attempt was made to get this land away from the Vaches, for under the date just given is recorded a pardon to William Nafferton and three others for obtaining the reversion of it from Molyns without the royal license, and permission to grant the reversion to John de Harleston, Richard Abberbury, and others. Harleston was Vache's old companion in arms, and he was repeatedly associated with Abberbury (also spelled Adderbury).<sup>4</sup>

Lady Vache evidently held a good deal of property in her own right. Besides her share of Combe Byset, and the manor of Hognorton,<sup>5</sup> she held also land at Great Mussenden (Bucks.) worth 16 marks 12d. a year.<sup>6</sup>

In 1399, her father, with three others, granted to her and her husband the manor of Bury, in Chalfont St. Giles, in fee tail, with remainder to their heirs.<sup>7</sup> It is interesting to note that the reversion was assigned next to Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, with whom Chaucer went on a mission to Flanders in 1377; to Sir Thomas

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1377-81, p. 341.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 526.    <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1381-85, p. 162.

<sup>4</sup> Abberbury, at this very time, was Justice of the Peace for Oxford with Vache (*Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1381-85, pp. 140, 195, 247); in 1395, he was associated with Vache in the wardship of the heir and lands of John Fitz Elyz (*ibid.*, 1391-96, p. 1594); 1397, he was associated with Vache and William Willicotes in the acquisition of a manor in Gloucestershire (*ibid.*, 1396-99, p. 136); in 1397, also, he and Vache with several others audited the accounts of the King's clerk who had collected the moneys due to Queen Anne at the time of her death (*ibid.*, 1396-99, pp. 245, 518).

<sup>5</sup> *Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, III, D, 977, p. 520.

<sup>6</sup> *Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1381-85, p. 264.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 1396-99, p. 553.



Blount, and to Sir Thomas Clanevowe, to whom with Vache and Sir John Cheney, Clifford willed most of his property.<sup>1</sup> Clanevowe was also one of the supervisors of Vache's will.<sup>2</sup>

It was doubtless on Lady Vache's account that in 1393 Clifford had enfeoffed Vache together with the Earl of Salisbury, Cheney, and one other in the Welsh castle and property of Ewyas Harald.<sup>3</sup>

In addition to the keepership of Woodstock, Vache was appointed for life, October 1, 1383, keeper of the King's manor and park of Chiltern (later, King's) Langley.<sup>4</sup> He succeeded William Strete, whom he had made one of his attorneys in 1366. In connection with this appointment, we find the first and last misfortune of which mention has survived in his career. October 20, 1386, he surrendered the office, here described as worth 4*d.* a day, but doubtless worth very much more through perquisites, to Thomas Atte Lee, one of the King's squires.<sup>5</sup> A reason for his surrender is suggested in the fact that September 26, 1387, a commission of four was appointed to inquire into damages done to the park in the time of Vache and Strete, "farmers" thereof.<sup>6</sup> Exactly a week later, October 3, 1387, Vache's name was added to the list of commissioners, and Strete alone was held responsible for the damages.<sup>7</sup>

That this was in large part, if not entirely, true is shown by the facts that Strete had held the office for ten years until he died,<sup>8</sup> while Vache had been in office only a few months when an earlier commission was appointed, February 12, 1384, "to enquire touching waste and dilapidations in the King's manor, granges, mills, and park of Childernelangele, co. Hertford, in the time of William Strete, late keeper thereof."<sup>9</sup>

For whatever reasons Vache resigned in 1386, he seems not to have done so willingly, because, although John Peytevyn was appointed in 1391 to take the place of Atte Lee, and he was followed December 12, 1392, by Henry Norton, both squires of the King's Chamber,<sup>10</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> *Scrope-Grosvenor Rolls*, II, 431.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 13, below.

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1391-96, p. 227. In 1400 this was transferred to Chaucer's friend, Sir William Beauchamp (*Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1399-1401, pp. 204, 220).

<sup>4</sup> *Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1381-85, p. 311.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 390.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1385-89, p. 234.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 1377-81, p. 277.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 1385-89, p. 388.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 1381-85, p. 420.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 1388-92, p. 446, and *ibid.*, 1391-96, pp. 202-3.

latter, May 5, 1396, vacated the office to Vache whom, it was said, the King had appointed in 1383, for life;<sup>1</sup> and Vache held it thenceforward until his death. It was given June 9, 1408, to Richard Hay, one of the King's squires, "with the fees and wages pertaining to it and the herbage of the park, not exceeding the value of £10 yearly, as Philip la Vache, 'chivaler,' deceased, had."<sup>2</sup>

Undoubtedly the place was worth much more than the £6 a year at which it was valued when Vache was appointed, or the £10 a year at which it was rated when he died.<sup>3</sup> Then why did Vache resign? From the date of his appointment on the commission, October 3, 1387, I have found no further mention of him until April 2, 1390, when he was sent on an embassy to treat of peace with France, being at that time captain of one of the King's forts in Picardy.<sup>4</sup> From this it seems clear that he lived abroad for several years—at least between May 15, 1388, and April 8, 1390, even if he did not go earlier. November 8, 1388, his name is on the list of the captains in Picardy who were allowed to send oxen and sheep taken from the French to be fattened in England and returned without duty.<sup>5</sup>

The simplest interpretation I can find for these facts is that Vache because of his intimate association with the King was not sorry to have a post abroad during Gloucester's period of control, which began October, 1386, the very month of his resignation<sup>6</sup> and lasted until May, 1389, when Richard suddenly took the control of affairs. Whether he went abroad immediately, and a year later had his name

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1405-8, p. 442.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Strete was given the use of the lodge called "Little London" within the park, and a tun of Gascon wine yearly, or its value in money, the wine, however, not being included when the grant was confirmed by Richard II (*Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1377-81, p. 277). Peytevy was allowed the mills and other profits except the conies which were reserved for the use of the royal household, and he was expected to turn in 50 marks a year rent (*ibid.*, 1388-92, pp. 446, 457).

<sup>4</sup> This was certainly not Calais as Beltz says, deriving his information from Rot. Franc. 11 R. II, m. 5, 14 R. II, m. 2, and 15 R. II, m. 5, as, according to the numerous references in the Rolls, Sir William Beauchamp held that post 1384-92; and in a document dated November 8, 1388, published by Rymer (*Foedera*, VII, 607), he is described as "Philippus la Vache, capitaneus castri nostri . . ."; that is, a blank is left for the name of the town, and Beauchamp is said to be captain of Calais (*ibid.*, VII, 648-49, and *passim*). Beltz, on the same authority, 17 Ric. II, m. 13, says that in 1393 Vache was captain of Guines; but this is again an error, as Thomas Swynburn is so described in the Rolls between May 24, 1391, and November 13, 1394.

<sup>5</sup> Rymer, VII, 607-8.

<sup>6</sup> It is worth while to note in this connection that Chaucer resigned both his offices only two months later.

added to the list of commissioners without actually serving, as a means of stopping inquiry as to his share of the blame in regard to Chiltern Langley, or whether he actually served on this commission, I have no evidence to show. His appointment as commissioner seems to me unmistakably intended to disassociate him from the mismanagement. Certainly these years were for him a time of eclipse. Until 1386 he prospered; between 1390 and 1399, he grew steadily in honor and in wealth; between 1387 and 1390 all that we know of him is that he held a foreign post.<sup>1</sup>

From this time on, Vache's prosperity was assured. April 14, 1394, he was retained for life at a salary of 100 marks a year in addition to his other perquisites.<sup>2</sup>

In September, 1394, he had letters of protection to go to Ireland with the King.<sup>3</sup>

In November he brought a special message from the King in Ireland to the Council;<sup>4</sup> and in February 11, 1395, he appointed Clifford one of his attorneys as he expected to be a year in Ireland.<sup>5</sup>

July 20, 1395, he was associated with the Chief Justice of the Common Bench and several other persons to receive in the King's name a recognizance for a fine of £20,000 to be paid to the King by the mayor and commonalty of Salisbury.<sup>6</sup>

January 2, 1396, he shared with Margery, Lady Molyns, the goods of John James Wotton forfeited for debt.<sup>7</sup>

In 1399, he was made Knight of the Garter and given the stall of none other than John of Gaunt himself,<sup>8</sup> thus following not only his father, but his father-in-law, Clifford, who in 1398 had succeeded

<sup>1</sup> When the Bill of Appeal for treason against Gloucester and his friends was brought up in Parliament, September, 1397, by the King's brothers and intimate friends, four knights made themselves pledges for its prosecution. These were Sir Simon Felbrigg, Sir Philip la Vache, Sir John Littlebury, and Sir Baldwin Bereford, all Knights of the King's Chamber, and his beneficiaries by many grants. This action certainly suggests partisanship against the friends of Gloucester and intimacy with the King (*Rolls of Parl.*, III, 374).

<sup>2</sup> *Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1391-96, p. 404.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 474.

<sup>4</sup> *Acts of the Privy Council*, I, 52.

<sup>5</sup> *Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1391-96, p. 533.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 651.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 1396-99, p. 49. The phrase "the King's Knight" used of him here seems to mean no more than Knight of the King's Chamber. It is used of various others, including Clifford, so that it cannot have, as Sir Harris Nicolas seemed to imply in speaking of Clifford (*Scrope-Grosvenor Rolls*, II, 430), a special significance.

<sup>8</sup> Beltz, *op. cit.*, p. 374.



to the stall of Ingelram de Coucy, the Duke of Bedford. Thus Vache had the stall of King Richard's uncle; and Clifford, that of his uncle by marriage.

At this time he was chamberlain of the household of the child-queen Isabel. A document, dated July 12, 1399, commands him, with Hugh le Despenser, and other officers of her household, to obey William le Scrope, the Earl of Wiltshire, and the knights Bussy, Grene, and Bagot, to whom was then granted the keepership of Wallingford Castle.<sup>1</sup> He is called her chamberlain in a document of Henry IV, July 13, 1400, excusing him from attendance on the King in Scotland on that ground, and in June, 1401,<sup>2</sup> he was of the convoy that escorted the Queen to Calais, while "Dame Vache" was one of the four ladies attending her.<sup>3</sup>

October 16, 1399, he was confirmed in the keepership of the park and manor of Woodstock and of Chiltern Langley, and also of the manor, park, and lodge of Berkle (co. Oxford)—an office not mentioned before in the Rolls. This had come to him through the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Earl of Rutland to whom, November 18, 1397, Richard had granted all the lands of Queen Anne, and for it he paid a farm of 50 marks<sup>4</sup> a year.

At this time he must have had an income of some hundreds of pounds from his offices, his annuity, and the revenues from his own lands; but apparently he was not yet content.

February 20, 1400, he obtained a share in the manor of Sutton Valence, Kent.<sup>5</sup>

December 7, 1405, he obtained a confirmation of his annuity (18th R. II) and the payment of arrears.<sup>6</sup>

During the first part of Henry's reign, he seems to have been in active service, though there is no sign of any very close connection with the Court. August 27, 1400, he was licensed to take bucks for the royal household from various parks and forests.<sup>7</sup> In 1403, he served (July 14) on commissions of *oyer and terminer* and (September 16) of array, in Oxfordshire, Hertfordshire, and Buckinghamshire.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1396-99, p. 588.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1399-1401, p. 323.

<sup>3</sup> *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, I, 136-37.

<sup>4</sup> *Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1399-1401, p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 207.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 1405-8, p. 106.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 1399-1401, p. 335.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 1401-5, pp. 283, 285.

That he was living at this time the life of a country gentleman is suggested by the following document, dated September 7, 1403. It states that he is to be exempt from assizes, juries, inquisitions, attaints, or recognitions, and from being made mayor, sheriff, escheator, coroner, knight of the shire, justice of the peace, collector, taxer, assessor, surveyor or controller of tenths, fifteenths or other subsidies, leader, trier, or arrayer of men at arms, hobelers, or archers, or commissioner, inquisitor, officer, minister or bailiff of the King, and grants in consideration of his old age and debility, that he shall not be compelled to go to any parts of the realm by reason of any grant of Edward III, Richard II, or the King of lands, offices, bailiwicks, annuities, and fees or force of any statute, proclamation or command of the King.<sup>1</sup>

Although he was only fifty-seven years old, or possibly even less, the change in the royal line probably caused him to retire early. These exemptions, never so numerous as between 1399 and 1408, include many names of Richard's courtiers.

In Clifford's will (September 17, 1404) Vache is mentioned as follows:

"Now first I bequethe to Sire Philype la Vache, Knight, my masse-booke, and my porhoos; and my book of Tribulacion to my daughter hys wyf."

The will continues in Latin:

"Et quicquid residuum fuerit omnium et singulorum bonorum et catalorum superius neu inferius legatorum, do integre et lego Philippo la Vache Johanni Cheynne et Thomæ Clanvow militibus libere sibi possidendum," etc.<sup>2</sup>

Vache's relations with Clifford seem to have been friendly throughout, as is evinced by the various earlier deeds of land from Clifford, as well as by the terms in which he is mentioned in the will itself.

His will, dated April 25, 1407,<sup>3</sup> is a ponderous document which throws some light on his character and much on his wealth.

After the usual opening form, he states he wished to be buried in the church of St. Giles at Chalfont. He then refers to another

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar Patent Rolls*, 1401-5, p. 256.

<sup>2</sup> *Scrope-Grosvenor Rolls*, II, 431.

<sup>3</sup> *Prerog. Court of Canterbury, Register Marche*, fols. 16-17.

document in which he had arranged that his lands should be sold and their profits used for carrying out his will.

He requests that a black cloth be placed on his body and five tapers be set around it in honor of the five wounds of Christ.

He asks that 1,000 paupers, those who are most needy, should have each 4*d.* of his alms, as quickly as it could be given.

He leaves 10 marks for the fabric of the church of St. Giles at Chalfont, and asks that each of his servants not named in the will should be rewarded by his executors and supervisors.

He leaves his wife 36 silver dishes, 12 silver salt cellars, 6 silver chargers, 4 silver jars each measuring a pottle, and 2 each measuring a quart. He also leaves her a little silver jar standing on three lions (his coat-of-arms was three lions) with its pedestal. He leaves her also 24 silver spoons and 12 silver-gilt goblets with covers, and two goblets with covers, one of gold which was given by Isabella, recently queen of England, and another which was given on their wedding day by Joan, Princess of Wales.<sup>1</sup> He leaves her also 6 plain silver goblets with covers, and two silver basins marked with the cow's foot (his crest) with their two ewers (i.e., for the hand-washing at meals), and a round silver basin and its ewer, 2 silver salt cellars and 4 silver candelabra, a new missal, a silver chalice and patena, 2 silver cruets, a silver pax, and two suits of vestments with all the ornaments of the chapel.

He leaves her also each and all of his beds, sheets, coverlets, carpets, pillows, feather beds, and all embroidered feather cushions, with all the furnishings of his chamber or chambers except one bed of silk embroidered with knots; all his napery which belongs to the pantry and the buttery; and all other utensils which belong to these offices, together with utensils of lead, pewter, brass, and iron for the use of the kitchen and brewery; also all his gems and jewels and whatsoever articles of personal adornment are now in his or her possession.

He leaves her also all his two-wheeled carts (*carrectas*), with all the horses and harness belonging to them; all the *culturam terre mee vesturamque*; all his rams and ewes and lambs which are feeding in the manor of La Vache, all the bullocks and cows

<sup>1</sup> This probably because Sir Lewis Clifford was one of her special knights.



of his "deierie," all the swine, sows, and little pigs at La Vache, his carriage (*currum*) with its horses, cushions, carpets, and all its furnishings; all the furniture of his hall with its carpets, cushions, and everything else that belongs to it.

To Alice Spigranell, who now has two pensions for life of 4 marks and 6 marks, respectively, he gives the choice of continuing these and of relinquishing them for £40 to be paid within a half-year of his death.

He then makes provision for four women and two men, seemingly servants; provides for prayers for his soul, his wife's, his parents'; provides for poor tenants out of a possible residue; provides for the return of such *carte, fines, and munimenta* as are now in his hands, to their rightful owners.

He leaves 40s. to a tenant named Rydyng, and 46s. 8d. to be distributed "pro anima domini Guychard Dangle."

He forgives a debt of 1,000 marks to Sir William Molyns and he forgives William Alberd a *statutum* in his custody.

He names nine executors,<sup>1</sup> apparently clerks and chaplains; and three supervisors, his wife, Thomas Clanvowe, and Edmund Hamden. To each of his *ministrators* (=executors?) he leaves 10 marks for his trouble.

The will was probated, June 22, 1408.

Among the curious things about this will, not the least singular are the facts that there is no statement of the money returns from the sale of his lands, or indeed of any considerable sum of money at all; and there is no mention of his daughter Blanche,<sup>2</sup> who had married Richard, Lord Grey de Wilton.

The best explanation I can suggest from the facts at hand is that the bulk of the land had gone with Blanche as her dower and was now in her husband's possession, Blanche herself being dead at this time. In support of this, we find that Shenley was owned by Richard Grey de Wilton when he died in 1442,<sup>3</sup> and also that "Shenley alias le Vaches" belonged to Margaret, the wife of Richard Grey de Wilton, when she died in 1452.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Among his executors was one John Skreuan. As this name with its variants, *Scriveyn(e)*, *Skryveyn(e)*, *Scryvan*, etc., is not uncommon, Professor Manly suggests that "Adam Scriveyn" may possibly have been the actual name of Chaucer's scribe.

<sup>2</sup> Beltz, *op. cit.*, p. 376.

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar Inquisit. post mortem*, IV, 208.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 251.

The amount of silver owned by Vache was quite extraordinary for that time; and all the other details suggest that he lived expensively.

He seems to have had less personal vanity than many of his rich contemporaries who in their wills went into great detail about their clothes and ornaments.

Why he should have been so concerned about the soul of Sir Guichard d'Angle, King Richard's military tutor, then dead twenty-seven years, I cannot in the least explain.

Sir Philip's arms were a modification of his father's, and are described by Beltz (*op. cit.*, p. 376) as follows:

Arms

Gules, 3 lions rampant, Argent, crowned Or.

Crest

A cow's foot embowed. Ermine, hoof Or.

Let us interpret the poem in the light of these facts:

Flee from the crowd (who knew it better than this courtier of many years?) and dwell with truth, and be content with what you have (surely he had enough!); for hoarded wealth brings hate, and climbing is dangerous; there is envy among the crowd, and wealth blinds everywhere. (What could describe and explain more exactly Vache's situation in 1386 and 1387, when he was criticized for mismanagement, and finally resigned one of his offices?) Don't try to enjoy more than you ought to have (for instance, don't grieve over the loss of Chiltern Langley). Do what is right so that you can counsel other folk, and truth shall prevail (if Strete was at fault, you will be cleared).

Don't make a stir to redress all that is crooked (as, for instance, Gloucester's usurpation of power), trusting in fickle Fortune. There is great rest in few obligations. Be careful not to scorn what you have because you can't have everything (or you may lose it all; i.e., if you take action for your rights, you may fare worse, and lose what you still have). Strive not as the crook with the wall (i.e., don't ruin yourself by being rash when you have no chance). Conquer yourself as you conquer others; and truth shall prevail.

Take meekly what is sent to you; wrestling for (the honors of) the world invites a fall. You are only a pilgrim in the wilderness of this world; go forth, beast, out of your stall (i.e., you who have the crest of the cow's hoof, and you who live at La Vache), and let your spirit lead you to your true home in heaven.

Then comes the special application:

Therefore, Vache, leave your old wretchedness; cease to be a slave to the world. Pray to God and He will reward you, and truth shall prevail.

*Old* wretchedness suggests that the lines were written sometime after Vache's troubles began; but it is impossible to define the date more closely than as probably between 1386 and 1390.

It has seemed worth while to give a detailed account of the man whom Chaucer addresses as, "Thou, Vache," in this intimate little poem. It is clear that he was neither citizen nor scholar, but, like his forefathers, primarily a country gentleman, yet not averse to the offices and perquisites to be had at Court. But most of his life centered about La Vache, which seems to have been at Shenley, and Chalfont St. Giles; the royal estates that he managed were chiefly within ten miles, hence easily reached in a few hours.

He was something of a soldier, probably a polished gentleman, and, it is safe to assume from the positions that he held, good company. He shows no trace of Clifford's leaning toward the Lollards.

The description of his household effects suggests that he was given to lavish hospitality. Did Chaucer perhaps borrow this feature for his picture of the Franklin?

To lyven in delit was ever his wone,  
For he was Epicurus owene sone,

and

An housholdere, and that a greet, was he:  
Seint Julian was he in his contree.

Moreover, the Franklin held such offices as are mentioned in Vache's exemption; and certainly Vache was a *vavasour*.

More light on Vache's relations with Chaucer may appear when all the Rolls are published. Meanwhile, his identification emphasizes the poet's connection with the Cliffords. It further suggests that Chaucer's work may be at many points more closely related to his life than has been supposed. I believe that a constant sifting of biographical and historical records of all kinds may throw considerable light on the originals of the Pilgrims, and on Chaucer's methods of dealing with his material.

For instance, I hope soon to show how the Reeve came into his life, and why the poet made him live by Baldeswelle.

EDITH RICKERT



## NOTE ON THE ENVOY OF *TRUTH*

Miss Rickert's discovery—the validity of which is hardly open to question—incidentally disposes of two problems connected with the Envoy of this poem.

Several scholars have expressed doubts of its authorship, as it is contained in only one MS (see references in Miss Hammond's *Manual*). But Chaucer's relations to Vache were such as to make his authorship highly probable; and the Envoy is closely bound to the poem by "beste" (l. 18), which obviously is not due to a vague suggestion from Boethius (see Skeat's note), but is a definite anticipation of "Vache" of the Envoy.

Shirley calls the poem a "Balade that Chaucier made on his deethbedde." This statement has long been recognized as improbable. That Shirley knew little about the poem is indicated by the absence of the Envoy from the two copies made by him. The improbability of a death-bed composition is perhaps increased by the presence of the pun on Vache's name.

Is there any instance in which information given by Shirley has, when tested, proved to be correct? It may fairly be doubted, I think, whether he possessed any information not derived from the poems or any authoritative traditions.

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## NOTES ON CHAUCER

### I. "A CAVE UNDER A ROCK Y-GRAVE"

Ten Brink has shown that Chaucer in writing the story of Ceys and Alcyone in the *Book of the Duchess* drew material both from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Book xi, ll. 410-748, and Machaut's *Dit de la Fontaine Amoureuse*.<sup>1</sup> In his discussion ten Brink makes the statement that in referring to the dwelling of the god of sleep Chaucer combines descriptions given by Ovid and Machaut. Though this is true, it involves a question concerning the reading of Chaucer's MS of Ovid. Lines 155-56 are from Machaut:

Til he com to the derke valeye  
That stant betwene rockes tweye.

The description taken from Ovid is in lines 163-64:

. . . . a cave  
That was under a rokke y-grave.

This *cave under a rock* depends upon a variation in the texts of Ovid. The line from which this is taken reads:

Tecta petit iussi sub rupe latentia regis.  
—*Met.* xi. 591.

Most modern texts read *sub nube* instead of *sub rupe*. But as evidence that some of the MSS read *sub rupe*, I quote the following note from Heinsius: "*sub nube latentia*] De nube nugae sunt. Scribe sub rupe cum primo Gronovii, quarto Mediceo, Rottendorph. Graeviano et aliis duobus: fec. Pal. et duo alii, *sub nocte*: frustra."<sup>2</sup> Clearly Chaucer's MS read *sub rupe*.

### II. BUSIRIS IN THE MONK'S TALE

In the story of Hercules in the *Monk's Tale* (ll. 113-14) Chaucer has confused the two episodes of Busiris and Diomedes. Professor Skeat<sup>3</sup> explains the confusion as follows:

<sup>1</sup>Ten Brink, *Chaucer Studien*, pp. 7-12.

<sup>2</sup>Nic. Heinsii commentarius in P. Ovidii Nasonis opera omnia, ed. Joh. Masson, 1758, p. 665.

<sup>3</sup>Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, V, 232.

Here Chaucer has confused two stories. One is that Busiris, a king of Egypt, used to sacrifice all foreigners who came to Egypt, till the arrival of Hercules, who slew him. The other is "the eighth labour," when Hercules killed Diomedes, a king in Thrace, who fed his mares with human flesh, till Hercules slew him and gave his body to be eaten by the mares, as Chaucer *himself* says in his translation. The confusion was easy, because the story of Busiris is mentioned elsewhere by Boethius, Bk. II, pr. 6, in a passage which Chaucer thus translates: "I have herd told of Busirides, that was wont to sleen his gastes that herberweden in his hous; and he was sleyn himself of Ereules that was his gest."

This confusion might more naturally have arisen from a misunderstanding of the following passage in Ovid's *Heroides*, epistle IX, ll. 67-70:

Non tibi succurit crudi Diomedis imago,  
Efferus humana qui dape pavit equas,  
Si te vidisset cultu Busiris in isto,  
Huic victor victo nempe pudendus eras!

Every reader of Ovid knows that he must be on the watch if he is always to recognize a character under the various names which the poet gives him. So in this passage, the two statements might seem to bear a close relationship, the second confirming the thought suggested in the first and referring to the same person under a different name. Confusion of names was not uncommon in the Middle Ages. A notable instance is that of Walter Burley (1275-1345?), a commentator on Aristotle and a scholar of great fame, who in his *De vita et moribus philosophorum* confused Livius Andronicus with Livy, the historian, and Horatius Flaccus, the poet, with Horatius Pulvillus. That Chaucer, who was not a professional scholar, should have made such mistakes is therefore not surprising.

Though Chaucer's selection of the name Busiris rather than Diomedes may have been mere chance, it is probable that the choice was made designedly to avoid confusion with Diomedes the Grecian hero, whom Chaucer knew in Benoit and whom he afterward used in his own story of *Troilus and Criseyde*.<sup>1</sup> It is unlikely that Chaucer was acquainted with the name Busiris in any connection which would necessarily indicate that he could not be the same person as the tyrant Diomedes mentioned in the *Heroides*. Of all the works in

<sup>1</sup> See G. L. Kittredge, *The Date of Chaucer's Troilus and Other Chaucer Matters*, Chaucer Society, 1905, p. 67.



classical and mediaeval literature containing references to Busiris,<sup>1</sup> there is no probability that Chaucer knew any except the *Metamorphoses* and *Ars amatoria* of Ovid and the *De consolatione philosophiae* of Boethius. These three he must have known, but in none of them is the story of Busiris given in detail. The references to him are as follows:

Ergo ego foedantem peregrino templa cruore  
Busirin domui?

—*Met.* ix. 182–83.

Dicitur Aegyptos caruisse iuvantibus arva  
Imbribus atque annos sicca fuisse novem,  
Cum Thrasius Busirin adit monstatque piari  
Hospitis adfuso sanguine posse Iovem.  
Illi Busiris "fies Iovis hostia primus"  
Inquit "et Aegypto tu dabis hospes aquam."

—*Ars amatoria* i. 647–52.

I have herd told of Busirides that was wont to sleen his gestes that herberweden in his hous; and he was sleyn himself of Ercules that was his gest.—Chaucer's *Translation of Boethius*, Book II, pr. 6.

A casual reading of these references gives no distinct impression of the identity and story of Busiris. Chaucer might have read them and still not have realized that Busiris was any other than the tyrant whom Hercules fed to his own mares. The similarity of the two stories easily tends to confusion: both are labors of Hercules, both are instances of tyrants slain for ruthlessly murdering human beings. If Chaucer mistook the two names in the *Heroides* as referring to one person, his recollection of the passages in the *Metamorphoses*, the *Ars amatoria*, and the *Boethius* would not correct his error. So, as he knew of another Diomedes with whom this one might be confused, and did not know of another Busiris, he would naturally choose the distinctive name.

This supposition that Chaucer would choose a name about which he thought there could be no confusion is not merely a fanciful one.

<sup>1</sup> For a list of such references see Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griech. u. röm. Mythologie*, under "Busiris." It is possible that Chaucer may have known the following works in which there are references to Busiris, though there is no evidence of any knowledge of these works in his writings: Virgil *Georgics* 3, 5; Claudianus in *Rufinum* i. 255, in *Eutropium* i. 159; Macrobius *Saturnalia* 6, 7; Hyginus *Fab.* 31, 56, 157. In regard to Chaucer's knowledge of these writers see Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, II, 250, 255, 277, 278, 287.

We have evidence of what he did under circumstances where there might be uncertainty as to identity. In the *Knight's Tale*, ll. 1204-61, he stops in the midst of his story to explain that in referring to Daphne, who was turned into a tree, he does not mean the goddess Diana:

There saugh I Dane, y-turned til a tree,  
I mene not the goddesse Diane,  
But Penneus daughter, which that highte Dane.

Professor Skeat<sup>1</sup> mentions the confusion of names in the story of Hercules as evidence that Chaucer must have written part of the *Monk's Tale* before 1380, for in his translation of Boethius the name is given correctly:

He overcomer, as it is seyde, hath put an unmeke lord foddre to his cruel hors; *this is to syen that Hercules slowh Diomedes and made his hors to freten him.*—Boethius, Book IV, metre VII.

But, even if Chaucer had failed to notice the name in this passage in his previous hasty reading, he could not fail, when he came to make his translation, to note that the king who fed his mares on human flesh is here called Diomedes. If we assume, however, that Chaucer thought both names belonged to that tyrant, the occurrence of the name Diomedes would still, even when he considered the passage carefully, have had no significance to him in the way of pointing out his error in the tragedy of Hercules.<sup>2</sup>

### III. AEOLUS IN THE HOUSE OF FAME

In ll. 1571-1605 of the *House of Fame* dealing with Aeolus, god of the winds, we have classical material perhaps from both Ovid and Virgil. The description in ll. 1583-90 of the god in his cave holding the winds in check is from *Aeneid* i. 52-57. Chaucer no doubt had had a long acquaintance with Aeolus from Ovid *Met.* i. 262-64:

Protinus Aeoliis Aquilonem claudit in antris  
Et quaecumque fugant inductas flamina nubes,  
Emittitque Notum.

<sup>1</sup> Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, III, 430, note.

<sup>2</sup> The name Diomedes in this passage does not belong to the text of Boethius, but is given, as will be noticed, in the gloss. As the explanations in Chaucer's translation are, however, probably not his own notes, but translations of glosses on the MS of Boethius which he used, or some MS which he had seen, this is of no consequence in the present discussion. For further information on the glosses see the *Globe Chaucer*, *Introd.*, p. xi; Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, II, *Introd.*, pp. xxiv and xxxviii.

and also from *Met.* xiv. 223–26:

Aeolon ille refert Tusco regnare profundo,  
 Aeolon Hippotaden, cohibentem carcare ventos:  
 Quos bovis inclusos tergo, memorabile munus,  
 Dulichium sumpsisse ducem.

The incident of Fame's sending her messenger in haste to the cave of Aeolus recalls vividly the commission of Juno to the god of sleep in the *Book of the Duchess*. This latter episode is told by Ovid, *Met.* xi. 585–632.

The conception of Aeolus as a trumpeter deserves special consideration. None of the passages from the classics already referred to represents him with a trumpet. Professor Lounsbury<sup>1</sup> thinks this idea may have come to Chaucer from Albricus Philosophus, who has in a treatise called *De deorum imaginibus* the following passage: "In manu autem utraque tenebat cornua: quae ori ad-movens, ea subflare, et ab unoquoque cornum sex ventos emittere videbatur."

Probably, however, we need to look no farther than Virgil vi 162–74, for the idea of Aeolus as a trumpeter:

Atque illi Misenum in litore sicco,  
 Ut venere, vident indigna morte peremptum,  
 Misenum Aeoliden, quo non praestantior alter  
 Aere ciere viros, Martemque accendere cantu.  
 Hectoris hic magni fuerat comes; Hectora circum  
 Et lituo pugnas insignis obibat et hasta.  
 Postquam illum vita victor spoliavit Achilles;  
 Dardanio Aeneae sese fortissimus heros  
 Addiderat socium, non inferiora secutus.  
 Sed tum, forte cava dum personat aequora concha,  
 Demens, et cantu vocat in certamina divos,  
 Aemulus exceptum Triton—si credere dignum est—  
 Inter saxa virum spumosa immerserat unda.

<sup>1</sup> Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, II, 381–82. Lounsbury says Albricus Philosophus is described as a Londoner of the early part of the thirteenth century. "No dictionary of English biography contains his name or gives the slightest account of his life. The work by which he is known—if he can strictly be said to be known at all—is a treatise entitled *De deorum imaginibus*. It consists of a series of sketches of heathen gods and goddesses and of a few other mythological personages." This treatise, which is very short, is contained in Van Steveren's *Auctores mythographi Latini*. Albricus, to whom Lounsbury traces also slight obligations in the *Knight's Tale*, is mentioned in the *De causa Dei* of Bradwardine whose name appears in the *Nun's Priest's Tale*.



Modern commentators have generally taken this Aeolus who was the father of Misenus to be a mortal and probably the man whose death is related in *Aeneid* xii. 542. But the father of Misenus was for a long time supposed by commentators to be Aeolus, god of the winds. Dryden<sup>1</sup> translated *Aeneid* vi. 164 as follows:

Misenus lay extended on the shore  
*Son of the God of the Winds:* none so renown'd.

In a revision of Dryden's translation<sup>2</sup> in 1803 the editor allowed this passage to remain unchanged. Davidson in his translation of Virgil,<sup>3</sup> also of 1803, understood this name to refer to the god of the winds and gives his explanation of why Misenus was called his son. In a note on *Aeneid* vi. 164, he says: "Misenum Aeoliden, Misenus, the son of Aeolus. This is only a figurative genealogy, as we call warriors sons of Mars, so Misenus, who excelled in blowing the trumpet, which is a wind instrument, is called a son of the god of the wind."

Not until the day of modern accurate scholarship do we come upon a different explanation of who this Aeolus was. In the Heyne-Wagner edition<sup>4</sup> of 1832 occurs this comment on *Aeoliden*: "*Aeolidum* appellat Misenum, *Aeoli filium*, *tanquam ejusdem Aeoli Trojani*, *quem in pugna cum Latinis occubuisse narrat*, xii. 542 sq."

Anthon<sup>5</sup> in his edition of Virgil sums up the matter thus: "Aeoliden, 'Son of Aeolus.' Many commentators suppose that as Misenus played upon a wind instrument, the poet, by a figurative genealogy, makes him the son of the wind god. Not so, however. Virgil calls him Aeolides, as indicating merely his descent from a natural father, named Aeolus, probably the same with the one who is said to have fallen in battle with the Latins (*Aen.* xii. 542 seq.—Heyne, Excurs. VII ad *Aen.* VI)." Roscher likewise considers the Aeolus here mentioned a mortal.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dryden, *The Works of Virgil Translated into English Verse*, London, MDCCXXI, Vol. II, Bk. vi, ll. 242-43.

<sup>2</sup> Dryden, *The Works of Virgil Translated into English Verse*, ed. Carey, London, 1803, Vol. II, p. 220.

<sup>3</sup> Davidson, *The Works of Virgil Trans. into Eng. Prose*, New York, 1803, Vol. II.

<sup>4</sup> *P. Virgilii Maronis opera*, ed. Heyne-Wagner, Leipzig and London, 1830-41, Excursus VII to Book vi, 162 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *The Aeneid of Virgil*, ed. Anthon, New York, 1853.

<sup>6</sup> "Vgl. auch *Aen.* 6, 164 und 9, 774, wo Söhne eines Trojaners Aiolos (Misenus und Clytius) genannt werden."—*Ausführliches Lexikon der griech. u. röm. Mythologie*, Vol. I, p. 195. However, Harper's *Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities*, 1897, gives again the old explanation that the Aeolus referred to here is the god of the winds.

In the light of this history of the commentary upon this name, it seems not an unwarranted assumption to suppose that Chaucer's knowledge was no more accurate than that of the commentators, and that he shared the common idea that the Aeolus here referred to was the god of the winds. As Misenus was called "son of Aeolus" because he was such a great trumpeter, the inference would naturally be that Aeolus himself was a great trumpeter. Thus it may have been that Chaucer got his impression that Aeolus was a trumpeter. The winds as a means of spreading tidings would be an easy conception to Chaucer. We say today of telling a secret to a gossip person, "As well tell it to the winds." So Aeolus, god of the winds, with his mighty trumpet would make a suitable herald of renown. Altogether, then, it seems quite probable that Chaucer may have had no other source than Virgil for his conception of Aeolus with his trumpet acting as the herald of the goddess Fame.

But there is another source which may have furnished Chaucer an interpretation of this passage of Virgil's. Boccaccio in the *De genealogia deorum*, commenting upon Virgil's *Misenum Aeoliden*, not only takes this Aeolus to be the god of the winds but also offers an explanation of why a trumpeter should be called his son:

Misenus Aeoli fuit filius ut ait Virgilius. Misenum Aeoliden quo non praestantior alter Aere ciere viros, martemque accendere cantu. . . . Nunc quoniam simpliciter a Virgilio dicta vera non sunt, quod sit absconditum advertendum. Fingit ergo Misenum Aeoli filium eo que fuit tubicen: nam tubae sonus nil aliud est quam spiritus per fistulam ab ore emissus: sicuti et ventus et aer impulsus, et per terrae fistulas e cavernis emissus: et quia ventorum Aeolus deus dicatur, quasi eorum auctor sit: a similitudine operis Misenus ejus dicitur filius.<sup>1</sup>

This commentary from a contemporary of Chaucer's no doubt indicates that this Aeolus was generally understood in the Middle Ages to be the god of the winds.

Triton, who is represented by Chaucer as the companion of Aeolus, was in classical mythology a famous trumpeter. He appears in the *Aeneid* three times at least as a sea-god. In i. 144, he is merely assisting in pushing off the ships that have been driven upon the sand by the storm. In ii. 173, the passage already quoted in the

<sup>1</sup> Boccaccio, *De genealogia deorum*, 1511, Liber XIII, cap. xxiii.

discussion of Aeolus, Triton is represented as causing the death of Misenus, because Misenus had boasted of rivaling the gods with the blasts upon his trumpet. Again in *Aeneid* x. 209, Triton is referred to as a trumpeter:

Hunc vehit immanis Triton et caerula concha  
Exterrens freta.

In Ovid *Met.* i. 330-42, there is a more detailed account of Triton and his trumpet:

Nec maris ira manet, positaque tricuspide telo  
Mulcet aquas rector pelagi supraque profundum  
Extantem atque umeros innato murice tectum  
Caeruleum Tritona vocat, conchaeque sonanti  
Inspirare iubet, fluctusque et flumina signo  
Iam revocare dato, cava bucina sumitur illi  
Tortilis, in latum quae turbine crescit ab imo,  
Bucina, quae medio concepit ubi aëra ponto,  
Litora voce replet sub utroque iacentia Phoebe.  
Tunc quoque, ut ora dei madida rorantia barba  
Contigit, et cecinit iussos inflata receptus,  
Omnibus audita est telluris et aequoris undis,  
Et quibus est undis audita, coërcuit omnes.

A mere knowledge of Triton as a trumpeter would of course have been sufficient to suggest him to Chaucer as a suitable person to accompany Aeolus on this journey to the palace of Fame, but it is especially significant that his name and function appear in the same passage from which it may be supposed that Chaucer derived his idea of using Aeolus as a herald of tidings.

Chaucer says Aeolus was to be found in Thrace:

In Trace ther ye shul him finde.

—*H.F.* 1572.

In a contree that highte Trace

This Aeolus with harde grace

Held the windes in distresse.

—*H.F.* 1585-87.

Now there is nothing in the *Aeneid* or in the *Metamorphoses* to indicate this connection of Aeolus with Thrace. Skeat<sup>1</sup> says the

<sup>1</sup> *Oxford Chaucer*, III, 279, note on l. 1571.



connection is not obvious but suggests that it may be based upon Ovid's phrase *Threicio Borea* in *Ars am.* ii. 431. It is possible that such a hint might have been sufficient to furnish Chaucer his idea, but there is another source which suggests more strongly the connection between Aeolus and Thrace. In the *Argonauticon* of Valerius Flaccus,<sup>1</sup> i. 596-610, there is an account of the rage of Boreas, whose home was on Pangaeus, a mountain of Thrace, against the Argonauts. All the winds, when they are let loose by Aeolus, are called in this account *Thraces equi*:

Nuntius hunc solis Boreas proturbat ab alto:  
 Pangaea quod ab arce nefas, ait, Aeole vidi!  
 Graja novam ferro molem commenta juventus  
 Pergit, et ingenti gaudens domat aequora velo:  
 Nec mihi libertas imis freta tollere harenis.  
 Quilis eram, nondum vinclis et carcere clausus!  
 Huic animi structaeque viris fiducia puppis,  
 Quod Borean sub rege vident. Da mergere Grajos,  
 Insanamque ratem; nil me mea pignora tangunt,  
 Tantum hominum compresce minas, dum litora juxta  
 Thessala, nec dum aliae viderunt carbasa terrae  
 Dixerat. At cuncti fremere intus et aequora venti  
 Poscere. Tum valido contortam turbine portam  
 Impulit Hippotades: fundunt se carcere laeti  
 Thraces equi: Zephyrusque, et nocti concolor alas  
 Nimborum cum prole Notus; erinemque procellis  
 Hispidus, et multa flavus caput Euris harena,  
 Induxere hiemem.

In calling the winds Thracian horses Valerius Flaccus is following Apollonius Rhodius<sup>2</sup> who seems to place Aeolus in Thrace. Earlier in the account quoted from, Valerius mentions Aeolia as the home of Aeolus apparently following Virgil.<sup>3</sup> In this same connection Valerius uses the adjectives Tyrrhenian<sup>4</sup> and Trinacrian,<sup>5</sup> but without a pretty thorough knowledge of classical geography, which we have

<sup>1</sup> Chaucer's acquaintance with Valerius Flaccus is still an unsettled point.

<sup>2</sup> Apollonius Rhodius i. 954; iv. 765.

<sup>3</sup> *Aeneid* i. 52.

<sup>4</sup> Continuo Aeolium Tyrrhenaque tendit ad antra  
 Concitus [ll. 576-77].

<sup>5</sup> Aequare Trinacrio, refugique a parte Pelori  
 Stat rupes horrenda fretis ll. 579-80].

little reason to suppose Chaucer had, he might still have had a very hazy idea of the location of Aeolia. Especially is this likely when we consider that there were also apparently an Aeolia in Greece and one in Asia Minor. The reference to Thrace was plain, and Aeolia, a name derived from the god's own, might well have been supposed to indicate the immediate location of his abode in Thrace.

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## TWO OF PERCY'S PLAYS AS PROOF OF THE ELIZABETHAN STAGE

During the last few years two plays of William Percy, *The Cuckqueans and Cuckolds Errants* and the *Faery Pastoral*, have played an important part in most of the extended studies of the Shaksperian stage and staging. Mr. G. F. Reynolds, especially, has been constantly citing them and quoting long extracts from their stage directions in his studies of the Elizabethan stage.<sup>1</sup> He considers them of "great value" because they have been "made from the author's manuscript uninfluenced by stage performance." But an author's MS, though direct from his hand as Percy's is, is not all we have to consider; an examination of the construction and purpose of the plays in question must first be made before any of the stage directions can be safely used in a study of the Elizabethan stage.

The history of Percy's MS will be conveniently found in Schelling's *The Elizabethan Drama*.<sup>2</sup> William Percy during his lifetime (1573-1648) wrote in his own hand in a folio volume six plays. According to Fleay, the plays were written from 1601 to 1603.<sup>3</sup> The volume was never published and no duplicates or actors' copies are known to exist. There is, indeed, no positive evidence that the plays were ever acted. The MS found its way into the Duke of Roxburghe's

<sup>1</sup> "Some Principles of Elizabethan Staging," *Modern Philology*, April and June, 1905; and "What We Know of the Elizabethan Stage," *ibid.*, July, 1911. See also Carl Grabau, "Zur englischen Bühne um 1600," *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, 1902; G. P. Baker, *The Development of Shakespeare as a Dramatist*; F. E. Schelling, *The Elizabethan Drama*. C. W. Wallace in *The Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars, 1597-1603* offers a brief protest against these plays: "But there is no evidence that *The Faery Pastoral* or any other play in the MS volume by Percy was ever acted by any company. His works doubtless belong to that numerous host [cf. Collier, *History of Dramatic Poetry and Annals of the English Stage*, III, 231-32] that, for unsuitableness or other reasons, never trod the boards. Hence I set no special value upon the elaborate and impossible stage-directions or other items taken seriously by many as touching vital points in stage-history." In my own study, *The Shaksperian Stage*, for want of space and time for a full discussion I set them aside with the single statement that they "were not written to be played according to the regular methods of staging, and must therefore be barred in a study of principles of Elizabethan staging." The plays were, of course, referred to in connection with the stage long ago. Collier calls attention to them in his discussion of the Elizabethan stage, *op. cit.*, III, 163.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. I, 464-65.

<sup>3</sup> *Chronicle History of the English Drama*, II, 162.



library in 1796, and in 1824 two of the plays, *The Cuckqueans and Cuckolds Errants* and the *Faery Pastoral*, were published by Joseph Halsewood for the Roxburghe Club. The other four plays still remain unpublished. Owing to this condition of publication, only *Cuckqueans and Cuckolds Errants* and the *Faery Pastoral* are widely known or have been used to any extent in studies on the stage. It is therefore with these two dramas that we are concerned in this essay. As the two plays are somewhat different, the staging will be more clearly understood by examining each play separately.

#### I. CUCKQUEANS AND CUCKOLDS ERRANTS

As the title suggests, the theme of *Cuckqueans and Cuckolds Errants* is cuckoldry. Two Oxford students, after a year of independent travel abroad, return to England. They do not, however, go at once to their homes, but each by chance meets and falls in love with the other's wife. Circumstances eventually calling them to their own homes, they find that their wives have been untrue to them, and immediately desert them. The two forsaken women start out from their respective homes, but fortunately meet and continue to wander about the country together, coming finally at nightfall to the Tarlton Inn. The two students, in the meantime, have likewise fortunately met in a forester's lodge, where they at once become very good friends with the forester's wife. Therefore exit forester. The students now decide to become soldiers, with the forester's wife as their captain. About midnight the three come to the Tarlton Inn where they find the forester in too friendly relation with the deserted wives. A great hubbub ensues, which finally ends in a beautiful reconciliation of the cuckqueans and cuckolds and a vow to live chaste lives ever afterward. The sub-plot gives the adventures of two lifts, street gamins, who, together with an innkeeper, rob a lawyer of his famous drinking-bowl, and thereby set the lawyer and his wife at fisticuffs with each other.

The theme, therefore, impossible and scandalous as it is, offers nothing very unusual in the Elizabethan drama. But here all relationship with that drama ends. The style, form, and method of staging the play show no connection with the regular London playhouses.

In the first place, the style indicates that it was written without any knowledge of, or at least respect to, the pit-gallery London audience. Latin words, phrases, and sentences are lavishly scattered through it. Fifteen of the characters speak Latin with perfect ease and understanding. The lawyer, the students, and the two ladies might use a foreign expression occasionally without calling forth comment; but when ghosts, soldiers, tradesmen, servants, maids, innkeepers, and street gamins all use perfect Latin with equal fluency, there must be something very limited in the author's knowledge of the English people, and in the audience for which he writes.

The regular Elizabethan dramatists used an occasional Latin phrase in their plays, but with a purpose—for a joke, for characterization, etc. In this play the Latin, in most cases, serves no end, except to air the writer's knowledge of the classics. Here are a few illustrations:

*Shift* [street gamin]: Myne Host Pigot, what needed this stirr? *Quod defertur non aufertur*, thou shalt haue it all, before night, I assure thee, Man.

*Pig.* [innkeeper]: *Qui non est hodie cras minus aptus erit.*

*Flo.* [to his wife]: I can no longer hold, Therefore t' outface  
The shamles Impudency, loe, strumpet,  
What I haue found, among thy boxes, late.

*Raf.* [Floridan's servant, aside]: *Victus, y faith victus, victa, victum.*

*Perl.* Mr. Captaines, wee do beseech your worships both, you would but vouchsafe us your worships eares both, *Sedibus haec imis, Res est non parua locetis.*

Other evidences of misappropriated learning may be pointed out: Rafe, a servant, advises his mistress to bear her cross with more than "Grisilaean Magnanimity." Janekin, waiting woman to Arvania, speaks of "Artemidorus of dreames." The Goldsmith says, "as Chaucer verie adaptly hath applied it." The innkeeper calls the two street gamins "honest Homers." The Goldsmith remarks to Pearle who has been using some Latin phrases: "Not too deepe, I pray you yet, least your worship chaunce be choakt with a grape as was once your Authour." The Goldsmith must have been an exceptionally learned tradesman to be able not only to recognize the

Latin author from the few lines quoted, but to know that that author once choked on a grape. All have mythology at their tongue's end. Tradesmen, servants, and shop lifts use mythological terms as freely as the lawyer and the students. Indeed the whole dialogue is such as one might expect to find in a crowd of Oxford students, where phrases of Latin and learned expressions are freely mixed with much smutty talk, humorous and intelligible to them but wholly unhumorous and unintelligible to the rank and file of a London audience. Certainly this dialogue was not meant to split the ears of the groundlings.

Another evidence of this play's aloofness from the regular Elizabethan drama is its careful division into acts and scenes according to the method of Plautus and Terence. Every time a character enters or leaves the stage, a new scene is marked in the text. Forty-one scenes in all are thus listed. Most of the scenes open without stating "Enter so and so," except for an occasional marginal note, but simply with a list of the *dramatis personae* for the scene, and close without any exit for the characters. In the monologues, in the true Terentian fashion, a character may speak directly to the audience, telling them what he has done or is about to do: Pearle says on leaving the stage: "But viah, as very well sayeth that the dusty Prouerbe, Forewarnd forearmd, and therefore, for to Jogge it furth my worshipfull hed, before it settle, I will, presently, in, to Market, and see there, what sweet Fish there is, for dinner, now to be had. So a good god morrowe, vnto you all now, Gentlemen, the whiles." Later on in the play Wright says on entering the stage alone: "Loe you all, honest Gentlemen, I haue ended, here, his Bolle for him, yet notwithstanding, I dare auouch, for him that a foolisher gawde hath neuer, yet, beene aduised, nay nor, yet, deuised, by any hath, in him, a reasonable soule to be saued by. Thus may good stuff be abused, you see, if it fall into a Fooles hand."

Lastly, the play is staged distinctly in the manner of a Plautan comedy and not of a Shaksperian. The opening directions are: "Harwich, In Midde of the Stage Colchester with Image of Tarlton, Signe and Ghirlond under him also. The Raungers Lodge, Maldon, A Ladder of Roapes trussd up neare Harwich. Highest and aloft the Title THE CUCK-QUEANES AND CUCKOLDS ERRANTS. A



Long Fourme."<sup>1</sup> Here we have the usual Latin stage—a street or open space before two or more houses, doors, or places. On the right is the home of Floridan in Harwich, on the left that of Claribel in Maldon; in the center rear is the Tarlton Inn in Colchester, with the home of Pearle on the left and the forester's lodge on the right. Before the inn door, or before any of the doors, stands the "fourme," or bench.<sup>2</sup>

The scene never changes throughout the play. All the visible action takes place on this neutral ground or at the doors of the various houses. Whatever takes place in the interior of the houses is reported by the noise that is made or by the characters who kindly come out and discuss the indoor action for the benefit of the audience. The characters come and go freely by the streets or by the doors as the situation may demand. They happen to be passing over this open space, or come to and from their homes, or appear before the doors and call the inmates out. Here is a fair example of the method: The lawyer, accompanied by the goldsmith, brings two of his friends to his home to show them his marvelous wine-bowl. The two street

<sup>1</sup> The towns in this theatrical world are, of course, brought into closer relation than in real life. Some students have supposed that there were sign boards over the doors, stating that the one side was Harwich, the other Maldon, and the rear Colchester, but there is absolutely no mention of them in the directions or text and no need of them on the stage to make the action clear.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Reynolds, in "Some Principles of Elizabethan Staging," *Modern Philology*, April, 1905, explains the use of the bench as follows: "The rear stage seems to have represented [the inn], for in Act V two maids in this inn sit on the 'long fourme' and tell each other dreams." He does not understand the situation at all. And this is the case with many of his explanations of situations in Elizabethan plays. He is a very careful, conscientious worker and deserves much credit for his efforts, but he lacks perspective—he cannot see the wood for the trees. An understanding of the general custom of play-writing and play-production in Shakspeare's time must first be understood before a single stage direction can be safely used to prove one's theories. Moreover, the Elizabethan stage must be studied in the light of the complete development of the English stage and of its relation to the stages of other countries. These matters need not enter the discussion itself, but the student must hold them in perspective. Apparently Mr. Reynolds began his work with the ideas of his early school days firmly fixed in his mind, days when the Elizabethan stage was considered a crude, incongruous, laughable affair. Instead of throwing aside these misconceptions and investigating the question broadly with a free, unbiased mind, he proceeded to search out from the remote corners of the Elizabethan drama as many crude, incongruous situations as he could find. And with a handful of such cases—many wrongly understood, as the above instance—he confirmed his ideas. He terms himself an ancientist as opposed to the other workers on the subject whom he calls modernists. This nomenclature is perhaps not inappropriate, providing it is understood that his ancientness goes back only to the last century when the Elizabethan stage and staging were merely guessed at and not made the object of special research.

thieves and the innkeeper "stand close." The lawyer approaches his door and calls out:

*Perl*: Hoa, Christian, Hoa.

ACT III, Sc. 6

Christian Sanders Pearle Wright Periman Nim Shift Pigot

*Christ.*: Here, forsooth, Husband.

This method of staging is Latin, but emphatically not English. The body of regular Elizabethan plays demands an entirely different arrangement of the stage. The different scenes in an Elizabethan play may be a wood, a street, a bedroom, a hall, a battle-field, etc., each in an entirely different location. The scenes are constantly changing. The stage is now a presence chamber of the king, now a battle-field, now a wood, now a street, and so on. Anyone who is familiar with the Elizabethan drama and the Latin drama knows that the stages for the two are entirely different.

To conclude with this play, the style, the form, and the method of staging of *Cuckqueans and Cuckolds Errants* show that the author had in mind not the Elizabethan stage but the Latin stage. The plays of Plautus and Terence were read, studied, and played at the schools and universities. These the students naturally imitated in writing plays, and not until they became part of the whirl of the great London drama did they lay aside their textbooks. This Percy did not do in *Cuckqueans and Cuckolds Errants*. Therefore, one may as well quote directions from Plautus and Terence to prove his theories of the Shaksperian stage as from this play.

## II. FAERY PASTORAL

*The Faery Pastoral* seems to be a pedant's attempt at a Latinized play for court. The plot is very slight. In fact, the play consists of a number of plots connected by little more than the faeryland setting. Oberon and Chloris, king and queen of the faeries, appear once on the stage and have their dispute as to whose is the greater love, a man's or a woman's, settled by Tyresias, the blind prophet of Thebes, who is led by Mercury. Prince Orion, having been appointed by Oberon to supersede Princess Hypsiphyle as protector of Elvida, contests in a hunting-match with the Princess for the forest and her

hand in marriage. Three faery huntsmen are in love with three faery huntresses. At first the men are duped by the women; one is put in a well, another is persuaded to enter a hollow oak tree that is full of bees, and the third swoons from long chasing through the forest after the elusive sound of his mistress' horn. To even up matters, the women are in turn tricked by the men; one is put in a hot kiln, another in a fawn's stable, and the third is made owlet-eyed by gazing at the sun too long. Christophel, a keeper of the forest, idles away his time with two faery pages, ostensibly trying to change himself from a "Gore-belly Daemon" to an elf. A schoolmaster makes himself the laughing-stock of some faery children by trying to teach them Latin and incidentally a good deal of vulgarity. Oberon and Chloris settle their trouble at their first and only appearance. The prince and princess reappear at the end to celebrate their nuptials, and to reconcile the hunters and huntresses to each other and to the fate of marriage.

Thus with this slight plot, the interest, such as it is, must rely strongly on the setting. And this we find to be true. At the opening the following directions are given:

Highest, aloft, and on the Top of the Musick Tree the Title THE FAERY PASTORALL, Beneath him pind on Post of the Tree The Scene ELUIDA FORREST. Lowest off all ouer the Canopie NAIHATBOΔAION or FAERY CHAPPELL. A kiln of Brick. A Fowen Cott. A Hollowe Oake with vice of wood to shutt to. A Lowe well with Roape and Pullye. A Fourme of Turues. A Greene Bank being Pillowe to the Hed but. Lastly A Hole to creepe in and out.

Here we have a rather elaborate faeryland setting. Under the high trees are a faery chapel, a fawn's shelter, and a kiln, somewhere among which are a well and a long turf bench with a green bank at one end. All these stand reasonably well together in a setting for a faery play. No change takes place through the entire play, except at the end where the chapel is opened and closed. All the action takes place on this one setting. One group of faeries and foresters appear and strut and fret their hour upon the stage and pass off for another group. At the close the majority of the characters assemble here for the "Catastrophe of the Comœdy," as Percy says.



Orion with a Letter reading, Hypsiphyle Learchus Picus Hippolon Florida Camilla Fancia Atys Hylas Christophel, The Six Hunstmen Men and Women bearing on either syde a Banquet of diuers and sundry sorts of Junkets in goodly Gold and Syluer Bolles, Syluius and Syluia on either syde of them with Two venice Mazers or standing Bolles of glasse, The one with a Fragrant Malmsey, the other with Spanish Sack. Orion and Hypsiphyle in their wedding ornaments. Orion takes his Bride by the hand, then speakes as folloves.

After his speech:

Here Atys, the Princes hauing seated themselves, stepping betweene the Two Chorus sayd the Apologie following with one Accord of the rest to the Princes in manner and forme following.

When the apologue is ended:

Here Syluis ane Syluia, stepping up the degrees, after had set the venice glasses or Mazers on either syde the Princes, The Sack by Hypsiphyle and the Malmeseye by Orion, Then holding the Imperiall Ghirland, that hung ouer the Front of the Chapell, ouer both their heds, And than setting him alone on the heade of Orion, The whole Chorus of Huntsmen men and women Saluted his Maiesty all with one Accord.

This is evidently not the staging for a regular Shaksperian play—one scene as opposed to many. Compare it, for example, with *Hamlet*, a typical Elizabethan play. The stage at one time is a parapet, at another the presence chamber of the King, at another a hall in the palace arranged for a play, at another the Queen's closet, at another a graveyard, and so on. How far removed this is from the setting of the *Faery Pastoral* where all is one scene which never changes from the beginning to the end! Plainly Percy's play has no connection with the regular stage. Its setting resembles mainly that of a court production, and doubtless the possibilities of a court stage were uppermost in the author's mind in writing his play.

Its remoteness to the regular Elizabethan stage is further shown by its style. Latin words, phrases, and sentences abound. More than a dozen of the characters are conversant with Latin, from the king and queen, prince and princess, down to the faery pages, and the gore-belly keeper. Mythology they know, perhaps, by right, for they are faeries and mythological beings themselves. All are remarkably familiar with the classics. The keeper says: "Yet

Plinie an Assured Truth-Teller alloweth in Birds Quadruplicity of them." David says: "For it was Ciceroes own Inuention (as Mr. Acham sayes)." Picus says: "Nay, I think Camilla's extract from line of that Camilla in greate Virgil told."

And still further, this play's divergence from the regular Elizabethan plays is shown by its form. Every entrance and every exit is, in the regular Latin manner, marked by a new scene. Thus there are thirty-two scenes in the play. No exits are given, and many of the scenes open simply with a list of the characters. The entire action takes place in one day and on one setting. Terence's plays are twice referred to, once in the Prologue, and once in Act II, Scene ii.

Therefore, the setting, style, and form of the *Faery Pastoral* show clearly that this faery story was not written with the regular Elizabethan stage in mind. It is an attempted Court play written by a student rhymers with Plautus on his right hand and Terence on his left, and with a bookcase filled with well-worn classics near him. The Prologue was written for the Court and "An alteration" was appended "Thus for Some or For Powles whither the better." That he hoped his play might be given at Court and at St. Paul's School is evident, but that it was ever played anywhere is extremely doubtful. Indeed his ambitions for his play were unbounded; in the opening directions he says: "Now if so be that the Properties of any These, that be outward, will not serue the turne by reason of concourse of the People on the Stage, Then you may omitt the sayd Properties which be outward and supplye their Places with their Nuncupations onely in Text Letters." Anyone who reads this play will doubtless think, as I do, that this change was never called for. What Percy needed was some knowledge of dramaturgy and the English stage. If he had laid aside his classics and his scribbling and attended the Globe where Burbage was giving the first performances of *Hamlet*, he *might* have written a piece that would have at least some resemblance to an Elizabethan play.

In conclusion, the directions in *Cuckqueans and Cuckolds Errants* and the *Faery Pastoral* are not "curious," and not "strange," and not even "interesting" when one once understands the nature of the plays. The only "strange" and "curious" thing is that professed

students of the English drama should fail to see that *Cuckolds Errants* and the *Faery Pastoral* have no connection whatever with the regular Elizabethan stage. And the only "interesting" thing is the light—or shadow—that is thrown on the studies of those who use these plays to prove their theories of Shaksperian staging.

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## THE MARRIAGE GROUP IN THE *CANTERBURY TALES*

In a delightful and illuminating article in an earlier issue of *Modern Philology*,<sup>1</sup> Professor Kittredge has commented at some length upon Chaucer's discussion of marriage in the *Canterbury Tales*. The Wife of Bath first sets forth her convictions in regard to matrimony and the experiences by which these convictions are fortified. The text which she defends in her Prologue and Tale, with her own inimitable vivacity, is:

Wommen desiren to have sovereyntee  
As wel over hir housbond as hir love,  
And for to been in maistrie him above.

Wives, then, should rule their husbands; the mastery should be in the hands of the woman. This heresy is rebutted, after the "comic interlude" furnished by the Summoner and the Friar, in the eloquence of the Clerk of Oxford, who drives home his point with particular energy in his Envoy. "Yes, ladies, rule your husbands, and make them thoroughly miserable!" The Merchant then follows with a bitter attack upon women, and upon the wedded state in general, in a story noteworthy for its sustained and savage irony. Finally, after the Squire's Tale has been told—which is "pure romance," unconnected with the burning topic under discussion—the Franklin shows, in his charming narrative of Arviragus and Dorigen, that "the difficulty about mastery vanishes when mutual love and forbearance are made the guiding principles of the relation between husband and wife." With this tale, then, the Marriage Group ends.

"The Wife of Bath's Prologue," says Professor Kittredge, "begins a Group in the *Canterbury Tales*, or, as one may say, a new act in the drama. It is not connected with anything that precedes." He further suggests<sup>2</sup> that Chaucer had probably not determined what connection was to be made between it and the portion of the *Canterbury Tales* that comes before. Now the Wife's Prologue is, indeed, not introduced by any transitional matter such as regularly binds together the tales within a Group. But does Dame Alisoun's long narrative of her marital experiences come, as it were, out of the

<sup>1</sup> Vol. IX, No. 4, April 1912, pp. 435-67. <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 439, and footnote 1; cf. also p. 467.

blue sky, with no previous provocation to explain its vehemence? Is she the only begetter of this debate among the Pilgrims? I do not think so. While her Prologue, by reason of its detailed attention to the subject, may well be called the beginning of the Marriage Group, it is not by any means the beginning of those discussions of "maistrye" between husband and wife with which this group is chiefly concerned. The Wife is not sowing discord among the Pilgrims, she is defending herself and her sex against previous attacks. Her Prologue, therefore, appears to gain in effectiveness when examined in the light of the material which precedes. The question as to what connection Chaucer intended to make between this material and her Prologue is, then, really of considerable interest.<sup>1</sup> And we may, I think, despite the abrupt opening of this Prologue, see pretty clearly Chaucer's general intention as to the connection of the Wife's utterances with those of the Pilgrims who have already had their say.

In order to understand these relationships clearly we must go back to the "Tale of Melibeus." The Host, it will be remembered, has interrupted with the utmost rudeness Chaucer's "Tale of Sir Thopas," and Chaucer has—apparently—kissed the rod, accepting the Host's rebuff in all meekness.

"No more of this, for goddes dignitee,"  
 Quod oure hoste, "for thou makest me  
 So wery of thy verray lewednesse  
 That, also wisly god my soule blesse,  
 Myn eres aken of thy drasty speche;  
 Now swiche a rym the devel I biteche!  
 This may well be rym dogerel," quod he.

.....  
 "Lat se wher thou canst tellen aught in geste,  
 Or telle in prose somewhat at the leste  
 In whiche ther be som mirthe or som doctrine."  
 "Gladly," quod I, "by goddes swete pyne,  
 I wol yow telle a litel thing in prose,  
 That oghte lyken yow, as I suppose,  
 Or elles, certes, ye been to daungerous.  
 It is a moral tale vertuous."<sup>2</sup>

But is not Chaucer in this Prologue (which is too long to quote in full) slyly retaliating upon the Host? And does he not carry his

<sup>1</sup> Cf. footnote, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> B 2109 ff. The citations are from Skeat's edition of the complete works, Oxford, 1899, etc.

revenge still farther in the "Tale of Melibeus" which follows? Dramatic effectiveness is often gained in the *Canterbury Tales* by satire in which the Pilgrims indulge at each other's expense, and it seems likely enough that Chaucer himself, the arch-satirist of them all, should get even with the Host in this way, after he has been so rudely snubbed. The Host, the self-constituted "juge and reportour" of the stories, has missed the point of "Sir Thopas," a little parody of the affectations of the poorer metrical romances. He has not the wit to see the joke. But that does not excuse his coarse and peremptory language to the teller, who, with mock modesty, protests that it is the best tale he knows. So Chaucer assures the Host that he shall have what he wants, "a moral tale vertuous," full of the "doctrine" demanded. And Chaucer further complies with the Host's desire for "som mirthe" by telling him it shall be "a mery tale" (2154). The poet also apologizes for putting in "somwhat more of proverbes" than there is in the original—although as a matter of fact he does nothing of the sort, but translates very faithfully. The implication is clear. He is stressing the heavy moral character of the tale to come. Provided the thing bristles with edification the Host will be pleased. It is impossible not to see irony in all this, and in Chaucer's description of this long-winded moral discourse as "a little thing." Moreover, the "Melibeus" is admirably suited for revenge upon the Host for another reason. He may not perceive the subtlety of Chaucer's satire on his failure to understand a literary jest, but he shall be pricked by a thrust which he cannot fail to feel.

Before we proceed to examine the nature of this thrust, it may be well to say that Chaucer was no doubt interested in the "Melibeus" for its own sake. Such treatises as this found a favorable reception in the fourteenth century, however dull they may appear to modern readers.<sup>1</sup> That Chaucer avenged himself for the interruption of his "Sir Thopas" by inflicting a dead weight of tedium upon his hearers, as Dr. Mather once suggested,<sup>2</sup> is unthinkable. Chaucer's retaliation, we may be sure, is not so clumsy. The situation is rather as if a pianist, being snubbed by an ignorant critic for triviality in

<sup>1</sup> See the excellent discussion in Tatlock's *Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, Chaucer Society, 1907, pp. 189 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Chaucer's Prologue, Knight's Tale, and Nun's Priest's Tale*, Boston, 1899, Intro., pp. xiv, xv, xxxi (also criticized, Tatlock, *loc. cit.*).



playing some light *humoresque*, should perform a sonata of ponderous weight and length, though an admirable and masterly composition, to which his critic could never object on the score of its lightness. The "Tale of Melibeus" is an implied rebuke to narrowness of literary taste. It is surely not meant to be an awful example of excess in didacticism, as "Sir Thopas" is of excess in romantic conventionality.

It has already been said that the Host is pricked with a less subtle thrust than this. The "Melibeus" illustrates the virtue of forbearance, the desirability of settling disputes by appeals to reason rather than to force. Melibeus has been severely wounded by his enemies, who have broken into his house and ill-treated his wife and daughter. But this "noble wyf" Prudence, whose character is sufficiently revealed by her name, counsels patience and a peaceful adjustment of the dispute. Throughout the story this serene and sententious female holds the center of the stage. From her mouth proceed most of the "proverbes" and citations of authorities. Melibeus stands by, completely subdued to the will of his strong-minded spouse, and thanks God "that him sente a wyf of so greet discrecioun." The real hero of the "Tale of Melibeus" is Dame Prudence.

The moment Chaucer has spoken the last word, the Host contrasts this patient wife, this comfort to her husband, with his own shrewish mate:

Whan ended was my tale of Melibee,  
 And of Prudence and hir benignitee,  
 Our Hoste seyde, "As I am faithful man,  
 And by the precious *corpus Madrian*,  
 I hadde lever than a barel ale  
 That goode lief my wyf hadde herd this tale!  
 For she nis no-thing of swich pacience  
 As was this Melibeus wyf Prudence.  
 By goddes bones! whan I bete my knaves,  
 She bringth me forth the grete clobbed staves,  
 And cryeth, 'slee the dogges everichoon,  
 And brek hem, bothe bak and every boon!"

.....  
 This is my lyf, but-if that I wol fighte;  
 And out at dore anon I moot me dighte,  
 Or elles I am but lost, but-if that I  
 Be lyk a wilde leoun fool-hardy."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> B 3079 ff.

Never does the Host speak with more depth of feeling. All the savage moments of his spouse rise in grisly distinctness before him, with the humiliating and hasty exits "out at dore" which her ferocity has made necessary. It is hard to resist the conclusion that Chaucer here meant to attack the Host in his most vulnerable spot—as a henpecked husband. The Pilgrims could surely not have tarried at the Tabard Inn without having encountered the Hostess and her tempers. The "Tale of Melibeus," then, while told with all seriousness, and no doubt relished for its edification, was, I believe, selected by Chaucer partly because it afforded such an admirable opportunity for aiming at the Host under the cover of impeccable literary respectability. The poet probably had the treatise, whether in the original or in its present form, among his papers, so that it was all ready for insertion as a foil to "Sir Thopas" and a reply to the Host's gibes.<sup>1</sup> When Harry Baily exclaims sadly, at the close of his agonized reflections on his amazon consort,

But lat us passe away fro this matere—

Chaucer may well feel that he has tasted the sweets of revenge.

Analysis of Chaucer's humor is hazardous business. The elusiveness of his fun, its very subtlety and delicacy, make it peculiarly difficult to define with certainty. Modern criticism may, as Lowes has intimated,<sup>2</sup> sometimes fall into the error of reading into Chaucer's work satirical intention which it does not possess. The preceding comments are offered with a full realization of this danger,

<sup>1</sup> Tatlock, *op. cit.*, dates the translation of the "Melibeus" as probably before 1394. He is inclined to put the composition of the Wife of Bath's Prologue still earlier, although the evidence, which is mainly *ex silentio*, is not very convincing. Chaucer must at least have read the "Melibeus" in the original before the composition of the Wife's Prologue and Tale; see discussion below. He obviously shifted his material about a great deal, so that the sequence of composition of the different stories may well differ a good deal from the arrangement which he later decided to give them. That the "Melibeus" was originally intended for the Man of Law, while entirely possible, seems to me pure hypothesis. The tale is indeed a series of arguments with formal appeal to authorities, but this was characteristic of many types of mediaeval literature, and is no particular evidence of a legal turn of mind. Most of the characters in the pilgrimage cite "auctoritees," when they depart from pure narrative. Nor does the fact that the Man of Law "deprecates comparison with Chaucer's mythological and poetic tales" (B 90 ff.; Tatlock, 197) mean that he must tell a story of the "Melibeus" type. Apologies of this sort were, of course, literary commonplaces; cf. the Franklin's Prologue with his performance. Moreover, is it not possible that Tatlock has mistaken the sense of l. 95? The pronoun *him* may well refer to *Metamorphoseos*, not to Chaucer. The whole introduction to the Man of Law's Prologue is a puzzling piece of work; the insertion of the list of Chaucer's works is not very deftly done, and looks like an afterthought. The evidence for connecting the "Melibeus" with the Man of Law could hardly be more tenuous.

<sup>2</sup> "Is Chaucer's Legend of Good Women a Travesty?" *Journal of English and German Philology*, VIII, 513 ff.

but with the conviction that they explain the introduction of the "Melibeus" at this point more satisfactorily than previous criticism has done. Whatever one may think of this explanation, which is in no way essential to the main thesis of this paper, he must admit certain facts about the "Melibeus" which are of the utmost importance in connection with the Marriage Group beginning with the Wife of Bath's Prologue.

In the "Tale of Melibeus" the theme—the *leit-motiv*, one might say—of conjugal "maistrie" or "sovereignty" is first clearly sounded.<sup>1</sup> Dame Prudence extricated her husband from his difficulties, because he gave up to her the ordering of his affairs. In the beginning, indeed, Melibeus is disinclined to do this.

This Melibee answerde un-to his wyf Prudence: "I purpose nat," quod he, "to werke by thy conseil, for many causes and resouns. For certes every wight wolde holde me thanne a fool; this is to seyn, if I, for thy conseilling, wolde chaungen thinges that been ordeyned and affermed by so manye wyse. Secoundly I seye, that alle wommen been wikke and noon good of hem alle. For 'Of a thousand men,' seith Salomon, 'I fond a good man: but certes, of alle wommen, good womman fond I never.' And also certes, if I governed me by thy conseil, it sholde seme that I hadde yeve to thee over me the maistrie; and god forbode that it so were. For Iesus Syrak seith; 'that if the wyf have maistrie, she is contrarious to hir housbonde.' And Salomon seith. . . ."

But Dame Prudence, with her skilled dialectic, proceeds to reason her husband out of his position, so that he ultimately gives in to her completely.

Wyf, by-cause of thy swete wordes, and eek for I have assayed and preved thy grete sapience and thy grete trouthe, I wol governe me by thy conseil in alle thing.

And later on he twice assures her of his complete subjection to her authority.<sup>2</sup>

This tale is in effect, then, a prose counterpart to the "Wife of Bath's Tale." In each story a wife, by employing arguments bolstered up by many appeals to authority, gets her husband to give her the say in their family affairs, and so extricates him from a position of embarrassment. The words of the Knight and the Loathly Lady might have come from the lips of Melibeus and Prudence:

<sup>1</sup> There is little if any suggestion of this theme in the tales preceding the "Melibeus." Such stories as those told by the Reeve or the Shipman, while incidentally satirizing marital relationships, do not discuss the question of the supremacy of husband or wife; see discussion below.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Skeat's ed., pp. 204, 207, 233, 234.



"My lady and my love, and wyf so dere,  
I put me in your wyse governance;  
. . . . .

For as yow lyketh, it suffiseth me."

"Thanne have I gete of yow maistrye," quod she,

"Sin I may chese, and governe as me lest?"

"Ye, certes, wyf," quod he, "I holde it best."<sup>1</sup>

And the Wife's narrative, in her Prologue, of her fifth husband's annoying habit of citing authorities to prove the undesirability of women, and that "algates housbondes han sorwe," reminds us of the learned arguments of Melibeus to a similar end. Jankin's repertory is, however, infinitely larger. But it availed him naught, for ultimately, says Dame Alisoun,

He yaf me al the brydel in myn hond  
To han the governance of hous and lond,  
And of his tonge and of his hond also,  
And made him brenne his book anon right tho.  
And whan that I hadde geten un-to me,  
By maistrie, al the soveraynetee,  
. . . . .

After that day we hadden never debaat.<sup>2</sup>

These resemblances are too striking to be accidental. It is impossible not to think there was a connection in Chaucer's mind between the situation in these two tales, and that if the Wife's Prologue and Tale opens the specific discussion of marriage, the "Melibeus" is the beginning of the remarks which prepare its way.

At the close of the Host's soliloquy on his shrewish wife, he turns to the Monk, and with coarse humor suggests that a man of religion may tell a tale at this point. If the Host were Pope, he would give the clergy wives. The views of the mediaeval church in regard to women were well known; the Host perhaps felt that a few satirical hits at the sex would ease his own lacerated sensibilities. Such a rejoinder from the Monk is doubly to be expected, since the Shipman, in his tale, has satirized the affection of a Monk for a faithless wife. But this elegant ecclesiastic proposes to be drawn into no such controversy, nor does he lose his temper over the Host's gibes, but takes all in patience. Instead of a continuation of the discussion at this juncture, then, we have the formal "tragedies" of the Monk,

<sup>1</sup> D 1230 ff.

<sup>2</sup> D 627 ff. For resemblances in plot and characterization between the "Melibeus" and the "Merchant's Tale," see Tatlock, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

just as later on, as Professor Kittredge has shown, the "comic interlude" of the Summoner and Friar interrupts the symposium on marriage. But our discussion is taken up once more by the Nun's Priest.

The Nun's Priest is a pilgrim of whom we would gladly know more. Few stories are more delightful than his, more rich in humor and descriptive felicity. But he is barely mentioned, along with two others, in the general Prologue, and there is little description of him in the transitional passage preceding his tale, save that he rides on a jade—"this swete preest, this goodly man, sir Iohn." The Epilogue to his tale is by no means free from suspicion of spuriousness—at least in the concluding couplet. The preceding lines are better, and if we may believe their evidence, the Nun's Priest is a man who, like the Monk,<sup>1</sup> would have been an avowed servant of Venus had he been secular. And he takes up the implied challenge of the "Tale of Melibeus," which the Monk has refused—or all but refused<sup>2</sup>—to notice. There is an added reason in his own case; he is subject to a lady who is his ecclesiastical superior. It is possible that he may not have relished being in the train of the elegant Prioress—along with the little dogs, as it were, and riding on an ill-favored nag, while they had fine bread and the best of attention. And so he tells a story which, as he himself puts it, is intended to illustrate the evil effects of trusting a wife.

My tale is of a cok, as ye may here,  
That took his counseil of his wyf, with sorwe,  
To walken in the yerd—

In short, the tale illustrates just the converse of the point made by the "Melibeus." If you put confidence in the advice of your wife you will come to grief. But this is not all. The Priest lets his feelings run away with him, and bursts out:

Wommennes counseils been ful ofte colde;  
Wommannes conseil broghte us first to wo,  
And made Adam from paradys to go,  
Ther-as he was ful mery, and wel at ese.

<sup>1</sup> Chaucer uses the same phrase in both descriptions; cf. B 3135 with 4641.

<sup>2</sup> It may be that the *exempla* of Adam and Eve, Sampson and his wives, and Hercules and Deianira, which the Wife of Bath's fifth husband used to prove the undesirability of women (D 710 ff.), are introduced by the Monk with malice aforethought.

Then, recollecting himself, and perhaps feeling the disapproving eyes of his lady mistress and the Wife of Bath fixed on him, he hastens to add:

But for I noot, to whom it mighte displese,  
If I counseil of wommen wolde blame,  
Passe over, for I seyde it in my game.  
Rede auctors, wher they trete of swiche matere,  
And what thay seyn of wommen ye may here.  
Thise been the cokkes wordes, and nat myne,  
I can noon harm of no womman divyne.<sup>1</sup>

He ends his tale in unobjectionable fashion, making it into a kind of *exemplum* on the evils of trusting flatterers. But he had no need to emphasize his point further. His bolt at the ladies had been shot.

Does not the exquisite appropriateness of this tale to the teller explain why the Nun's Priest is brought out of his obscurity at this juncture, and made to speak up, while the Yeoman and the Plowman, who interested Chaucer as personalities at the time he was writing the General Prologue, never get a chance to have their say at all? As Chaucer proceeded with the composition of the tales, and became interested in their dramatic contrasts and in the interplay of character among the Pilgrims, he sometimes found it advisable to draw the obscurer persons, like the Nun's Priest or the Second Nun, to the front, or even to introduce a new one, as the Canon's Yeoman. The reason why the Second Nun gets a tale seems clear. The poet first assigned the story to a male pilgrim, as has often been pointed out, then, perceiving that it was more suited to a woman, and having already provided the Prioress (perhaps the Wife of Bath need scarcely be mentioned) with a tale, he brought the Second Nun out of her obscurity, and gave St. Cecilia to her. In a similar way, realizing the humor of having a man in the service of a woman reply to the "Melibeus," he gave the Nun's Priest, a hitherto undistinguished member of the party, an eminence which few of the Pilgrims enjoy.

Did the Wife of Bath, who can hardly have listened<sup>2</sup> to this story with patience, have to wait until the Physician and the Pardoner

<sup>1</sup> Cf. B 4442 ff.

<sup>2</sup> It is obvious that all the pilgrims cannot be supposed to have heard the telling of any given tale. That nine and twenty persons riding along a fourteenth-century road, even so well-trodden a highway as that from London to Canterbury, could have heard the story-telling of one of their number, is, in the nature of things, impossible. It seems simplest, if we are to treat the pilgrimage realistically, to imagine them as riding in



had finished their tales before relieving her mind on the burning topic of "wo in mariage"? Are we to see in these two stories an "interlude" of another sort than that provided by the Summoner and the Friar? I think not. The evidence—based on other grounds than dramatic propriety—is clearly in favor of placing the Physician and Pardoner elsewhere, and allowing the Wife of Bath to follow the Nun's Priest without delay.

What the true sequence of the *Canterbury Tales* really is, if indeed there be any "true sequence" to find, will perhaps never be determined. The arrangements in the manuscripts differ widely; some are more satisfactory than others, but none is logically consistent with the internal evidence of the text. The same is true of early printed versions. It is generally agreed that these confusions, which affect different groups of stories rather than each story separately, are due to the probability that the *Canterbury Tales* were originally put forth in sections and that the scribes combined these sections in different ways when they copied them into a connected whole.<sup>1</sup> Within these sections, as determined by the manuscripts, and indicated by the Chaucer Society by the letters A to I (with a subdivision of the B-section into B<sup>1</sup> and B<sup>2</sup>), there is no doubt about the sequence. Therefore we may be sure that the order "Sir Thopas," "Melibeus," "Monk," and "Nun's Priest" is correct, since these all fall in B<sup>2</sup>. But the arrangement of Group C ("Physician" and "Pardoner") in relation to Group B and to Group D ("Wife of Bath," "Friar," and "Summoner") is not by any means clear.

Most modern arrangements are of course based upon allusions to place and time on the journey in the tales or in the links connecting the tales, or upon cross-references from one group of tales to another. Such internal evidence of final design on Chaucer's part ought, it appears, to be of more weight than the sequence even of the best manuscripts. Professor Tatlock, a most careful and judicious student of this matter, has summed up the situation as follows:

groups, and gathering about a teller as they were attracted by the story he had to offer. The Prioress and the Second Nun would probably have cared as little for the japes of the Reeve or the Miller as the latter would have for their delicate legends of the little clergeon or of St. Cecilia. It must be remembered, however, that despite the realism of the pilgrimage, there are conventions which the reader must accept, such as the metrical form of the tales, and that it is possible that the hearing of the stories by so large a company is to be accepted in a similar way.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Miss E. P. Hammond, "On the Order of the *Canterbury Tales*," *Modern Philology*, October, 1905, pp. 159 ff., and Chaucer, a *Bibliographical Manual*, New York, 1908, pp. 158 ff.

.... I am so far from begging the question of a single authentic arrangement that I do not believe Chaucer ever put the poem together at all. But I do not see how we can doubt that he would have studied out the matter carefully had he lived to finish the work; that the mention of times and seasons, of places along the road, and of tales already told, indicates that he bore the subject in mind more 'or less all along; and that if we can devise an arrangement without serious inconsistencies, we are justified in preferring it to a self-contradictory one, and in accepting it as coming near Chaucer's<sup>1</sup> intention, even though the one be the arrangement of no manuscript; and the other that of many. To do otherwise, it seems to me, attributes to the poet a slovenliness, a carelessness, and even a lack of seriousness about his work quite beyond anything else we can attribute to him. If the arrangements of the MSS are illogical, it seems as easy to reject all as all but one. Such a logical arrangement as I have mentioned can be devised,<sup>2</sup> and is pretty much that of modern editions, which lacks definiteness only in that, Group C containing no note of Chaucer's intention, we cannot be sure where he would have put it had he arranged the poem at the stage it had reached when he died.

There appears to be a very general agreement among the later authorities who have studied the sequence of the various groups that C is misplaced, that it really does not belong between B and D at all. Skeat says: "I wish to make a note that the right order of the Groups is ABDEFCGHI."<sup>3</sup> Shipley, in what is perhaps the most thoroughgoing study of the problem ever made, argues for the order ACBDEFGHI.<sup>4</sup> This location of C was accepted by Dr. Furnivall. Some years previously, Fleay had made a suggestion to the same effect, which apparently passed unnoticed.

The weight of authority, then, on grounds not connected with the arguments in the present article, is all in favor of placing the Prologue of the "Wife of Bath" directly after the tale of the Nun's Priest. This heightens greatly the effectiveness of the Wife's Prologue, and affords an added reason for the vehemence of her language. But this arrangement is not absolutely necessary to our main contention. Unless it be denied that Group B comes earlier than Group D, we cannot fail to see a motivation for the Wife of Bath's utterances in the insults of the priest on the bony

<sup>1</sup> "The Harleian Manuscript 7334 and Revision of the *Canterbury Tales*," *Publications of the Chaucer Society*, 1909, for the issue of 1904, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> From this point the sentence follows a footnote, p. 26. <sup>3</sup> *Oxford Chaucer*, III, 434.

<sup>4</sup> *Modern Language Notes*, X, 260 ff. (1895). A full discussion of this general subject, with bibliographical references, will be found in Miss Hammond's *Chaucer*; cf. note to p. 256. I therefore do not cite references in detail at this point. It may be observed that Shipley (*Modern Language Notes*, XI, 293) says: "Closer study has strengthened my former opinion" (i.e., in article in Vol. X).



nag who has flouted truths which she felt to be the ripest issue of her experience.

Chaucer apparently left unwritten the transitional passage which would have brought this out clearly, and would have linked closely the Wife's remarks with the preceding discussion, just as he left unfinished so much in the dramatic interlocking of the *Canterbury Tales*. In one sense, then, we must agree entirely with Professor Kittredge, that the formal connection with what precedes is lacking. But this appears relatively insignificant, when we look at the tales as a whole, and observe the relation of the Wife's utterances to the discussions of marriage which have gone before. Then we realize that there is a good reason, an adequate motivation, for this "long preamble of a tale."

In the hands of the Wife of Bath, the subject reaches truly epic proportions. Though very definitely indicated, the theme of "maistrie" or "sovereignty" in marriage had been brought out by Chaucer and the Host and the Nun's Priest only in connection with tales whose formal point was of another sort; here the whole interest revolves about it. We may, then, with Professor Kittredge, call the Wife's Prologue the beginning of the Marriage Group proper.<sup>1</sup> But its prelude should not be forgotten! At the close of the day's journey, Dame Alisoun could indeed have thought with satisfaction of her revenge on the Nun's Priest and those of his inclining, and say of them, as of her husbands,

For god it woot, I chidde hem spytously!

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<sup>1</sup>Since the preceding article was written, Dr. John Koch has questioned the propriety of speaking of a "marriage group" in the *Canterbury Tales* at all, observing that the tales of the Miller, Shipman, and Manciple, with Chaucer's "Tale of Melibeus," which are not included within Professor Kittredge's division, treat of "das thema der ehe, den guten oder bösen einfluss der frau auf ihren gatten." It is perfectly true that the tales cited by Dr. Koch treat of marriage, more or less, but that (with the exception of the "Melibeus," sufficiently discussed above) the good or bad influence of a wife upon her husband is in the least emphasized as a theme of discussion can hardly be maintained. The debate as to which of the two, husband or wife, should enjoy the supremacy, is what gives unity to the Marriage Group and the tales of "Melibeus," Monk, and Nun's Priest preceding. It gives rise to debate among other pilgrims, and motivates the telling of various tales. Chaucer may at first have intended the "Shipman's Tale" for the Wife of Bath, and, as Tatlock conjectures, have seen in the Merchant a worthy antagonist for her (cf. *Development and Chronology*, p. 207). But in assigning it to the Shipman he gave it a place apart from the dramatic debate among the pilgrims which begins with the Host's snubbing of the teller of "Sir Thopas." It is absurd to object, as Koch does, to grouping certain tales around the discussion of a definite theme because the tales as a whole cannot be resolved into hard-baked sections. If one follows Koch's advice, and treats each story as a separate unit, he will miss much of the dramatic significance of the *Canterbury Tales*. For Koch's discussion, see *Engl. Studien*, xlv, 112 f.



## THE SPANISH PROSE TRISTRAM SOURCE QUESTION

Almost simultaneously with my recent attempt to indicate an Italian origin for the Old Spanish romance of chivalry *Tristán de Leontís* and the still older *Cuento de Tristán*, preserved in the Vatican library, Señor Bonilla y San Martín brought out a new edition of the first-named work.<sup>1</sup> Inasmuch as the views expressed by Bonilla in his Introduction to this work are so different from my own results, I desire to reply to them and to indicate wherein it seems to me they are erroneous.

After having edited the third edition of the *Tristán de Leontís*, that of Juan Cromberger, Sevilla, 1528,<sup>2</sup> Bonilla now gives to the world the *editio princeps* of the same romance, reproducing the British Museum's unique exemplar of Juan de Burgos' edition, published in Valladolid, 1501. The text is more antiquated than that of the previously published third edition, and differs from it to a marked degree. The book is a sumptuous, even a luxurious, specimen of the printer's art. The text is illustrated with an introduction, notes, appendix, and alphabetical index of proper names.

In the first chapter of his Introduction, Bonilla does not profess to do more than give a convenient résumé of the work of Bédier, Golther, Röttiger, Jessie L. Weston, and others. Arthurian scholars will find here nothing new. In the second chapter, "La leyenda de Tristán en España," the editor takes up with much thoroughness the matter of allusions to Tristram, Iseult, and the whole Arthurian literature in early ballads, lyrics, and prose works. He adds not a little to what Menéndez y Pelayo had already written on the subject.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Northup, "The Italian Origin of the Spanish Prose Tristram Versions," *The Romanic Review*, Vol. III, pp. 194 ff.

*Libro del esforçado cauallero Don Tristan de Leonís y de sus grandes fechos en armas* (reprinted from the edition of Valladolid, 1501, edited by Bonilla y San Martín, Sociedad de bibliófilos madrileños, Madrid, 1912).

<sup>2</sup> *Nueva bib. de aut. esp.*, Vol. VI, *Libros de caballerías* (ed. Bonilla y San Martín, Madrid, 1907).

<sup>3</sup> Menéndez y Pelayo, *Nueva bib. de aut. esp.*, Vol. I, *Orígenes de la novela* (Madrid, 1905), pp. clxix ff.

The conclusion that the allusions to Tristram in the early literature do not point to the prose romance that we know seems to be just. Bonilla is also correct in his opinion that the *Amadís de Gaula* is largely influenced by this romance which was first printed seven years earlier than Montalvo's Zaragoza edition of 1508. But the matter is here merely touched upon, and one could wish a more detailed study than either Bonilla or Miss Williams has made upon this point.

The chief question raised by the publication of this early romance of chivalry, and that which most concerns students of Arthurian literature is this: What is the relation of the *Tristán de Leonís* to the French Prose Romance and the various versions of it preserved in the Italian and other European vernaculars? This question Bonilla attempts to answer in his third chapter: "El Tristán castellano—sus fuentes." And here it is the writer's unpleasant duty to point out a capital fault in Bonilla's method, a defect so serious that it vitiates many of his conclusions and leads him into errors which might easily have been avoided. That fault is this: Bonilla has now twice edited this romance wholly without reference to the Vatican Tristram, a MS closely related, older, and in many respects more authentic. Thus to edit and annotate a text was bad enough; for the Vatican MS would have afforded a ready solution to many points which have perplexed him. But such a lack of scholarly conscience is doubly inexcusable in one who, like Bonilla, undertakes to solve complicated questions of source and manuscript relationship. He has in his possession a copy of the manuscript referred to.<sup>1</sup> This manuscript is the key to the question he attempts to solve; and yet he deliberately makes no use of it. Bonilla has faithfully exploited Čurdy's bibliography. His footnotes teem with learned allusions to Bérout, Thomas, Gottfried von Strassburg, Eilhard von Oberge, the English *Sir Tristrem*, etc. Why has he gone so far afield for material while neglecting beyond the briefest mention the only other extensive Tristram version in his own language when a copy of that text was in his possession at the time?

First of all Bonilla makes the misleading statement that Vatican 6428 represents a version different from that which he is editing.

<sup>1</sup> Bonilla, *Tristán de Leonís*, p., xxxvii, note.

From this an uninitiated reader might infer that any comparison of the two versions was superfluous. It is true that the Vatican (V) and *Tristán de Leonís* (TL) are without much doubt independent translations and differ absolutely as to language; but, on the other hand they coincide very closely as regards both subject-matter and the order in which the various incidents are narrated. They are related intimately. Neither can V be studied apart from TL nor TL apart from V without disastrous result. After having disposed of the Vatican MS with the briefest of mention (six lines of text and five of notes) Bonilla proceeds to compare TL with the French MSS as analyzed by Löseth.<sup>1</sup> The first conclusion reached is obvious and unassailable: that TL coincides with none of the known French texts. Don Adolfo is apparently unaware that Baist had reached the same conclusion some years ago.<sup>2</sup> To support this conclusion Bonilla next proceeds to instance 24 peculiar traits found in TL and lacking in the French. Of course, he cites only a few of the more salient points. He might have instanced many more. Now it may well be asked, would it not have been illuminating if Bonilla had pointed out that of the 24 traits instanced V shares 21, those lettered: A, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, Q, R, RR, S, T, U, V? And was this not also the place to indicate that nearly all these same peculiarities are to be found in some or all of the MSS belonging to the Italian group? Owing to his failure to indicate these facts the uncritical reader will form the opinion that TL is a version almost unique in its peculiarities, which is far from being the fact.

Bonilla has not, to be sure, utterly neglected to notice certain peculiarities which the *Tavola Ritonda* and the *Tristano Riccardiano* have in common with TL. But his discussion of this matter is most summary. He calls attention to only a few of the distinctive traits which the Italian and Spanish versions have in common in opposition to the French, leaving upon the reader's mind the impression that the similarity between these texts is not very great after all. Had Bonilla not avoided the weeks of drudgery necessary to make a thorough comparison of the long texts in question, he might have pointed out hundreds of common traits whereas he has indicated only

<sup>1</sup> Löseth, *Le roman en prose de Tristan*, etc. (Paris, 1890).

<sup>2</sup> Baist, "Die spanische Litteratur," *Gröbers Grundriss*, III, 5, p. 438.



a scant dozen. And had he realized the full importance of the Vatican MS and carefully collated all four versions, he would not so have underestimated the importance of the Italian redactions. Because the similarity between the Riccardiano (R) and V is even more apparent than is that of R and TL. TL, as a later text which was revised for the press, has undergone far more revision than V. The many MSS closely related to R are not so much as mentioned. Yet one of these, Panciatichiano 33 (P), in the opinion of the present writer, stands in a very close relationship to the Spanish versions.

What then are Bonilla's opinions with regard to the source of TL? He agrees with Baist and the present writer in saying that TL is unlike any one of the existing French versions. He agrees with me also in discrediting the statement found in the Prologue of TL to the effect that it was translated from the French of Philippe Camus.<sup>1</sup> He admits that two (but why two only?) of the Italian versions offer striking points of similarity with the Spanish when the latter diverge from the French models, though the superficiality of his investigations has kept him from realizing the full import of their agreement. But having admitted this, he claims most illogically that TL descends directly from the French (whose extant texts it does not resemble) rather than from the Italian (whose extant texts it resembles very closely). To account for even the few similarities he has found between Spanish and Italian he is forced to posit a French "model" (he avoids the term source) from which both Spanish and Italian versions were copied. I submit that such a theory is less plausible than my own: that the two Spanish versions spring directly from lost Italian originals closely akin to those preserved. In the first place the mere fact that one of the Spanish versions has been preserved in an Italian library in itself creates a presumption that there was some interchange of Tristram MSS between Italy and Spain. Many of the peculiarities common to both Italian and Spanish are errors made in the process of translation. Would an Italian and a Spaniard, rendering out of the same French MS or related French MSS, each independently into his own vernacular, make identical errors? In my former study I have shown that, as a whole, the Italian versions are more faithful to the French than are the Spanish.

<sup>1</sup> Bonilla, *op. cit.*, pp. 387 ff.

Lastly a few forms which appear to be Italianisms have crept into the Spanish versions.

Another proof of Italian origin, which I have not previously used, is the fact that where the Spanish versions V and TL disagree a reason for the disagreement may sometimes be found in the Italian versions. That is to say, V will coincide in a mistake with one group of Italian MSS, TL with another. Thus, R and V agree in substituting Godoine for the Andret of the French, whereas the Tavola Ritonda (S) and TL incline toward Andret. Nevertheless, TL and one MS of S show the same substitution of Godoine on the single occasion when this variously styled traitor is first introduced. Again, in P and V, Tristram ends a duel, by himself asking the Lady of the Thorn to settle the dispute. Now TL agrees with three other Italian MSS, S, F, L, where Tristram's opponent Blanore makes the suggestion instead of Tristram. When Tristram is about to fight a duel with Morhout, Gaheriet intercedes for Tristram in V and R. The trait is omitted in TL and S. R and V omit the prayer which Brangen makes when about to be killed by the serfs; S and TL have it. R has *Lamoratto di Gaunes*, corresponding to *Lamarad de Gaones* in TL; V has *de Gales* corresponding to *Di Gaules* of P. When Tristram fights with *Lamarad* and his cousin, R and V agree in making the first fight to be between Tristram and his cousin. In TL and S, Tristram first fights with *Lamarad* and afterward with the cousin. These few instances out of many will, I think, make clear my point that discrepancies between the Spanish versions often correspond to identical discrepancies within the Italian group.

I now desire to take up a few points which have given Bonilla difficulty in the present edition and to indicate how easily they may be accounted for on the theory of a direct Italian origin.

1. Bonilla shows that where the French versions have the name *Felix*, TL has *Felipe*. Now was it not easier to derive *Felipe* from Italian *Felice* than directly from *Felix*? Bonilla does not attempt to explain the name *Desierto De Fecilate*. I suspect that this last word represents Italian *Felicitate*. MS P shows the same metathesis of *c* and *l* when it gives *Fecile* as a variant of *Felice*.

2. Bonilla seems to connect Giosa Guarda with the Galician *goyosa*.<sup>1</sup> I submit that my explanation is the more plausible—that it represents a shortening of Italian *Gioiosa*.

3. The proper name Echides puzzles Bonilla. He notes that R substitutes Ghedin for the French Andret and mentions the variant Kedin, failing to notice much closer Italian variants such as Ghidin, Ghedis, Chedin. In V we have Godis. Thus in two closely related Spanish texts we have a *g* in the one name corresponding to a *ch* in the other. Now such an interchange (graphic rather than phonetic) existed in the cortonese-umbro dialect MSS in which R and some of the other variant MSS are written. I refrain from giving similar instances in a host of other proper names.

4. Bonilla compares a passage from French MS 103 to prove that at that point the author of the Spanish version was not translating but arranging freely.<sup>2</sup> If instead of this one comparison, the reader will take the trouble to compare this passage with the corresponding passages in V and the various Italian versions, he will obtain evidence that many of the traits in the TL passage have their analogues in the other versions and that the scribe who wrote TL while he may not have translated literally was at least not inventing.

5. Bonilla calls attention to the fact that in the French the serfs commissioned to slay Brangen kill a dog and dip her garments in its blood. In TL they slay instead a *cabrón*; in V, a *cabrito*. In the Italian (R) they kill a beast, what kind is unspecified. This trait is illustrative of a principle which applies in scores of other cases: that where there is a marked difference between French and Spanish, the Italian offers an intermediary stage.

Bonilla has not failed to perceive that Rusticien de Pise is also a source for a small portion of TL. In his final statement regarding the source of TL he advances two possibilities: (a) that there were two sources, (1) a French version of the first part of the Prose Romance of Tristram, and (2) Rusticien de Pise; (b) that the Spanish translator utilized a French source in which the work of Rusticien was already incorporated.

<sup>1</sup> Bonilla, *op. cit.*, p. xxviii, note.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. liv.



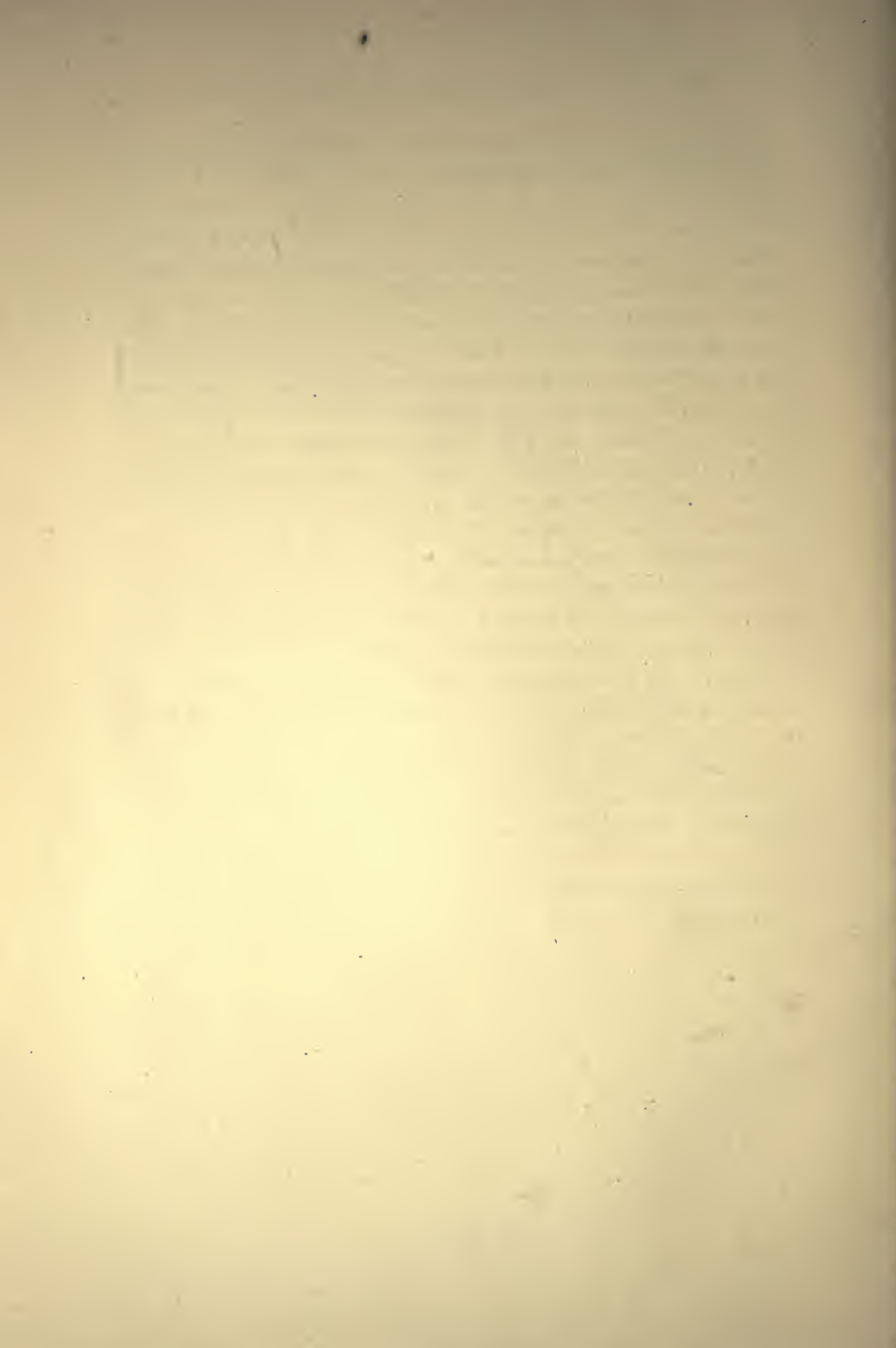
The present writer believes, on the contrary, that the Spanish translator of TL had as his source an Italian version of the prose romance in which the work of Rusticien was already incorporated. Bonilla has failed to notice that such a union of the two sources obtains in the case of the *Tristano di Viena*, one of the important MSS of the Italian group. To support his view he says:<sup>1</sup> "Apparently the compiler of the Riccardiano did not know the compilation of Rusticien de Pise." But by neglecting to inform the reader that R is a fragment he produces a wrong impression. The missing conclusion of R may or may not have drawn from Rusticien like TL and the *Tristano di Viena*. I have previously noted one form, taken from the latter part of TL, which adds to my belief that that portion, too, is of Italian origin: Vercepon (TL) corresponding to Verzeppo (P) and Verzeppo, Verzeppe (S) instead of the correct French form Louvezerp, Lonnezerp, etc.

In conclusion I will say that the analogies which Bonilla has noted between R and TL and which he styles *extraordinariamente curiosas* are not curious at all, but wholly natural, to one who accepts my view that V and TL are directly derived from the Italian. They are indeed extraordinary if one holds with Bonilla that the direct source was French. We may expect new light on this subject when Bonilla publishes his eagerly awaited "History of the Romances of Chivalry." The writer is confident that a fuller study of the related versions will compel him materially to alter his views.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. lviii.



## NOTE ON HUMAN AUTOMATA

In his very interesting and scholarly study of "Human Automata in Classical Tradition and Mediaeval Romance," which appeared in *Modern Philology* in the April number of the current year, Professor J. Douglas Bruce cites (p. 3) the following passage from Plato's *Euthyphro* (11 B): Socrates says: "Your words, Euthyphro, are like the handiwork of my ancestor Daedalus; and if I were the sayer or propounder of them, you might say that this comes of my being his relation and that this is the reason why my arguments walk away and won't remain fixed where they are placed."

Dr. Bruce looks upon this passage as an allusion to automata fashioned by the mythical sculptor Daedalus, and also cites a similar one from the *Meno* (97 D), which runs: "They [the images of Daedalus] require to be fastened in order to keep them, and if they are not fastened, they will play truant and run away."

I might add that the same thought appears a second time, in the *Euthyphro* (15 D), and that the allusion in the *Meno* is explained by the scholiast thus (p. 367): "Daedalus . . . was the first to open the eyes of his statues, so that they seemed to see, and to separate the feet so that they seemed to walk. And on account of this they were bound, that they might not escape, as if they had long been alive."

The account of this wonderful statuary is repeated with variations by many ancient writers from Euripides in the fifth century B.C., to Tzetzes in the twelfth A.D.<sup>1</sup> The best description of the marvelous works of Daedalus is found in the following passage from Diodorus Siculus (iv. 76 f. 8): "And in the sculptor's art he so far excelled all other men that in after-times the fable was told of him that the

<sup>1</sup> I herewith mention in chronological order some of the more important references: Euripides (*Hecuba*, vs. 836-38; and cf. the scholiast to the passage, who quotes a fragment of the poet's lost play *Eurystheus*, which runs: "The Daedalian statues all seem to move and to see"); Palaephatus (*De Incredibil.* 22); Zenobius (*Prov.* iii); Dion Chrysostomus (*Orat.* 37. 9); Callistratus (*Stat.* 8); Philostratus (*Imag.* i. 16 and *Vita Apoll.* *Tyan.* vi. 3); Themistius (*Orat.* xv, p. 316a); the scholiast to Lucian (*Philops.* 19; and cf. the scholiast to Plato's *Euthyphro*, p. 328); Hesychius (s.v. *Δαιδάλεια*); Suidas (s.v. *Δαιδάλου ποιήματα*); Tzetzes (*Chil.*, I. 539 f.). All these references are collected in J. Overbeck's *Die Antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen* (Leipzig, 1868), §§ 119-42.



statues which he made were like living beings; for they saw and walked, and, in a word, exercised every bodily function, so that his handiwork seemed to be a living person. And being the first to give them open eyes and parted legs and outstretched arms, he justly won the admiration of men; for before his time artists made statues with closed eyes, and hands hanging down and cleaving to their sides."

It would hardly seem, then, that the passage quoted by Dr. Bruce from Plato can refer to automata. The name "Daedalus" (from *δαίδαλλω*) merely means the "cunning worker," and belongs to an artificer-god or some human magician, and connotes skill in handicraft—whether in wood, ivory, or metal; in later times for some reason it was restricted to skill in sculpture. Thus the name is merely an impersonation of primitive Greek sculpture, and covers the transition from the early rigid and lifeless representations of gods and men in wood, to the archaic stone images known in the history of Greek art as "Apollos," which looked lifelike by comparison. The stories told of his ability have no historic value; they merely represent the uncritical notions of late writers, who thus tried to explain the early advances in the glyptic art. To them Daedalus was a historical sculptor, who was the first to break with the older canons, by opening the eyes of his statues, and freeing their arms from their sides and making their legs astride.

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## THE READING OF AN ELIZABETHAN YOUTH

In 1614 Robert Ashley, a resident of the Middle Temple, and the author of several translations from nearly as many different modern languages,<sup>1</sup> set down in Latin a brief review of his own life. This autobiography is preserved in Sloane MS 2131 of the British Museum, and has, so far as I can learn, never been printed.<sup>2</sup> It contains, besides a few details on his education, an account of his early tastes in books, which, in view of the scarcity of published documents throwing light on the habitual reading of Englishmen in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, may perhaps interest students of the period.

Ashley grew up during the stirring years of Elizabeth's early reign, and in a class of society which felt to the full the varied influences of the time, intellectual as well as political. He was born in 1565, in the little Wiltshire village of Domerham, about seven miles from Salisbury, on the borders of Dorsetshire and Hampshire.<sup>3</sup> His father was a member of an old knightly family settled in Dorsetshire; his mother, whom he describes as a woman "elegantem, liberorum educationi, ac domesticæ curæ deditissimam,"<sup>4</sup> came from Somersetshire. It was to her encouragement chiefly that he owed his education.<sup>5</sup> His first instructions he received in the village school of Domerham. The master, however, proved to be unsatisfactory, and after a short time the lad was withdrawn and placed in charge of a tutor ("vir modestus ac satis eruditus") fresh from Oxford, with whom he remained until his tenth year, accompanying him to the Isle of Wight and later to Wimborne Minster in

<sup>1</sup> A partial list of these translations is given in the article on Ashley in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, II (1885), 172.

<sup>2</sup> It occupies folios 16-19v. Until recently it was catalogued as Addit. MS 2105. The title is *Vita R A ab ipso conscripta*; and the concluding sentence contains the following phrase, which establishes the date: "9 Maii anno Domini 1614 ætatis mæ [sic] 49." The document was used by James Mew in preparing the article on Ashley cited above, which, however, deals only in the most summary way with his early life.

<sup>3</sup> *Vita*, f. 16.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> "Siquidem sollicita matris ac provida industria pro liberorum educatione patris incuriam supplebat."—*Ibid.*, f. 17.

Dorsetshire, in order that he might complete all of his early work under the same teacher.<sup>1</sup> Between his tenth and his fifteenth year he was in no less than three schools, among them the grammar school at Southampton, then under the direction of the Flemish scholar and divine Adrian à Saravia.<sup>2</sup> At fifteen, after another period of tutoring, he went up to Oxford.<sup>3</sup>

Of the nature of his studies during these early years he gives but few indications. Yet these few are perhaps worth noting. While in Southampton he learned French by living in company with fifteen or twenty other boys of gentle birth in the household of his master, where on pain of wearing a fool's cap at meals they were allowed to speak no English.<sup>4</sup> Here also he improved his Latin, and studied Greek.<sup>5</sup> Again, in at least two schools, he took part in the comedies with which the students helped to celebrate Christmas or to entertain some member of the nobility who happened to be stopping in the neighborhood.<sup>6</sup>

On the subject of his private reading he is happily more circumstantial. After carrying the story of his life to his twentieth year, he turns aside to speak of his early interests in books. I give the passage in full.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Vita*, f. 16v.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 17. On Saravia see *D.N.B.*, L (1897), 299-301; and Foster Watson, *The Beginnings of the Teaching of Modern Subjects in England* (1909), pp. 396-97. "Another of Saravia's pupils about the same time was Joshua Sylvester, the translator of *Du Bartas*."—Watson, *op. cit.*, p. 396.

<sup>3</sup> *Vita*, f. 17v.

<sup>4</sup> "Ibi in praeceptoris domo Hadriani Saraviae Belgae cuius uxor et familia gallico sermone utebatur sexdecim aut viginti adolescentes nobiles enutriti gallice velut in Gallia degeremus domi familiariter loquebamur ea lege vt quis vernaculo sermone in domo vteretur deprehensus, is in refectorio tempore refectionis motionis capitali eoque vestiretur donec in alium eodem crimine deprehensum coronam sive cucullam suam transferret."—*Ibid.*, f. 17. This is one of the very few cases in which French was taught in an English grammar school of the late sixteenth century. See Watson, *op. cit.*, pp. 395-96.

<sup>5</sup> "Hic latinae linguae solidiora fundamenta ieci, stylum singulis hebdomadis exercui, soluta et numerosa oratione, Ovidii, Tullii ac Terentii facilitatem ac elegantiam quam affectabam pro meo puerili modulo ac tenuitate expressi, ac in Graece linguae rudimentis addiscendis non invilliter operam posui."—*Vita*, f. 17.

<sup>6</sup> "Ibi [a school in the Isle of Purbeck] etiam cum in feriis Natalitiis Redemptoris nostri celebrandis comedia inter nos actitanda esset principes eius partes quae alii ante comisse fuerant mihi postea per magistrum delegatae qua gloriola fortasse mihi nimium placui."—*Ibid.* And again: "Is [the master of a school at Salisbury which he attended in his twelfth year] ingeniorum haud segnis aestimator currenti praeconis suis calcar addidit, et cum comediae recitandae ac alia solennia spectacula coram illustrissimo Henrico Comite Pembroke (qui tunc in vicinis habitabat) exhibenda essent mihi primas partes demandavit."—*Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 18. This passage, as well as the others quoted in this article, was transcribed for me by Miss Mary T. Martin.



Decimonono completo ac vicesimo aetatis anno inchoante in sodalitium Collegii Magdalenensis cooptatus sum et sequenti anno confirmatus. Hic mei iuris factus estimare non potui quantum pretiosi temporis invtilius librorum lectiones aliena studia officiosae aliorum adolescentum visitationes itinera rusticationes mihi surriperent. Memini me dum puer essem licet magistri me in officio continerent, si forte in manus meas incideret libellus aliquis qui fictas et futes fabellas contineret qualia de Bevisio Hamtonensi Guidone Warwicensi historia Valentini et Orsoni vita Arthuri Regis Britaniae et equitum orbicularis mensae<sup>1</sup> circumferuntur, ac huiusmodi portentis ac monstis qualia aut nunquam extiterunt, aut certe supra omnem fidem futilia ac vana per otiosos monachos de eis addita (ad irretiendam plebeculam et voluptate inescandam conficta in superiore seculo) ad nos pervenere,<sup>2</sup> teneri non potuisse quin tempus ludo somno cibationi imo ipsis studiis ac occupationibus seriis surreptum, in heorum istorum ingentibus factis armis, armoribus ac huiusmodi naeniis perlegendis collocarem. Liber iam animus pertaesus horum vt vulgarium et puerilium collectamentorum eorum loco linguarum exoticarum notitia substituerat Bocacii decameronem et octomeronem Reginae Navarrae quod nihil aliud erat quam diabolum eiicere molestum vt alium vel deteriorem admitterem et puerilia oblectamenta amandare vt adolescentiae corruptelas introducerem.

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<sup>1</sup> William Copland, who was active as a printer between 1548 and 1568 (Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade* [1905], pp. 32-33), brought out editions of all four of these romances: *Syr Beuys of Hampton*, n.d. (B.M., C. 21. c. 62); *The Booke of the moste victorious Prynce, Guy of Warwick*, n.d. (B.M., C. 21. c. 68); *The Hystory of the two valyaunte Brethren Valentyne and Orson, sonnes unto the Emperour of Greece*, n.d. (B.M., C. 34. l. 17); *The story of the most noble and worthy Kynge Arthur* . . . , 1557 (B.M., C. 12. b. 12).

<sup>2</sup> This would appear to have been the usual view of the mediaeval romances held by Protestant writers in the sixteenth century. Cf., for example, Ascham, *Toxophilus* (1545), *English Works*, ed. Wright, 1904, pp. xiv-xv: "In our fathers tyme nothing was red, but bookes of fayned cheualrie. . . . These bokes (as I haue heard say) were made the moste parte in Abbayes, and Monasteries, a very lickely and fit fruite of suche an ydle and blynde kinde of lyuyng"; *The Scholemaster* (1570), *ibid.*, pp. 230-31: "In our forefathers tyme, whan Papistrie, as a standyng poole, couered and ouerflowed all England, fewe bookes were read in our tong, sauyng certayne bookes of Cheualrie, as they sayd, for pastime and pleasure, which, as some say, were made in Monasteries, by idle Monkes, or wanton Chanons: as one for example, *Morte Arthure* . . ."; Nashe, *The Anatomie of Absurditie* (1589), *Works*, ed. McKerrow, I (1904), 11: ". . . the fantastick dreames of those exiled Abble-lubbers, from whose idle pens proceeded those worne out impressions of the fayned no where acts, of Arthur of the rounde table, Arthur of little Brittain, sir Tristram, Hewon of Burdeaux, the Squire of low degree, the foure sons of Amon, with infinite others." It is not impossible that Ashley's later opinion of the romances, as well as his manner of expressing it, was colored somewhat by his reading of passages such as these.



## THE SOURCE OF RALPH ROISTER DOISTER

That Udall borrowed for *Roister Doister* certain lines from the *Miles Gloriosus* has long been known, but attempts to make out a more considerable debt have failed. The two plays are, as shown by Professor D. L. Maulsby,<sup>1</sup> utterly unlike in plot; and in structure *Roister Doister* is far above the *Miles Gloriosus*, which is nearly, if not quite, the poorest in construction of all Latin comedies.<sup>2</sup> It is unlikely that Udall would have selected such a play for a model, and, if he had, it would not have helped him. If we look at the characterization, the result is much the same. It has often been noticed that Plautus' Artotrogus is not a satisfactory source for Merygreeke, since he appears only once and has no share in the action of the *Miles Gloriosus*.<sup>3</sup> What has not been noticed is that the complete dependence of the braggart on the parasite, as in *Roister Doister*, is not characteristic of a single braggart soldier in any comedy of Plautus.<sup>4</sup> Since the relations and inter-play between Ralph and Merygreeke are the essential feature of *Roister Doister*, it is clear that Udall did not start from the *Miles Gloriosus*, nor indeed from any play of Plautus.

Because of Udall's well-known *Floures for Latine Spekynges*<sup>5</sup> selected from the first three comedies of Terence in 1534, one naturally

<sup>1</sup> David Lee Maulsby, "The Relation between Udall's *Roister Doister* and the Comedies of Plautus and Terence," *Englische Studien*, 1907, pp. 253-56. Richard Faust, *Das erste englische Lustspiel in seiner Abhängigkeit vom Moral-play und von der römischen Komödie*, Dresden, 1889, pp. 12-13.

<sup>2</sup> The first act discloses nothing of the dramatic situation, contains no action, and fails to inform us of the existence of any characters except the soldier and the parasite, the latter of whom is not heard of thereafter. The second act is wasted on a complication that produces no effect in the subsequent action. The third and fourth acts begin and end the main plot, and are followed by a fifth act consisting of a single scene of horseplay.

<sup>3</sup> Faust, 10-11, 14-15; Herman Graf, *Der Miles Gloriosus im englischen Drama*, Rostock, 1892, pp. 26-27; Ottomar Habersang, *Nicholas Udalls Ralph Royster Doyster*, Bückeburg, 1893, pp. 6-7.

<sup>4</sup> In the *Bacchides* and the *Asinaria* there are parasites in addition to the soldiers, but in each play the pair appears only once, and is of small importance in the action. In the *Curculio*, the *Truculentus*, and the *Poenulus*, there is no attendant parasite. Nowhere does the parasite have an active part in the intrigue of any braggart soldier.

<sup>5</sup> William Thomas Lowndes, *The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature*, London, 1865, pp. 2607-8. In the enlarged edition of the *Flours* by I. Higgins (London, 1581), it is stated that Udall's selections were from the first three comedies only.



looks to Terence for a source, and to the *Eunuchus* in particular, since it was, of course, one of the first three comedies,<sup>1</sup> and since it has been recognized that certain lines in *Roister Doister* are adapted from this play in the same way in which others are taken from the *Miles Gloriosus*. In addition to this, two scenes of *Roister Doister* are clearly imitations of scenes in the *Eunuchus*: namely, the attack on Custance's house<sup>2</sup> and the reconciliation<sup>3</sup> at the end of the play. In both these instances is found a source for action, not, as in the lines borrowed from Plautus, merely for characterization. What I wish to point out is that the resemblances between *Roister Doister* and the *Eunuchus* are not confined to these passages, but extend to a general similarity in the outline of the two plots.

In the *Eunuchus*, a braggart soldier, Thraso, seeks the favors of a courtesan, Thais, who is faithful to a young man, Phaedria. Thais, however, learning that Thraso has purchased a young girl, Pamphila, who had been reared as a foundling in her home before Thais came to Athens, and, furthermore, believing Pamphila to be of Athenian birth, wishes to secure her from Thraso in order to restore her to her family. For this reason she sends Phaedria temporarily to the country so that she may be left free to cajole Thraso into giving her the girl. Thraso, emboldened by the accepted lover's absence, assiduously endeavors by presents and entertainment to regain his position with Thais. He gets into difficulties, however, by his stupidity in following the advice of his parasite, Gnatho, and thereupon falls into a rage, assaults the house of Thais, and ultimately retires only in time to avoid a fate similar to Ralph's. Upon the return of Phaedria, Thraso finds his affairs in a hopeless state, and casts himself once more into the hands of Gnatho, who arranges a reconciliation on terms that leave Thraso's vanity unimpaired.

Now the framework of the intrigue in *Roister Doister* is not more complicated than this under-plot of Terence's play. Indeed the simplicity of Udall's plot, together with the fact that his scene is before a single house, not before two houses, as regularly in Latin

<sup>1</sup> The traditional order in early editions of Terence was: *Andria*, *Eunuchus*, *Heautontimoroumenos*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Maulsby, 258-65; Habersang, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Habersang, 7; Professor Ewald Flügel in Gayley's *Representative English Comedies*, 1907, pp. 102, 181-82.

comedy, has been adduced as an indication that Udall did not use any Latin comedy as a source except for the suggestion of details and for a general influence on his dramatic technique.<sup>1</sup> An equally reasonable explanation is that Udall used only one of the interwoven plots in his Latin source. The difficulty of finding a Latin comedy free enough in both plots from essential grossness to render it suitable for adaptation into an English school-play would naturally have led him to such a course. In the *Eunuchus* the main plot is entirely unsuited to Udall's stage, but the under-plot differs from the usual meretrix-intrigue in just the respects that determine its acceptability to English taste. I think this will be seen when I shall have considered the characterization; first I wish to compare the plots of Udall and of Terence.

In both plays a braggart attempts, during the absence of an accepted lover, to win the favor of a lady. In his efforts he relies completely on the counsel of his parasite; when that fails to bring success, he falls into a rage, and attacks the lady's house, without bettering his position. When the accepted lover returns, the braggart is discomfited, and, realizing his failure, gives up, but is reconciled with his opponents through the machinations of his parasite, who thereby improves his own condition in the world. This statement takes in the essentials of both plots; they are, in outline, identical. It is not surprising that only two of Udall's incidents correspond strikingly to the incidents of the *Eunuchus*, for Terence uses the soldier-plot merely for dramatic complication and relief, and does not develop it by action except in the attack and the reconciliation; elsewhere it is scarcely separable from the main plot, which Udall had cast aside.

There are, however, still other points at which reference to the *Eunuchus* is apparent. In the first act Phaedria is resentful because he thinks Thais has abandoned him in favor of the soldier, and he is staunchly supported in this by his servant, Parmeno; at last he is convinced by Thais that she is acting in good faith. This corresponds in situation, though not in dialogue, to the scene in *Roister Doister* in which Goodluck and Suresby are shown in a similar state

<sup>1</sup> Professor Clarence Griffin Child, *Ralph Roister Doister*, The Riverside Literature Series, 1912, p. 44.

of mind regarding the fidelity of Custance.<sup>1</sup> Again, the soliloquy in which Thais makes known her loyalty to Phaedria is not unlike the lament of Custance, when she fears the consequences of Goodluck's suspicions.<sup>2</sup> Also, the two plots are introduced alike by long monologues explaining the parasite's methods; in both there is the same buoyant self-confidence, and the same policy is outlined, which we have shown to be different from the usual rôle of the parasite, and resemblances of phrase are not hard to find. Finally, there is some refutation to the assertion that Merygreeke's tendency to work mischievously against, as well as for, his patron is entirely without suggestion in Latin Comedy; for in the last scene of the *Eunuchus* Gnatho assures Phaedria that he has been directing Thraso's campaign in such a way as to advance his own ambition to attach himself to Phaedria.<sup>3</sup> This is not so good-naturedly humorous as Merygreeke's explanation, but it shows kinship between the parasites of Udall and Terence.

Inasmuch as the action of *Roister Doister* proceeds from the activities of Merygreeke, it is of first importance to explain his

<sup>1</sup> *Terenti Comœdiæ*, ed. R. Y. Tyrrell, Oxford, 1902: *Eunuchus*, ll. 46-80; Gayley' *Representative English Comedies*, R.R.D., V, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Eun.* ll. 197-201:

THAIS:

me miseram, forsitan mi hic parvam habeat fidem  
atque ex aliarum ingeniiis nunc me iudicet.  
ego pol, quae mihi sum conscia, hoc certo scio,  
neque me finxisse falsi quicquam neque meo  
cordi esse quemquam cariores hoc Phaedria.

R.R.D., V, 3, 1-6:

C. CUSTANCE: O Lorde, how necessarie it is nowe of dayes,  
That eche bodie live uprightly all maner wayes,  
For lette never so little the gappe be open,  
And be sure of this, the worst shall be spoken.  
How innocent stande I in this deede or thought,  
And yet see what mistrust towardes me it hath wrought.

<sup>3</sup> *Eun.*, ll. 1069-71:

GNATHO: principio ego vos credere ambos hos mihi vementer velim,  
me huius quidquid facio id facere maxime causa mea,  
verum idem si vobis prodest, vos non facere incitasti.

ll. 1084-5: recte facitis: unum hoc vos oro ut me in vestrum gregem  
receptis: satis diu hoc jam saxum vorso.

R.R.D., IV, 6, 8-12:

M. MERY: Why do ye thinke dame Custance

That in this wowinge I have ment but pastance?

V, 5, 38-40: GA. GOODL: I beseeche your mashyp to take payne and suppes  
with us.

M. MERY: He shall not say you nay, and I too by Jesus.

The lines, *Eun.* 1069-70, are quoted by Professor Flügel to show "the vulgar, and almost uninteresting selfishness of Gnatho." It should be remembered that Gnatho must convince Phaedria that his intercession is not purely in favor of Thraso, his enemy. The words should not be regarded as the self-revelation of an utterly hard and selfish character, but as a part of the Renard-like plausibility which characterizes Merygreeke and Gnatho alike; neither can be justified on strictly ethical grounds.



characterization in testing a possible source. Accordingly, it has been shown that Merygreeke is derived from the *Eunuchus*, or from no Latin comedy. As for the other main characters, Ralph is, at the most cautious estimate, at least as much like Thraso as Pyrgopolinices. Indeed it is not without significance that most of the lines borrowed from Plautus, especially those lines which are most swollen with exaggeration, are transferred by Udall to the mouth of the flattering Merygreeke, whether they were spoken in the *Miles Gloriosus* by the soldier or the parasite. Ralph is not really a braggart; he has not the extravagant imagination characteristic of the Plautine soldier. He is, rather, "an easy comical figure," as Colman described the Terentian Thraso—a complacently conceited gull, rather than a blustering swaggerer and teller of "monstrous lies." It seems strange that one ever should have failed to distinguish these braggart types, or to recognize Ralph as unquestionably Terentian.

Beyond these two figures, soldier and parasite, no one has attempted to account for Udall's characterization by a literary source. Custance, Goodluck, and the others are English persons contemporary with Udall, just as Ralph and Merygreeke are, to less extent; they owe far less to Latin comedy than the two leading characters. But it is noteworthy that there is no grave discordance between Udall's characters and Terence's. This is not the usual *meretrix* of comedy; Donatus recognized the innovation made by Terence in Thais, and praised his skill in making a "good courtesan" without destroying the interest of the play.<sup>1</sup> Thais is always true to Phaedria, dignified in bearing, firm but not rude to her servants, generous in affection for Pamphila, tactful and able in identifying the young girl's family; and at the end of the play, Phaedria's father openly accepts her as his son's mistress, a position as near marriage as was permissible under the Athenian laws regarding the union of citizens and aliens. Phaedria, moreover, is not the usual wild youth of Latin comedy (that rôle is filled by his brother, Chaerea), but is almost as steady and colorless as Goodluck.

<sup>1</sup> Donatus on line 198 of the *Eunuchus* (cf. note 2, p. 276): "Atque ex aliarum ingenis nunc me iudicet": hic Terentius ostendit virtutis suae hoc esse, ut pervulgatas personas nove inducat et tamen a consuetudine non recedat, ut puta, meretricem bonam cum facit capiat tamen et delectet animum spectatoris."

For these reasons I believe that Udall selected as the basis of his English comedy the Thraso-plot of the *Eunuchus*. That he should do so was natural in view of his known interest in Terence and his recent translations from that particular play. The plot, moreover, is simple, of a nature that readily admits expansion by the insertion of incidents, and that requires little extenuation to adapt it for the school-stage. In the *Eunuchus*, he found one of the few completely drawn women of Latin comedy free from undesirable qualities; and in that play alone could he have found well developed the braggart-parasite pair, whose comic possibilities he so fully realized. His intimate acquaintance with all Latin comedy is attested by the ease with which he employs its devices no less than by the frequency with which he inserts little touches from other plays than his main source. His ability as a dramatist is evident in the skill with which he expands a thin under-plot into a well-proportioned five-act play.

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## ON CERTAIN INCIDENTS IN BEN JONSON'S LIFE

Bliss, in his edition of Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses*, III, 1254, printed a note to which students of Jonson have not, I think, paid sufficient attention. He there quotes from a book entitled: *The Relection of a Conference Touching the Reall Presence*, 1635, which contains a pamphlet previously published in 1632 by S. E. and called: *The Summe of a Conference Betwixt M. D. Smith Now B. of Chalcedon, and M. Dan. Featly Minister. About the Reall Presence. With the notes of S.E.*, etc. The quotation, which I take from the publication of 1635 in a slightly abridged form, runs as follows, pp. 4-5:

In the yeere 1612, Master Daniel Featlie being in France, . . . there came to Paris one M. Knevet, halfe-brother to M. John Foord, an honest & vertuous Gentleman the[n] living in that Cittie.<sup>1</sup> This M. Knevet, being . . . put in mind, that he was mistaken in the matter of Religion . . . tould his brother (M. Foord) he would see one of ours defend it before M. Featlie . . . Withall he acquainted M. Featlie with the business . . . M. Featlie . . . undertooke it. . . . At leingth, upon the third of September, word was sent to M. D. Smith. . . .

On the 4. of September there met at M. Knevets chamber, M. D. Smith, and M. Featly. With M. D. Smith came his cozen M. Rainer; & with M. Featly came one M. John Porie, who had beene a burgeois (as it was said) in the first Parlament in King James his time. There were also present M. John Foord, M. Thomas Rant, M. Ben: Jonson, M. Henrie Constable, and others; not English onlie, but also French, etc.

It seemed to me worth while to follow up the hint thus given. In 1630 Featly published his *Grand Sacrilege of the Church of Rome*, and pp. 285 ff. of that work are taken up with a pamphlet entitled: *The Summe and Substance of A Disputation Betweene M. Dan. Featly, Oponent, and D. Smith the younger, Respondent, (now by the Pope intituled [sic] Bishop of Chalcedon, and Ordinary of all England) At Paris. Sept. 4. 1612. Stylo Novo, touching the Reall Presence in the Sacrament. . . . 1630.* This contains the following passage, pp. 305-6:

In this Relation we have omitted of set purpose all D. Smiths by-discourses, together with his proofes of the maine, because they were against

<sup>1</sup> This cannot have been the dramatist, as an examination of his pedigree in Vivian's *Visitations of Devonshire* shows.



the third Law [i.e., agreement by which the disputation was to be conducted]. And M. Featly at this time tooke no notice of them in particular, but promised in generall to answer them all, when it came to his course to answer: Now he was bound by the Law onely to oppose, and D. Smith onely to give his answers, which are here truly set downe, most of them out of his owne writing, as wee depose, who were present at this Disputation.

I must willingly subscribe to the truth of that, which D. Smith did so voluntarily present to our eyes and eares; And for the rest, which is M. Featlies, none of the adverse party can take any just exception against it.

J. P.

I professe, that all things in this Narration delivered and quoted out of D. Smiths Autographie, are true out of my examination. And of the rest I remember the most, or all: neither can I suspect any part.

B. J.

Now J. P. and B. J. are John Pory and Benjamin Jonson, as is clear from S. E.'s list, and further proof of the identification will be seen in a moment. But who wrote the pamphlet? The phrase, "we have omitted," seems to suggest that J. P. and B. J. were jointly responsible; on the other hand, the language of the last paragraph seems to imply that the pamphlet, once written, was submitted to B. J. for examination. Both are clearly concerned in the composition of the first paragraph quoted. S. E. (*Relection*, p. 2) takes this pamphlet to be by Featly himself, and places little faith, apparently, in these attestations of accuracy, for he says, p. 3: ". . . the Minister . . . doth cite imperfectlie my Lords answers, putting words or peeces together at his pleasure, and sometimes adding: and obscuring the sence which in the Relation it selfe [i.e., Smith's MS] I find to be distinct and cleere." Let us look, however, a little farther.

Featly touches upon this pamphlet in his *Transubstantiation Exploded*, 1638: On p. 27 he attacks S. E. for his criticism thus: "In my booke (which he so nicknameth) a *great beame* is discovered *in the eye of the Romane Church*; in the relation of the conference appendant thereunto a *mote in your eye*." The implication of this language is that Featly, though the author of the *Grand Sacrilege*, was not of the appended relation.

On p. 30 he says: ". . . he hath flung a dart of Calumny at a Conference of mine signed and subscribed by two witnesses, both named by him, and acknowledged to be present at that disputation in Paris, Anno 1612." Here the language is vague, because Featly

is using the word "Conference" in two senses, that of the report of the conference and that of the conference itself. In the latter sense, the conference was his; in the former it may or may not have been. This passage, however, is of particular interest as placing beyond peradventure the identity of J. P. and B. J., since Jonson and Pory are the only two persons in S. E.'s list that have the right initials. There is, in other words, no question of the "others" who were present; J. P. and B. J. were "named" and "acknowledged."<sup>1</sup>

On p. 35: "I intreat the Reader to take notice that the Protestant relation of the Conference printed 1630, was taken out of the authenticall notes of both parties, and confirmed and subscribed by two that were present at the disputation." This passage tells us merely that whoever wrote the pamphlet had Featly's notes to work upon as well as Smith's.

Farther down on the same page is a more definite passage: "First, you charge me with the breach of I know not what condition, by making the Conference more publik then it should have beene. The two noters make mention but of three conditions or lawes made by the company, and assented unto by us before we exchanged any word. . . ." Now the three conditions to be met by the disputants are stated literally at the very beginning of the pamphlet, so that the phrase, "the two noters," would seem to make J. P. and B. J. both responsible for the whole work, not of course for the material drawn from the notes of the disputants, but for the selection and arrangement of that material, for such explanatory and transitional matter as was necessary, and for the translation, as the notes were in Latin.

If we take a middle path, I think we may harmonize all of these statements, that is, if we assume that Pory wrote the pamphlet in consultation with Jonson, who, besides giving him some advice, examined his work and certified to its accuracy.

The facts just brought forth are not merely interesting in themselves, but they have an interesting bearing upon several points in Jonson's life. First, as to his journey to France. Although the passage quoted from the *Relection* has been in print for many years, all of the lives of Jonson say he went to France as governor of Raleigh's

<sup>1</sup> It is curious that in September 20, 1632, Pory should write to Puckering that he had supposed Ben Jonson was dead. When did the collaboration on this pamphlet actually take place?

son in 1613.<sup>1</sup> To be sure, this is the date given twice by Jonson in the *Conversations*. But here, on incontrovertible testimony, we find him in Paris in September, 1612. Either this was a separate visit to France, one of which no trace elsewhere exists, or his stay there began much earlier and lasted much longer than we have hitherto supposed. In either case, there is no contradiction involved. The incidents of which he speaks in the *Conversations* no doubt did happen in 1613. Or else we may suppose that he stayed in France during the greater part of that year, and that 1613 would occupy a larger place in his memory than 1612, so that, speaking loosely and casually, he might naturally say: "When I was in France in 1613."

Let us next consider the problem of the publication of the Folio of 1616. The belief of Fleay and Simpson<sup>2</sup> is that the Folio was to have been brought out in 1612 or 1613 and dedicated to Prince Henry, but that the death of that prince prevented the carrying out of the design. In support of this, Fleay points to the entry of the epigrams, S. R., May 15, 1612, the death of the prince in that year, the fact that in the epigrams and in the *Forest* we can discover no date certainly later than 1611 or 1612, the fact that the annotated masques are all earlier than that year, and that *Catiline*, 1611, is the latest play included. All of this is interesting, and of course correct as far as the dates are concerned and the intention to publish something at least in 1612. But how about the connection with Prince Henry? He did not die until November 6; the entry of the epigrams is on May 15. It is going a little far to invoke the death of the prince to explain the non-publication of a volume entered almost six months earlier. And if the epigrams had been intended to form part of a volume of "works" in 1612 or 1613, would they have been entered separately? Or is it likely that the other parts of that volume would have been entered separately as Fleay assumes? Or, as the epigrams come after the plays in the volume finally issued, why should they have been entered first? Doesn't the theory demand that the epigrams should come first, or that they should at least have a separate pagination? I submit that there is no *evidence* of an intention to

<sup>1</sup> The suggestion by Ward, II, 315, "or in the previous year, possibly on account of the cessation of all Court festivities by reason of the death of Henry Prince of Wales," was a pure guess due to Gifford.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Notes and Queries*, 9 s., V, 337.



publish in 1612 anything more than a volume of epigrams, and that there is no *evidence* connecting that volume with Prince Henry.

Now, why were the epigrams not published? Prince Henry died six months after the entry and there was plenty of time to get out the epigrams several times over in the interval. The reason probably lay in Jonson's absence from London. Suppose that he made an arrangement with Stepneth to print the epigrams about the beginning of May. The publisher immediately makes record of his right to publish the poems of the most talked-of writer of the day. But Jonson is very soon made governor of Raleigh's son, and compelled to go with him to Paris. Being Jonson, he says to the printer, "No publishing during my absence." (I hold firmly to the belief that he supervised the publication of the 1616 volume, in spite of the article by Van Dam and Stoffel in 1900.) His stay in Paris endures all of the remaining part of 1612 and perhaps the greater part of 1613, for we cannot trace him in London until Somerset's marriage in December, 1613, and even then not with certainty. When he returns his plans have changed, or perhaps the publisher's. Mr. Simpson himself suggests that Stepneth may have died at this time, and there is no evidence that he did any printing after that date. In any case there was a transfer of interest of some kind, and nothing was printed until 1616 when the volume appeared as we have it.

It may be asked how this explanation accounts for the fact that we can discover no date in the epigrams and *Forest* later than 1611. The answer is while it is true that we can not prove that any one of the poems in these collections was written later than that date, there are any number of them that *may* have been written later and in regard to which we cannot ascertain any date at all. It is a pure begging of the question to determine the date of a collection of miscellaneous pieces in this way.

It may be asked how it accounts for the omission of the epitaph on Prince Henry.<sup>1</sup> My answer is that I do not think we are justified in accepting that poem as Jonson's; Gifford's verdict seems to me to be substantially correct.

How then about the omission of the lines to Somerset on his marriage? It is perfectly clear why Jonson in 1616 should not care to

<sup>1</sup> *Notes and Queries*, loc. cit.

print those lines. But it is perfectly possible at the same time that they were intended to be published and that when the murder of Overbury became known in 1615 Jonson canceled them and substituted Epigram 65 in their place. I do not assert this as a fact, or even as probable, but there is nothing to prove the supposition absurd or inadmissible.

The only really serious problem, in short, is the omission of *Bartholomew Fair*. No doubt, this is difficult to explain, but the position taken by Fleay and Simpson does not account for it, unless they are prepared to go to the length of asserting that the volume was actually in type by the time that play was written. If not, why should the play have been left out? If so, why should publication be delayed? A reasonable explanation of the omission is that the play was very likely a good drawing card, and that it was thought unwise to print it so soon.

However, I do not see that I am called upon to account for all such omissions. It is sufficient to point out that the plausible theory of Fleay and Simpson is at present only a plausible theory, and that we may explain the failure of the epigrams to appear in 1612 without calling upon Prince Henry's death to assist us.

Thirdly, this pamphlet gives us a clear insight into the character of Jonson's life-long interest in theology and in the argumentative struggle constantly going on between the Roman and Protestant churches. Jonson became a Catholic in 1598; how literally we are to take Drummond's statement that he remained "12 years a Papist" we cannot of course tell, but it is doubtless practically accurate, though it does not enable us to determine the day and hour when he abandoned that faith. It is certain enough, however, that from this document we learn the exact character both of his adoption of Catholicism and of his reconversion. Both were of a purely intellectual nature, the fruit, that is, of purely intellectual processes, so far as such things can be. One need not for a moment deny that he was a man, as Gifford says, of deep religious feeling. There is evidence enough for that. But there is no evidence that he had an instinctive preference for either form of Christianity, that he was led in either conversion by any feeling that either church would more thoroughly satisfy his emotional nature, that his convictions were at

all influenced by the need of an authoritative church, by a longing for Christian unity, by an aesthetic appreciation of Catholic ritual, or in fact by any of the multifarious emotional appeals that Catholicism has made and makes to many men of many natures. There is, in other words, not the least hint of the sentimentalist or the mystic. When Jonson was in prison in 1598, he took his religion "on trust." That is to say, he felt himself unable to disprove the statement of the priest that the logical interpretation of the biblical text supported the Catholic claim. When he came to examine the matter for himself, and at length, this view of the case ceased to give him intellectual satisfaction, and he became once more a Protestant. It was discussions of the general type of that contained in our pamphlet, to many of which he must have listened and in many of which he must have taken a share, that carried weight and turned the scale.

Thus I demonstrate it: *By hic calix you meane hic sanguis: but sanguis Christi is not proprie testamentum.*

*Negatur minor*, saith D. Smith.

*Probatur* (quoth M. Featly,) No substantiall part of the Testator is properly his Testament: But the blood of Christ is a substantiall part of the Testator: *Ergo*, it is not properly his last Will and Testament.

In his Syllogisme D. Smith denyed the Major, affirming, that if any man should signe any thing with his blood, that blood being an authentically signe of his Will, might be properly called his Testament.<sup>1</sup>

Whether such argument, thoroughly alien as it is to the temper of the present day and resting as it does upon obviously false analogies, be likely to avail much for salvation, everyone must decide for himself. We must at the same time admit that it is the kind of argument that determined whether Jonson was or was not to remain a Catholic.<sup>2</sup>

Perhaps it will not be out of place to speak here of other tantalizing glimpses into his intellectual life at this period that are afforded by two MS trifles that I have never seen referred to.

The first has to do with a letter to Jonson by Joseph Webbe, concerning whom see *D.N.B.* It is a very long letter in Sl. 1466 ff.,

<sup>1</sup> P. 302.

<sup>2</sup> Castelain, who has a somewhat different explanation of Jonson's reconversion and one that seems to me out of harmony with the poet's character (*Ben Jonson*, 1907, 124, note) neatly disposes of the inconvenient "12 years" by supposing that there may have been a misreading of XII for VII.



203 f., relating to a treatise on Latin versification of which Webbe was the author. A Latin version of the letter in a different hand is in the same MS, 354-72.

F. 203. "A Letter breefly touching the large extent & infinite use, of yt little booke called *Entheatus Materialis primus*, lately written by ye Author of yt booke, to his deare & lovinge frend Mr. Benjamin Johnson. And his anwere." [*Sic*. Unfortunately the answer of Jonson is not in the MS, and the title-page of the Latin version of the letter makes no mention of it.]

F. 204. "Mr. Benjamin Johnson, eldest sonne of our Brittainne muses: J. W. wisheth Bayes; a marble, or some brasen statua; & perpetuall memory.

"Deare Brother

"Within ye circuite of my best acquaintance, I find none of Apollo's Judges to grace more ye seate of his Justice either with gravity of person, multiciplicite of reading, or depht of understanding; than you doe. Nor find I any, from w'm I should more joyfull receive applause for good; or more patiently tollerate, rebuke for ill; than from ye doome of yours discretion. Give mee therefore leave to intreate none but you\* to lift the Balance betweene my last booke, & some ill Savouring breath of Malice, now call'd emulation; &, to make a just report of both theyre vawewes."

\**Enth*: mat: 1. us.

Webbe then goes on to complain of the envious strictures that have been passed upon his work, to ask Jonson to judge between him and his critics, to give a complex mathematical demonstration of the principle of his book, and at length to conclude—

"Though much more may be sayde in ye behalfe of this little booke: yet let this suffice for ye present. And let report & it bee judg'd by your opinion. Meane while I rest.

[*sic*]

Glassenbury house  
in Smithfield. Jan:  
20, 1628 [-9]:

Your devoted frend  
and brother  
Joseph. Webbe."

The work of which Webbe speaks was entitled *Usus et Autoritas sive Entheatus*, etc., 1626. It dealt chiefly with the pentameter and hexameter, though the principles were applicable to all forms of versification, and apparently to any language. It aroused some controversy, of which there are many traces in the MS, the greater part of which is taken up with pieces in one way and another bearing on it. Arber, *Transcript*, V, lviii, says that Joseph Webbe was granted

a patent "for the teaching of the languages after a newe sort by him devised, and alsoe the printing of the bookes and selling them," but the date of the patent is not given, and it apparently refers to other related enterprises on the part of Webbe (see *D.N.B.*).

In the same MS, f. 16, is the following, probably in the hand of Webbe:

Coppie of a noate of Mr. Morleys. had fro Oxford. Whereas Caleb Morley Mr of Arts & sometymes fellowe of Baliel Colledg in ye Universitie of Oxon hath intended & laboured a speedie and certaine Course for ye attaying & retayninge of languages & other partes of good literature purposed for ye generall ease & benifit of ye studious in either kinde. We whose names are under written & of ye same Universitie purpose & promise our best furtherance & assistance therein on his behalfe by our Countenance & Labours to our powers not onlie to welcome but also to helpe such a labour pretended for ours provided that any Contribution of money from us be alwayes excepted."

I could not decipher all of the signatures, which are of course not originals. There are fourteen of them in all, and they belong to Sir Robert Cotton, Sir Henry Spilman, Dr. Rives (?) Advoc. Regis, Dr. Duck, Cancillar, Londi., Dr. Baskeville, Med. Dr., Dr. Andrews, Med. Dr., Mr. S——, Theolog., Mr. Adsworth (?), Theolog., Mr. Selden, Gentl., Mr. Benjam. Johnson, Mr. Mathew Bust, Mr. of Eaton School, Mr. Farnaby, Heynes (?), Mr. Robinson Scholar of Winchester, S.

These names do not require much comment. I believe Dr. Andrews is the Dr. Andrewes whose poems are in *Harl.* 4955. Mr. Robinson is probably the Edward Robinson elected to Winchester in 1622, as the William Robinson of 1627 would be too young. The date of the note is between 1628 and 1630, for Duck did not become chancellor of the diocese of London until 1628 or shortly after, whereas Matthew Bust was Master of Eton from 1611 to 1630.

About Caleb Morley little is known. From the printed register of the University and from Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*, we find that he matriculated 5 March 1602, aged 16, proceeded B.A. 26 October, 1605, and M.A. 20th June, 1611, and became Rector of Stalbridge, Dorset, in 1616. According to Hutchin's *History of Dorset*, 111, 681, his successor was instituted in 1621; apparently, Morley must have been deprived as the result of the suit against him of which we find

some particulars in the *Calendar of State Papers, Dom.*, under November 24, 1619, May 10, 1620, and December ?, 1621. On October 28, 1624, Conway writes to the bishop of London saying that "the King wishes his opinion on a new alphabet invented by Mr. Morley, a minister, for the more easy attaining of languages, for the sole printing and publishing of which he requests a patent." On March 6, 1627, there is a grant "to Caleb Morley, of the sole right, for 21 years, of printing and publishing a New Method for the Help of Memory and grounding of Scholars in several languages." This patent is also given by Arber, *Transcript*, V, lviii, but without date. I have not been able to find that Morley published anything on the subject, but there is an unsigned account of a newly invented alphabet in this same MS which is very likely his. If so, it conveys a high estimate of his competence, for it is founded on the soundest principles, though they may not always be properly carried out.

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# Modern Philology

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## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ANALYTIC GENITIVE IN GERMANIC. II

We turn now to the study of the origin of the analytic objective genitive. The theories of the origin of the older synthetic objective genitive have been given above. The analytic form has sprung up within historic times and its entire development lies clearly before us. It is of composite origin, originating in the ideas of source and reference. The oldest example known to the writer is from the ninth century from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, p. 244: "Ond he purh pæt ge his peode ge eac pam cynnum Scotta and Peohta . . . mid arfæstnesse his sylena of pam goodum þe he from ricum monnum onfeng swipe bricsade," "And he thereby greatly benefited his people as well as the nations of the Scots and Picts by his piety in giving away the property which he received from the rich." A careful study of this passage will reveal the idea of source here. At first the partitive idea suggests itself. Mr. Thomas Miller's translation of this passage which has been here appended to the original certainly conveys the impression that he does not feel the conception as of a partitive nature. The literal rendering brings out the force of the original: "by the piety of his gifts of [i.e., from] the goods which he had received from the rich." He made many gifts, drawing each time from the stores that the rich had given him. Closely related to the idea of source is the conception of composition: "ða giue of ðe hali gaste" (*Vices and Virtues*, p. 21), "the gift of [i.e., consisting of] the Holy Ghost."

There is a second idea in this category—the idea of reference: “and was gemersad mersong *of him* in all stoue ðaes londes” (Luke 4:37, Lindisfarne MS), “and the fame of [i.e., with reference to, about] him went out into every place of the country round about.” The Corpus Version has the older synthetic form: “ða wæs *his* hlisa gewidmærsod,” etc. The Lindisfarne version follows the Latin model: “et diuulgabatur fama de illo,” etc. The Latin itself is a development of the older synthetic genitive: “fama *sui* frui” (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 13), “to enjoy what they said about him.” We find also the synthetic form in the Lindisfarne MS, both in the English and in the Latin: “in ðæm tid geherde [herodes] mersung *hælendes*” (Matt. 14:1), “in illo tempore audiit herodes famam iesu.” The Lindisfarne glossarist in every case simply followed the Latin. Both forms existed in both languages. Also in other expressions this glossarist followed the Latin original: “ne is ðe gemeniso *of* oðrum ne forðon eft-sces aweðu wlit monna” (Matt. 22:16,) “non est tibi cura *de* aliquo non enim respicis personam hominum,” “nor is there in thee fear *of* others, for thou does not regard the person of men.” A few such examples are the only ones that the writer has been able to find. They are all confined to the Lindisfarne MS. They all follow the Latin closely and yet the writer has absolute confidence in the idiomatic quality of the English. The different Germanic peoples were developing a desire for a clearer expression of the idea of reference than that furnished them by the old colorless synthetic genitive. To show this widespread tendency we give in different languages the text of Luke 4:37, the English of which has just been given from the Lindisfarne MS: “jah usiddja meripa *from* imma” (Wulfila), “liumunt uzgieng thurah alle thie lantscaf *fon* imo” (Tatian 17:8), “och ryktet *om* honom gick ut” (modern Swedish). This tendency was also strong in Latin and Greek, but these languages are scarcely the source of the Germanic development. The inadequacy of the old synthetic genitive was obviously the common cause.

Now the question arises: Are the two little Old English groups of objective genitives mentioned in the two preceding paragraphs—the one containing the idea of source, the other the idea of reference—strong enough to have been able to establish the new analytic objec-

tive genitive as we have it today with its broad boundaries? Even though they were both more strongly represented in dialect than in the literary language, it does not seem probable that they could have been the real nucleus of this category. Formal elements played a bigger rôle. The position of the objective genitive before the noun was often quite ambiguous. It could often not be distinguished from the subjective genitive. Gradually it became common to place the objective genitive after the noun: "mid lufan þæs uþlecan rices" (Bede, *E.H.*, p. 298), "[he was inspired] with the love of the heavenly kingdom." It would seem that this simple differentiation would find an immediate recognition, but in spite of the evident need of a consistent uniform differentiation, the old synthetic genitive remained in a large number of cases quite firmly attached to the place before the noun. Perhaps a deep-seated feeling associated it often still with the possessive genitive from which it in part developed. In 1200 A.D. we still find the verb before the noun even where it requires a close study of the connection to distinguish it from the subjective genitive: "Karitas, þat is, godes luue and mannes" (*Vices and Virtues*, p. 35), "charity, that is, the love of God and man." Alongside the old form we often find the new analytic form in this same book: "for ðe luue of gode" (*ibid.*, p. 21). Where did the "of" come from? Is it the genitive of reference mentioned above? If this view were true we should expect to find here in modern Swedish *om* instead of "of." The Swede in most cases uses here *af*, the form which he employs to express the partitive idea, and the idea of material or composition. The frequent use of *af* instead of the old partitive synthetic genitive and the genitive of material gave to this form the force of a genitive and hence it is used in other genitive categories instead of the old synthetic form. The situation is not as clear in English, for we should use "of" for the idea of reference, and the analytic objective genitive may have developed out of this common meaning. It seems, however, fairly certain that "of," which was in the Old English period freely used instead of a synthetic partitive genitive and was also employed instead of the synthetic form in the categories of material, composition, origin, source, and possession, was quite deeply felt as a new genitive form capable of taking the place of the old synthetic form at any place where the



old form was unclear or lacked a distinctive ending. In this last example from *Vices and Virtues* "of" took the place of the old synthetic form which in the position after the noun had been entirely abandoned on account of its lack of distinctive endings. If the synthetic genitive *godes* had been used here it would have been identical in form with the plural genitive, hence the synthetic form was naturally avoided. Even where the synthetic genitive would be perfectly clear it was not used after the middle of the twelfth century in the position *after* the governing noun. The writer has not been able to find anywhere in this period the form "for pe luue Christes," although "for Cristes luue" with the same meaning is common. The synthetic genitive after the noun would in this expression be perfectly clear, and it does not violate the law of immediate contact described above. The reason for its rejection, however, is evident. The synthetic genitive was so often rejected in the position after the noun because it was ambiguous or violated the law of immediate contact that it was in general avoided in this position and disappeared here absolutely.

Thus at this time there were two objective genitives, the synthetic form *before* the noun and the analytic *after* it. Modern Swedish still preserves this older order of things: "krutets uppfinning," or "uppfinning af krutet," "the invention of gun-powder." After 1200 A.D. the English synthetic genitive in the position before the noun gradually became less common here. It is still the rule with personal pronouns, as illustrated and explained above under the possessive genitive, but with nouns it is now very little used. A few examples of this limited use with nouns are given below under the subjective genitive. The meaning of English "of" had a force better adapted to wide use in the objective category than Swedish *af*. In English "of" and Swedish *af* lie the meanings *source* and *composition*, but in English "of" there was also the very common idea of *reference*. This wide range of graphic meanings suitable to use in the objective category often led to the use of "of." Thus in "his gift *of service and money*" the words in italics are not only mere grammatical objective genitives, but also beautiful concrete pictures—"a gift consisting of service and money." The "of" was especially suitable for the expression of the very common idea of reference:

"His account of his travels," "a full report of the debate," "hope of promotion," "dreams of glory," etc. Thus the usage of employing "of" for the expression of the ideas of source, composition, and reference, which had already in Old English begun to develop, has been one of the factors that have gradually brought about the victory of the analytic over the synthetic form in the objective category. Otherwise the situation today would be more as it is in Swedish. The old synthetic form in the position before the noun would still be largely used.

The question arises whether the French *de* has in any way affected the English development here. The closest study does not show the slightest influence at any point. The use of the analytic form at the beginning of the Middle English period was merely a matter of word-order. The synthetic genitive before the noun was preserved, while the analytic genitive entirely supplanted the synthetic form after the noun on account of the defective inflection of the synthetic genitive. Swedish with a much fuller synthetic inflection shows the same development. English differs only in that the analytic form has gained a more complete victory. This resulted from two causes—the growing tendency to differentiate the objective from the subjective genitive by the word-order and the growing fondness for the expressive meaning of "of." The first of these tendencies is very old and gradually and uninterruptedly increased in force. This tendency alone amply explains the development of the analytic form. It also has been an important factor in the Swedish development. In Swedish, however, it never became so strong, for the whole development in Swedish shows that the strongest tendency was to reduce all shades of adnominal relations outside of the partitive category and closely allied groups to the possessive idea out of which they may once have all come. This tendency brought all genitives as far as possible into the place before the noun and thus preserved to a remarkable extent the synthetic form. Alongside the English tendency to use the analytic form for the purpose of differentiating it from the subjective genitive was the pronounced fondness for the clear and forcible meaning of "of," which thus helped to establish the analytic form.

The German, in general, remained true to the old synthetic

genitive. Originally it stood before the governing noun and had the sentence accent. This older order of things is preserved in many compounds: *Gottesfurcht*, *Ménschenhass*, *Ménschenliebe*, etc. As in English, the objective genitive gradually became fixed in the position after the noun: "die Erziehung der Kinder," etc. The old synthetic form is replaced by the analytic form only in case of articleless abstract nouns denoting material when used in a *partitive* sense or articleless plurals of concrete nouns when the reference is to an *indefinite* number: "Menschenbedürfnis konnte zumeist ohne viel Bitten auf ein Vorsetzen *von* Speise und Trank rechnen"; "Auch die Japaner sind lebhaft mit dem Aufwerfen *von* Verschanzungen beschäftigt." The use of the definite article of the synthetic genitive would make the reference too definite.

At one point the English and German have developed very differently. The objective genitive after verbal derivatives in English *-ing* can be replaced by an accusative object: "He listened without once interrupting *me*." The genitive can also be used: "the building *of the bridge*." In Old English, of course, the synthetic genitive was used. In German it is still the usual form: "die Plünderung *der Stadt*." English differs from German in that the verbal force in the derivative noun is often felt so vividly that it requires the usual verbal construction, i.e., an accusative instead of a genitive object. The development as it is found in modern English is one of the most terse and flexible constructions known in any language. One who is accustomed to using it finds a language like German with its highly developed hypotaxis very poky and clumsy. A few examples will illustrate the difference of construction: "I left the room without his seeing me," "Ich verliess das Zimmer, ohne dass er mich gesehen hätte"; "After saying this he went away," "Nachdem er dies gesagt hatte, ging er fort." The history of the English *gerund* has been given in an independent article.<sup>1</sup>

The German has a difficulty in the objective category unknown to English. The objective genitive usually corresponds only to the accusative with verbs and hence is avoided with nouns derived from verbs which govern a genitive or dative: "Er zürnt *mir*," but "sein Zorn *auf mich*"; "Sie widerstanden den Römern," but

<sup>1</sup> *Englische Studien*, XLV (1912), 349-80.



"Der Widerstand *gegen die Römer*." The use of a preposition with its dependent noun is in many cases here well established, but in many other cases is not in use at all, and under the pressure of dire necessity good writers are sometimes forced to employ the objective genitive here in spite of the stern injunction of grammarians: "Diesen [i.e., "den gewohnheitsmässigen Spielern"] Unterkunft zur Fröhnung *ihres Lasters* zu gewähren" (leader in *Hamburger Nachrichten*, June 27, 1905). The writer has an interesting collection of such flagrant violations of grammatical convention and has often searched for the underlying principles upon which this convention rests. He has grown gray in the study of German grammar and yet he has not educated himself up to the point where he feels that this usage is bad grammar. Over against his, a foreigner's feeling, is the feeling of a great native German scholar whom he profoundly admires, and whom, from now on, he will sadly miss: "die *Huldigung des Fürsten, zur Abhilfe dieses Misstandes, zum Gedächtnis der Tat* klingen leicht hart" (Wilmanns, *Deutsche Grammatik*, III, 601). As quoted above Professor Wilmanns himself has explained that the objective genitive is a genitive of reference or specification. If this be true these genitives are perfectly in place. In a number of cases the genitive may contain the possessive idea. A deep-seated feeling for these meanings of the genitive has led many distinguished German writers to use it here. We find in older English this same objective genitive: "gefylledre wilsumnesse and ðære ðenunge *þæs eadigan martyres*" (Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, p. 38), "the devotion and the serving of the holy martyr having been completed." The genitive *martyres* is dependent upon *ðenunge* which is derived from *denian*, a verb governing the dative. Old English authors did not regard this genitive as ungrammatical.

The development of the German and English objective genitive has been presented only in its simplest outlines. It is a very important category and has in both languages developed many peculiar forms. The full treatment of these peculiarities would become of itself a good-sized treatise. The writer hopes to present his materials upon some other occasion.

We turn from the objective to the subjective genitive, which stands in strong contrast to it. It is the only genitive category which

did not in Old English develop the analytic form. The reason is quite evident. The old synthetic form is still, even today, strongly entrenched in the subjective category. Of course, it was as firmly entrenched in Old English: "heora Scyppendes toeyne" (Sweet, *Selected Homilies of Ælfric*, p. 27), "the coming of their creator"; "ures Hælendes prowunge" (*ibid.*, p. 34), "our Lord's suffering"; "purh Cristes lare" (*ibid.*, p. 35), "through Christ's teaching"; "purh Godes fultum" (*ibid.*, p. 37), "by God's help," and countless other examples. On the one hand, this genitive is closely related to the possessive genitive which preferred the position before the governing noun. On the other hand, there was already at this time a tendency to differentiate the possessive genitive by placing it before the noun and putting the subjective genitive after it. In spite of the close relation of the subjective genitive to the possessive category, the tendency to differentiate them had become strong in Ælfric's day: "for peowracan sweartra deofla" (*ibid.*, p. 69), "on account of the threats of black demons," and many other examples. Thus in Ælfric's time the situation was much as it is today—the subjective genitive may either precede or follow the noun. Of course, after the loss of the declensions the synthetic genitive that followed the noun was replaced by the analytic: "chiueringe of toðen" (*Vices and Virtues*, p. 18), "the gnashing of teeth"; "ðese hali lare of ðe hali gast" (*ibid.*, p. 61), "this holy admonition of the Holy Ghost." The oldest examples of the analytic form here known to the writer belong to the twelfth century. It seems quite probable that the analytic form in the second example might even have been used before the loss of the inflections, for the idea of source is here so prominent that it might have suggested the use of "of" long before the lack of inflectional endings made it necessary. The writer has, however, found no examples of such usage. In general, the synthetic form here resulted from the loss of inflection.

Although, in general, the position of the genitive is much the same in this category today as it was in Ælfric's day, there is in our time a much sharper differentiation between the subjective and the objective genitive. The synthetic subjective genitive precedes the noun and the analytic objective form follows it: "the teacher's praise of the pupil." The two analytic forms may follow the noun

if different prepositions be used: "the capture of the city [object] by the Japanese" [subject]; "the admonition of the father [subject] to his son" [object]; "the contempt of the Japanese [subject] for death" [object]. The differentiation that places the synthetic subjective genitive before the noun and the analytic objective form after it, though in general well established, has not yet gained a complete victory. The older order of things that permitted a synthetic objective genitive to stand before the noun is still found: "his defeat," "their banishment from the city," "her punishment," "the boy's punishment," "the child's education"; sometimes even in the case of the name of a thing: "the city's capture by the Japanese," etc.

We turn now to the genitive of characteristic. In oldest Germanic the synthetic genitive is the form used to give the characteristic or distinguishing quality of a person or thing. The beginnings of the analytic form go back to oldest Germanic, but it was employed at first only in more external characterization to distinguish one individual from another by naming the town or country from which he came: "Wasuh pan sums siuks, Lazarus of Bepanias" (Wulfila, John 11:1), "Now a certain man was sick, named Lazarus of Bethany." In the ninth century the analytic genitive is extended in both England and Germany to designations of origin with regard to race and class. It is used in both the adnominal and the predicate relation: "wæs pær sum munuc of Scotta cynne" (Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, p. 302), "There was a monk of Scottish race"; "pæt he ne wæs of bearfendum folce" (*ibid.*, p. 328), "that he was not of the poor class." This usage was already common at this time, especially in England, as attested by the many examples the writer has collected. The impelling force was not defective declensions, but the desire for a clearer and more vivid expression for this idea than was then afforded by the old colorless synthetic genitive. Characterization in all these examples came from the idea of source. In many other cases the characterization came from the broad idea of possession: "Min rice nys of ðyson middan-earde" (Corpus, John 18:36), "my kingdom is not of this world"; i.e., "my kingdom does not belong to this earth." This form of characterization is also old, as can be seen from the Gothic version of this same passage: "piudan-gardi meina nist us pamma fairhwau." Possession is here found



in the new sense, the idea of an integral part as discussed above. This new development also took place in German and Swedish: "Mein Reich ist nicht *von* dieser Welt"; "Mitt rike är icke *af* denna världen."

Although the new form was clearly established in Old English, the older possessive idea as expressed by the old synthetic genitive still continued to flourish. There is, however, one important change to be noted—the gradual shifting of the genitive from the position *before* the noun to the place *after* it: "in weorcum ælmesdæda" (Bede, *E.H.*, p. 374), "for works of charity"; "boc ongrysliecre gesihðe and unmættre micelnisse" (*ibid.*, p. 438), "a book of dreadful appearance and monstrous size"; "swylc leoht engelices ondwlitan" (*ibid.*, p. 362), "such a light of angelic appearance." After the loss of the declensions the synthetic form here was uniformly replaced by the analytic. This new form with "of" cannot be distinguished from the older group that in Old English took "of" for the sake of its forcible meaning. Thus in the following examples from 1200 A.D. we cannot distinguish from which group the "of" came: "menn of ðe world" (*Vices and Virtues*, p. 7), "se ðe is of harde hierte" (*ibid.*, p. 61), etc.

Alongside the Old English word-order with the synthetic genitive of characteristic *after* the governing noun the older order with the synthetic genitive *before* the noun remained common throughout the Old English period: "se Godes wer" (Bede, p. 394), "this man of God"; "micelre geearnunge mæssepreost" (*ibid.*, p. 414), "a priest of high merit," etc. The conception of possession was originally the controlling idea here, but the conception of characterization easily developed out of it. Like the possessive genitive the genitive of characterization often preferred the place before the noun. This position was at first natural because the genitive in general preferred the position before the noun. It was later in the Old English period natural because descriptive adjectives had become firmly fixed in the position before the noun, and hence the genitive of the characteristic with its strong descriptive force often remained in this position instead of joining the general movement of the other genitives to a place after the noun. It has become so firmly fixed in this place that it is still often found there in spite of the fact that this position has largely

become restricted to the possessive genitive. We usually differentiate this synthetic genitive characteristic from the possessive genitive by stronger stress: "In our street lives a millionaire. This millionaire's [unstressed poss. gen.] two sons are quite sensible young fellows," but "This young chap wants us to feel that he is a *millionaire's* [stressed gen. of characteristic] son"; "California is *God's* [stressed gen. of characteristic] own country." Stress and lively tone still make this old form serviceable in spoken speech. In the written language the analytic form would in most cases be used. The old synthetic genitive is, however, still quite common in both written and spoken language where the characterization is in the form of a measurement or a definite designation of time: "a boat's length," "an hour's ride," "without a moment's thought," "yesterday's newspaper," etc. The synthetic form is in most cases more common here than the analytic, as the idea of characterization is not prominent, but where the conception of characterization enters into the thought the analytic form becomes more natural: "In such an important matter the thought of *a moment* is not sufficiently mature." We say: "today's newspapers," but "the political ideals of *today* are quite different from those of *yesterday*."

We have an interesting misunderstood survival of the old synthetic genitive of characteristic in "all kinds" as in "all kinds of men." In *Vices and Virtues* we find "alles kennes metes," "meats of every kind." Here "alles kennes" is a genitive of characteristic. We also find the genitive plural instead of the singular: "fuwer kinne teares" (*Old English Homilies*, I, 151), "tears of four kinds." The following noun was later construed as a genitive, which led to "all kinds or kind [originally gen. plural, later felt as an indeclinable collective noun] of meats," etc. The collective use of "kind" is still found in Shakespeare: "These kind of knaves" (*Lear*, II, ii, 107). We hear "kind of" used today as an adverb: "I feel kind of sick."

The older genitive of characteristic, as in "a *four hours'* ride," has today a strong rival in a younger adjective construction, as in "a four-hour ride." The younger construction is now much more widely used, often where the genitive is not employed at all: "a *five-pound* perch," "a *two-mile* ride," "a *two-inch* board," "a *two-gallon* bucket," "an *up-to-date* machine," etc. The genitive can

be used only for measurements and designations of time and even there only to a limited extent. We say: "an *eight hours'* trip," but "an eight-hour working-day"; "a *two days'* ride," but "an all-day ride"; "today's paper," but "the *Sunday* edition"; "a boat's length," but "a *twelve-foot* plank"; etc. The origin of such adjective elements is the Old English compound. Originally the accent was upon the first syllable, as in "chúrchyard" ("gráveyard"). The accent of "chúrchyard" is still in harmony with the Old English law that stressed the first word in a group of words which modified a noun. Later at the close of the Old English period the sentence accent shifted to the last word in the group as in "the child's *father*." This new movement affected English compounds in part. The older accent remained wherever the parts of the compounds had thoroughly fused forming a distinct oneness of conception, as in "stóne-quarry," "stóne-oak" (*quercus Javensis*), "chúrchyard" ("gráveyard"), etc. Wherever the fusion was not so thorough the accent shifted upon the second element just as elsewhere in adnominal elements: "a stone hóuse," "the church yárd" (the yard belonging to the church), etc. The same thing sometimes took place also in German: "Nicht die Gartentúr, sondern die Gartenmáuer ist beschädigt." The conditions, however, were markedly different in the two languages. The adjective lost its inflection in Middle English very early in the North and later also elsewhere. The first element of those compounds in which the parts had not fused thoroughly was felt as an adjective, for it had the descriptive force and the weak sentence stress of adjectives. The full adjective inflection in German kept the first element of the compound distinct from adjectives and thus the parts of the compound did not drift apart and the unity of the form was usually indicated by the accent upon the first element except where for logical reasons the second element was stressed as in the above example. The peculiar development in English made it possible to use almost any noun or even a group of words as an adjective. This construction has become very productive in English and is one of the marked advantages that it possesses.

The construction described in the preceding paragraph began to develop in late Old English and became clearly marked in the course of Middle English. The construction originated in adnominal



function. It was only natural that it should later be extended to use in the predicate: "The plank is not *the right length*"; "The boys were *the same size, the same age*"; "It's *no use*"; "The house was *a dark green*"; "*What price* is that article?" Such predicate elements can also stand *after* a noun as they are in fact there in the predicate with the verb understood: "a book *the same size* as this"; "water *the color of pea-soup*." Mr. Sweet in his *New English Grammar*, II, 49, explains such expressions by the omission of "of": "he is [of] the same age," etc. The writer does not feel this construction as slovenly English, but as the extension of the deeply rooted usage which allows any group of words to be used adjectively.

While in English the use of "of" in the genitive of characteristic is in part the result of a fondness for its original force, and in part the result of the decay of the declensions, the German use of *von* has resulted solely from the natural fondness of the people for its original force. The idea of characterization had become so thoroughly associated with *von* in its early use to distinguish a man by his *origin* as to birthplace, race, class, etc., or as *belonging* to some class, etc., that it became a well-understood sign for characterization in general. The fulness of inflectional forms enables the German here to employ the old synthetic form in the position after the noun, and usage still very often permits it, but the analytic form is, in general, more common. Where the synthetic form is employed, it now follows the governing noun. The original position before the noun, which is still preserved in English, is found in German only in compounds: *Teufelskerl*, *Teufelskind*, etc.

Modern Swedish, in harmony with its general tendency to place the synthetic form before the governing noun wherever it is possible, still preserves the older usage of placing the genitive of characteristic before the noun: "en ärans man," "a man of honor." The analytic form is also found: "en man of ära." The strong Swedish fondness for the synthetic form is easily seen by comparison with the German or English. The Swedish synthetic form must often be rendered by the analytic form in German and English: "en sjutton års yngling," "a youth of seventeen." In many expressions English cannot follow Swedish in the use of the genitive construction: "en fem markers aborre," "a five-pound perch." English very commonly uses the

synthetical genitive for measure and value, but cannot use it at all for weight.

The appositive genitive has a long and intricate history. The appositive is either in the same case as the governing noun, or is in the genitive. We take up the former construction first. Originally the word that was explained by an appositive in the same case was felt as the theme, the subject that was to be introduced for consideration. In all the older languages of our family the theme word preceded the appositive. As it was the important word it had the sentence stress, so that the following appositive was subordinate to it in accent. This older order of things is best studied in Old English where it is best preserved and where there are multitudes of examples. In the following illustrations italics represent sentence stress: "to *mailros* ðem mynstre" (Bede, *E.H.*, p. 424), "to the monastery of *Melrose*"; "bi *Temese* streame" (*ibid.*, p. 282), "by the river *Thames*"; "on *Hii* pæt ealond" (*ibid.*, p. 468), "to the island of *Iona*"; "*wiht*e ealond" (*ibid.*, p. 302), "the Isle of *Wight*"; "in cirican *Colone* pære ceastre bii Rine" (*ibid.*, p. 414), "in the church of the city of *Cologne* on the Rhine"; "*Osweo* se cyning" (*ibid.*, p. 234), "king *Oswio*"; "*Theodor* biscop" (*ibid.*, p. 274), "bishop *Theodore*"; "in *Augustus* monpe" (*ibid.*, p. 298), "in the month of *August*," etc. The appositive was sometimes the emphatic element and then according to older usage stood before the word it explained: "Wæs heo eac swylce æpele in woruldgebyrdum, pæt heo wæs pæs *cyninges* Eadwines neafan dohter" (*ibid.*, p. 332), "She was also nobly born in earthly origin as she was a daughter of a nephew of the *king*, Eadwine." The old order with the appositive after the governing noun is preserved in both English and German in a large number of set expressions, especially geographical terms: "die *Hudsonbai*," "Hudson Bay"; "der St. Gothardtunnel," "St. Gothard Tunnel," etc. Usage often differs in the two languages so that the German has the old form and the English the new: "der *Michigansee*," "Lake Michigan," etc. Many of these expressions that have the old form are modern formations, but they are fashioned after the analogy of older geographical terms.

Markedly different from this attributive appositive category is the common construction where the noun stands seemingly like an

appositive after its governing word, but is in fact a predicate affirming something of the preceding noun and as a predicate has sentence stress: "William the *Cónqueror*" (i.e., was a conqueror); "Frederick the *Gréat*" (not a mere title, but the general opinion of posterity); but "King *Frédéric*" ("King" is here a descriptive title, not a predication); "Frederick the *Sécond*" (not a mere title, but a precise statement of fact), but "Prince *Hénry*"; "Lykurg, der *Gesetzgeber Spártas*" (a predication), etc. With regard to word-order and stress this predicate construction has remained unchanged from the earliest times.

Although the old *appositive* form with the appositive after the governing noun was common in Old English, the situation had materially changed by the end of the period. The change here was closely connected with the general movements which affected the word-order of the attributive elements. In oldest English a descriptive adjective often stood after the governing noun. The governing noun was the theme word, the subject under consideration, and hence stood in the important first place. The adjective followed to present it in a fuller light. Already early in the Old English period the adjective showed a marked tendency to move to the position before the noun. Originally only the emphatic adjective stood before the noun. Old alliterative poetry usually shows clearly that the adjective before the noun was stressed, while the descriptive adjective after the noun was without sentence stress. When the descriptive adjective moved to the position before the noun it took its weak sentence stress with it, so that the two old sets of adjectives were still clearly discernible, the weak descriptive adjective with weak stress, and the emphatic adjective with strong stress: "my sick little *brother*," but "my *little* brother, not my *big* one." The appositive, which also has the nature of a descriptive attributive element, naturally followed descriptive adjectives in their movement to the position before the noun and brought their weak sentence stress with them: "on pæs cyninges dagum *herodes*" (Corpus, Matt. 2:1), "In the days of *Herod* the king" (King James Version), "in diebus *herodis regis*." At a glance it can be seen that the author of the Corpus Version did not follow the Latin. His English order is more modern than that of the King James Version. The appositive stands before the noun it explains and is doubtless unstressed as it is



today. Of course, the appositive could also in older English precede when it was emphatic, but in the case before us it is evidently unstressed. It corresponds to our modern "King *Hérod*," "King *Édward*," etc. The historic stress of both words has been preserved, but their position in the word-order has changed. Mr. Sweet in his *New English Grammar*, II, 11, says that words like "King Alfred" could not have weak stress upon "King" in Old English. The writer believes this opinion rests upon hasty generalization. In the ninth century, as can be seen in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, the appositive is usually stressed when it precedes. Usually, however, it follows the noun and has a weak sentence stress. Examples of this usage with the appositive after the noun occur in great numbers, sometimes five or six on one page. When we turn to the close of the tenth century the whole situation has changed. Now the weakly stressed appositive precedes the stressed governing noun: "to pære byrig *Hierúsalem*" (Sweet, *Selected Homilies*, p. 34), "to the city of Jerúsalem"; "se cyning *Aéþelbriht*," "King *Éthelbert*" (*ibid.*, p. 62); "pam cyninge *Æpelbrihte*" (*ibid.*, p. 62); "to pam érebiscope *Étherium*" (*ibid.*, p. 63), "to archbishop *Étherium*"; "to pam cyninge *Claúdio*" ("The Harrowing of Hell," Bright, *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, p. 140); "his cynehlaford *Claúidium*" (*ibid.*, p. 149), "his royal lord *Claúidium*." The old usage is also found, but not as frequently as the new. Of course, the new form did not come all at once. There were already many cases of it in the ninth century. In one particular category it had at that time become the fixed rule, namely, wherever the appositive was modified by one or more adjectives: "se arwyrða bisceop *Wilfred*" (Bede, *E.H.*, p. 304), "the venerable bishop Wilfrid." There are so many such examples in this book that they attract attention, for elsewhere the old form is in general quite consistently used. The reason is evident. The adjectives indicate description, and the appositive with its descriptive force increased by its accompanying descriptive adjectives followed the example of descriptive adjectives which stood in the position before the noun. Similarly the genitive of characteristic modified by a descriptive adjective often stood before its governing noun: "pære eadigan gemynde Cuðberht" (*ibid.*, p. 358), "Cuthbert of blessed memory."

When did the new form first appear? In Gothic, the oldest Germanic language, we find: "us baurg *Nazaraib*" (Luke 2:4), "out of the city of Nazareth"; "us *Bethlaihaim* weihsa" (John 7:42), "out of the town of Bethlehem"; "from *kaisara Agustau*" (Luke 2:1); "uf *Haileisaiu* praufetau" (Luke 4:27), "in the time of the prophet Eliseus"; "maiza attin unsamma *Abrahama*." (John 8:53), "greater than our father *Abraham*"; "wipra *Abraham* attan unsarana" (Luke 1:73). The examples have been given in pairs, the first example in the new form, the second in the old. Both forms were already known. As the author followed the Greek model we cannot judge accurately as to which form is more common. Both forms were good Gothic usage and the author simply followed the original which also had the two forms without differentiation. We see the same condition of things in Old English at the close of the tenth century. Nowhere is the old form so consistently employed as in early Old English. In early Old High German we already find the new form: "dhiu burc hierusalem" (Isodor, 27:8). Early Old English explains the fluctuations of usage in the other Germanic languages. The Old English word-order had in adnominal function retained more of the original character of primitive Germanic than that found in the other languages, and hence there was no pronounced tendency there to move the appositive to the position before the governing noun. Later this movement became prominent as in the other Germanic languages, for the word-order began to undergo a radical change. The appositive gradually came to stand before the noun as in the other languages. Thus we clearly see that the position of the appositive in the place after the noun was the original one, and this throws considerable light upon the original word-order of adnominal elements in the Germanic languages.

We now turn to constructions where the appositive is in the genitive. The original conception was the possessive idea: "mid swurde pæs heofonlican gramæn of slegen" (*Ælfric, Selected Homilies*, p. 59), "slain by the sword of the divine wrath." Here wrath is pictured as having a sword, but at the same time we can think of wrath as a sword. The word-order here indicates that the possessive idea is not prominent and that the derived figurative appositive sense is intended, i.e., the picture of God's wrath as a sword. Where

the original possessive force is strong the genitive precedes: "Cant-waraburg," "the Kentish people's city," i.e., "Canterbury"; "Rome-burh," "Rome's city"; "Romanaburh," "the city of the Romans"; "Suðseaxna mægð," "the Province of the South Saxons"; "uppan olivetes dune" (Corpus, Matt. 26:30), "upon the Mount of Olives"; "on Iunies monðe" (*Saxon Chronicle* for the year 1110), "in the month of June." The position of the genitive before the noun in these geographical names is very persistent in Old English. The writer can find the genitive *after* the noun only in the Lindisfarne MS; "on duni olebearuas" (Matt. 26:30), "upon the Mount of Olives." As this is a mere gloss where each English word is written over the corresponding Latin word, we cannot ascertain from it the actual order of the words in usual speech. This order is, however, found in other Germanic languages: "in swumfsl Siloamis" (Wulfila, John 9:7), "in the pool of Siloam"; "at ibdaljin pis fairgunjis alewabagme" (*ibid.*, Luke 19:37), "at the descent of the Mount of Olives"; "in berge oliboumo" (Tatian, 145. 1), "on the Mount of Olives"; "brunno Iacobes" (*ibid.*, 8. 7), "Jacob's Well," etc. In spite of the confirmatory testimony of these languages it does not seem probable to the writer that the Old English genitive ever stood after the governing noun in these geographical expressions. It is true that there was a general tendency for the genitive to shift to the place after the noun, but there was a factor that hindered this development in case of geographical terms. The expressions very early lost their syntactical independence as they had become mere names. They had become completely crystallized. In the same manner we are today prevented from changing "Blairstown" (village in Iowa) into "Town of Blair." There are two different types here: "Rome [gen.] burh" and "Marmadonia ceaster" (pure apposition). In both cases the word for city follows. There was elsewhere a tendency for the genitive to move to the position after the noun and in the pure appositional type for the appositive to move to the position before the noun. In this group, however, the first of these moves never took place. There are a number of examples of the second move: "to pære byrig Hierusalem" (*Ælfric, S.H.*, p. 34). This type became fixed in German, but did not develop strength in English and soon disappeared, because, in general, the words *burh* or *byrig*, *ham*, *scire*, *wic*, *ceaster*,



etc., had become fixed *after* the noun and could not be moved. The expression "pa ceaster Gloweceaster" is unknown to the writer. Such a repetition was an impossibility until after the elements had been thoroughly fused and the meaning of *ceaster* had been lost. Then it became possible to say "the city of Gloucester" (pro. gloster). Of course, for the same reason *burh*, *ham*, *scire*, *wic*, etc., could not be prefixed. We cannot even today say the "shire of Lancashire," for the final element of "Lancashire" is too plainly felt. Hence the usage of placing the words *burh*, etc., before the noun developed very slowly in English. The first instance found by the writer is very interesting: "forbearn eall meast se burh of Lincolne" (*Saxon Chronicle* for year 1123), "the city of Lincoln was almost entirely consumed by fire." Here *burh* is not placed before *Lincolne* to indicate the same meaning that Ælfric had in mind when he wrote: "we sceolon faran to þære byrig Hierusalem" in the passage quoted above. Ælfric merely desired to say that the place where they should go was a city. In the passage from the *Saxon Chronicle* the word *burh* is not an attributive descriptive adjective element as in Ælfric's sentence, but a noun with concrete meaning. The *houses* and *people* of Lincoln were badly injured by the fire. Thus we find here what we have so often seen above, that the vivid force of "of" indicating an integral part or inherence led to the use of the analytic form. It is interesting to compare this example with a similar one in Ælfric's *Homilies*: "gewat to pam setle heofenan rices" (p. 64), "he went to the eternal abode of the heavenly kingdom." Ælfric represents by placing the synthetic form after the governing noun that the idea of possession has yielded to the conception of an integral part or inherence. One of the things that was inseparably connected with the heavenly kingdom was an eternal abode or resting-place. The same idea is found in the following example: "to epele þæs upplican lifes orpian" (*ibid.*, p. 56), "to pant for his native land in the celestial life." A century after Ælfric's day his synthetic genitives were by a mere formal force, the loss of inflection, replaced by the analytic form. The use of "of," however, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries where inflection or non-inflection is sometimes optional, even in connection with inflection, shows clearly that there was a tendency to use the "of" for its own sake, as it was felt as a clearer expression

of the idea of an integral part: "ðat land of *thare* heuenliche Ierusalem" (*Vices and Virtues*, p. 111), "the land of the heavenly Jerusalem." The author of this book urges his readers to flee this world and seek the land that belongs to the heavenly Jerusalem. Here the inflection of the definite article *thare* indicates that the impelling force here is not the lack of inflection but the natural inclination to use the expressive "of." Another entry in the *Saxon Chronicle* bearing the same date as the passage quoted above also illustrates the growth of the new tendency to use the analytic form: "pone biscoprice of Lincolne," "the bishopric of Lincoln." Here the diocese is represented as belonging to Lincoln, not in the old sense of possession, but in the new sense of close relation. Compare with the ninth-century genitive form "*Westseaxna* biscophad" (Bede, *E.H.*, p. 18), "the bishopric of the West Saxons." The new idea is also seen in: "Toforen ðare burh of Ierusalem is an muchel dune" (*Vices and Virtues*, p. 103), "Before the city of Jerusalem is a great hill," i.e., before the place that belonged to the city, i.e., was occupied by the city, was a hill. We have again the same idea in "upe ðare heiȝe dune of hersumnesse" (*ibid.*, p. 111), "upon the high hill of Obedience," i.e., on the high steep hill that we usually find in close association with a difficult duty as when Abraham went up the hill upon which he was to sacrifice his son. In all these examples we have illustrations of the analytic appositive genitive. It was only natural that this new form was extended to the appositive group of geographical terms discussed above, for the new form was used so much that it had lost in many cases its full original force and was now suitable for use as a general expression for apposition. Already in 1200 A.D. we find it here: "uppe þe munte of Synay" (*Vices and Virtues*, p. 137), "upon Mount Sinai." As can be seen by the modern rendering, this new form was not in this one instance indorsed by later usage, but we have it in many other terms: "Gulf of Suez," etc. A little before 1200 in *Old English Homilies*, Series 2, we find both the old and new forms: "ieursalemes bureh" (p. 147), "þe burehg bethelem" (p. 35), "þe bureh of ierusalem" (p. 89), "munt olivette" (p. 89).

The analytic form developed much later in the appositive category than in any other. In the group of geographical terms this

was caused by the peculiar formal difficulties described above. In other groups the placing of the synthetic genitive after the noun sufficiently differentiated the appositive from the possessive idea to satisfy the first demands for a clearer expression. The loss of inflection and wide use of "of" elsewhere later suggested its usefulness here. It was quite natural that it came into use late, for its original force was not as vividly felt in this category as in most of the others. The development of the analytic form began, aside from one little group mentioned below, about 1123 A.D. as near as the writer can get at it. It thus fell in the earliest period of French influence, but it was not probably affected by it. The vocabulary of English at this time was still very little influenced by the French. Even later in *Vices and Virtues*, written about 1200, the writer has discovered only sixteen words of French origin: *Seruisse* (p. 3), *religiun* (p. 5), *obedience* (p. 7), *besantes* (p. 17), *sermuns* (p. 35), *pais* (p. 59), *grace* (p. 67), *richeise* (p. 69), *charite* (p. 99), *iustise* (p. 105), *saltere* (p. 113), *patriarches* and *profietes* (p. 115), *Angles* (p. 121), *discipline* (p. 127), *spus* (131). In a number of cases English words are in other parts of the book used instead of the French words and in several instances are more common. The French words in this book are few and far between and were hard to find, as the writer had no printed vocabulary to work from. The words with three exceptions belong to the language of the church, which was under French influence. When we consider that the author of this book was himself a clergyman and under French influence we are surprised to see how few foreign elements there were in his English. Although he uses the word *iustise*, he employs English words for "judgment," "judge," "sentence." French legal terms had not as yet begun to appear in simple spoken English. These sixteen foreign words are the forerunners of the mighty throng that began to crowd into English fifty years later. There was as yet even in the speech of this clergyman no trace of the commonest French words which soon became indispensable in the language of the church: "Savior," "Creator," "Trinity," "spirit," "virgin," "prayer," "preach," "sacrifice," "salvation," "repentance," "reveal," "mercy," "pity," "pardon," "tempt," "the commandments," "conscience," "confession," "heretic," "chastity," "virtue," "vice," etc. For all



these expressions and many more this English man of God used simple English words. Hence the present title which the book bears, *Vices and Virtues*, looks very odd. In the simple language of the author it would read: "Unðeawes and Mihtes." The writer is not an etymologist and he may have overlooked a French word or two, but it seems quite sure that the language of this English writer is almost pure English, i.e., the vocabulary which from different sources had become established in the Old English period. The natural inference is that the syntax is also pure English, for it seems improbable that French could influence English syntax before it influenced the vocabulary. This would be a very unusual procedure. The writer has often heard Germans say who have lived long in Chicago: "Ich habe eine Kar geketscht." Aside from mere grammatical forms there are two words in this sentence. Both are from American speech: *Kar* = "car," *geketscht* from American "ketch" (= "catch"). Every word in this sentence is American, but the syntax is good German. It seems quite improbable that French could have influenced English syntax between 1066 and 1200 A.D. before it began to materially influence its vocabulary. Even in the later period, in the years 1250-1400, when French changed the entire character of our vocabulary, the syntax remained in all essential features true to its Germanic character. The simple language of *Vices and Virtues* seems to the writer closely linked with older English. As the analytic genitive in this book is in common use in every category it seems quite sure that the entire development is of English origin.

Let us now return to the appositive genitive. While in English the analytic form became general with names of cities, the pure appositional construction triumphed in German: "the city of Berlin," but "die Stadt Berlin," etc. Elsewhere there is not only often a difference of usage in the two languages, but usage in the same language varies widely. We find the old and the new side by side, the genitive appositive in one case and pure apposition in another case in the same category: "The month of May," but "der Monat Mai"; "the cry of fire," but "der Ruf Feuer"; "the title of king," but "der Titel König"; "the house of York," but "das Haus York"; "the island of Great Britain," but in poetry with the old form "the government of Britain's Isle" (Shakspeare); "Mount of

Olives," but "Mount Hood," etc.; "The Ohio river," but "the state of Ohio"; "the kingdom of Prussia," but "das Königreich Preussen"; "Glen Miller" (a park in Richmond, Ind.), but "Lincoln Park" (in Chicago); "Moore's Hill" (Indiana town), but "Bunker Hill"; "Bull Run," but "Paddy's Run" (a little Indiana run), etc. In the little city where the writer was born there was a "Starr's Hill" where the boys in winter spent some of the happiest hours of their lives, and a "Starr Hame Works" where hames were manufactured. The hill continued to bear this name long after it passed out of Mr. Starr's hands. Later it was razed to fill up other parts of the city, but in the memory of many gray-haired men it is still a reality. Thus usage is not only very capricious, but also intimately connected with local history, so that even a skilled linguist must learn his language over again when he moves to another section of the country.

In none of the appositive groups mentioned above did the analytic genitive develop in the Old English period as far as we can see. In one group, however, we find the analytic form already in Old English: "bisin of teum hehstaldum," "the parable of the ten Virgins." This expression occurs in the Lindisfarne MS on p. 22 of the introduction to Matthew. It occurs many times, as the parables of Jesus are here summarized. The older analytic genitive also occurs. The English glossarist simply followed the Latin original. Both forms were familiar to him, for he never gives the synthetic form alongside the analytic to indicate that the analytic form is not idiomatic English. The use of the analytic form here shows that the old synthetic form did not distinctly bring out the idea that seemed to lie in the genitive here. The genitive indicates *reference* more than it suggests *possession*, hence the "of," the parable *of* or *about* the ten virgins. This was a new development and the idea was so strongly felt that it received a formal expression in the language. In German we also find "das Gleichnis vom Säemanne." Later other examples followed: "the fable of the crow" and "die Fabel von der Krähe," "the epic of Don Juan," etc. The growth of this group has been hindered by a fatal ambiguity in both German and English. In "the novel of *Ivanhoe*" the idea may be clear, but in many cases the name following the governing word might be felt as the name of

the author instead of the title. Thus we prefer to say: "the novel *Henry Esmond*," "der Roman *Wilhelm Meister*," etc.

We now come to the only place where we have discovered French influence. It is the analytic appositive genitive so common in both English and German in lively utterances of approval or disapproval, or in emphatic language: "a devil of a fellow," "a peach of a boy," "a jewel of a knife"; "ein alter Schelm von Lohnbedienter" (Heine). "So etwas Verschiedenes von Brüdern habe ich nun eigentlich nie wieder gesehen" (Wildenbruch). These expressions correspond to the well-known French formations "un diable d'homme," "un fripon d'enfant," etc. This analytic genitive is the modern form of the old Latin synthetic appositive genitive as found in colloquial speech; "flagitium hominis," "monstrum mulieris," "scelus viri," etc. The construction has become quite productive in both German and English, producing a large number of expressions, but all with a general similarity of meaning. It is difficult to fit this group into a native English or German genitive category. All we can do is to mention and describe it under the appositive genitive. In reality, however, it does not have anything in common with this English or German category. Although it is difficult for the grammarian to classify this construction, it has become a live part of English and German colloquial speech. It in reality does not belong to our *grammar* but rather to our *vocabulary*. We have embodied these expressions into our speech as we have taken many other French phrases.

Before we bring our study to a close we desire to mention an important development which began in the Old English period. The synthetic genitive which limited adjectives had become so loaded with meanings that very often the meaning was quite doubtful. This rich unfolding of genitive meanings is the result of a long development. One shade of meaning developed from another until there was an embarrassment of riches. Alongside this development there was another, the development of the use of prepositions in connection with nouns to indicate more accurately adverbial relations. This movement began in connection with verbs but the spread of the same usage to adjectives was natural and inevitable. The first case known to the writer is found in the Lindisfarne MS: "bolla full of æceed"



(John 19:29), "a sponge full of vinegar," "spongiam plenam aceto." There are other examples, but in this study of the adnominal genitive the development of the adverbial form cannot be discussed at length. The subject has been mentioned here only to show that the real source of all forms with "of" was not in the lack of declensional forms, but it was often in the demand for clearer and more graphic expression. The German language has in large measure preserved its inflectional systems, but it has developed here a long list of prepositional constructions with a fine shading of meaning to take the place of the old colorless adverbial genitive. This relieved the synthetic genitive of a great part of its load and made this old form more useful in adnominal relations.

In the light of the above facts the writer has recently read with a feeling of pain the following words in a book that represents one of the greatest achievements of English scholarship: "Whether 'of' might have come independently in English to be a substitute for the genitive is doubtful. In the expression of social or national origin we find 'of' and the genitive appositive interchangeable already in the ninth century . . . and this might have extended in time to other uses; but the great intrusion of 'of' upon the old domain of the genitive which speedily extended to the supersession of the Old English genitive after adjectives, verbs, and even substantives was mainly due to the influence of French *de*" (*New English Dictionary*, under "of"). This statement full of false conceptions and based upon general impressions and not upon facts will long be the source of erroneous conceptions that will be scattered all over the world. It is discouraging when we think that in the very nature of things, by reason of our short vision and imperfect knowledge, the most ardent lovers of truth must needs often join hands with the powers of darkness to scatter error. The supreme triumph of absolute truth seems far away.

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## GERMANIC ETYMOLOGIES

1. OE. *æppel* 'apple, fruit; ball; eye-ball,' ON. *epli*, OHG. *aphul*, *afful* 'Apfel, Augapfel,' MDu. *appel*, *apel* 'apple, apple of the eye, pommel,' etc., together with the related words outside of Germ. (for which cf. Berneker, *Et. Wb.* 22 f.) probably go back to the primary meaning 'ball, knob, bunch.' Compare Lat. *ebulus*, *ebulum* 'dwarf-elder,' 'Holunder.' For meaning cf. Nos. 20, 25, 37, 38.

2. MLG. *apel-dern* 'Ahorn' is identical with OE. *apul-der*, *-dre* 'apple-tree,' ON. *apaldr*, OHG. *affoltra*, *apholtra*, MHG. *affalter*, *apfalter* 'Apfelbaum.' This means, however, not a shift of the name from one tree to another, but the application of a descriptive term to two different trees.

3. MLG. *mapel-dorn* 'Ahorn,' OE. *mapul-dor*, *-trēo* 'maple-tree,' NE. *maple*, ON. *mōpurrr* 'Ahorn' are blends of an original Germ. \**ap(a)la-* with other words for maple: MLG. *maser* 'Knorren am Holz, Maser; Ahorn,' ON. *mōsurr* 'Ahorn,' etc. Cf. No. 4.

4. ON. *mōsurr* 'maple,' 'Ahorn,' OHG. *masar* Maser, knorriger Auswuchs am Ahorn und anderen Bäumen,' *maserōn* 'knorrig werden,' *masala* 'Blutgeschwulst,' *māsa* 'Wundmal, Narbe; entstellender Flecken' (Schade, Kluge) contain a Germ. root *mēs-*, *mas-* 'lump, knot' which is also in ON. *mōskue* 'Masche,' OE. *max* (\**masc*) 'net,' *mæscra* 'mesh,' OHG., OLG. *māscā* 'Masche,' base \**mēz-gʷ-* 'knot, knit,' Lith. *māzgas* 'Knoten,' *mezgù* 'knüpfe Knoten, stricke Netze,' Lett. *mazgs* 'Knoten; Adamsapfel' (author, *Hesperia*, *Ergänzungsreihe* 1, 8). Compare the following.

5. \**Mē(m)s-* 'soft mass, flesh': Goth. *mimz* 'Fleisch,' OBulg. *męso*, Skt. *mās*, Lith. *mėsà* 'Fleisch,' Lat. *membrum* 'limb, member,' Gr. *μηρός* (\**mēsro-*) 'the upper, fleshy part of the thigh, ham,' etc. For other words see Walde<sup>2</sup>, 474.

In form and meaning OHG. *masar* 'knorriger Auswuchs' is closely related to Gr. *μηρός*. Compare also OHG. *māsa* 'Wundmal, Narbe' with OBulg. *męzdra* 'feine Haut auf frischer Wunde, das fleischige an etwas.'



6. With these compare *\*maz-g-*, *\*maz-gh-* 'lump, soft mass' in Skt. *majjā* 'Mark des Knochens, Pflanzenstengels,' Av. *mazga-*, Bal. *mažg* 'Gehirn,' ChSl. *mozgŭ* 'Gehirn,' OE. *mearg* 'marrow; pith,' ON. *mergr*, OHG. *marg* 'Mark,' and *\*moz-gh-* in Gr. *μόςχος* 'any young shoot, sprout, sucker; the young of an animal; boy' (cf. Uhlenbeck,  *Ai. Wb.* 210; Boisacq,  *Dict. Ét.* 646).

7. *\*Maz-d-*, *\*mez-d-*, *\*mas-t*, *maz-dh-* 'lump, bunch, mass': OE. *mæst* 'mast (of beech),' NE. *mast* 'the fruit of the oak, beech or other forest-trees,' OHG. *mast* 'Futter, Mast, Mästung, Eichelmast,' MDan. *maste* 'suck; suckle,' Gr. *μαζός*, *μασδός* 'breast, pap,' *μασθός* 'breast,' *μασρός* 'breast, esp. of the swelling breasts of a woman; udder; a round hill, knoll; goblet,' Skt. *médah* 'Fett,' *mēdurā-h* 'fett, dick, dicht.' Some or all of these may be derivatives of the following base (cf. Boisacq,  *Dict. Ét.* 598 f. with references).

8. *\*Mad-*, *mēd-* 'lump, bunch, mass, soft mass': Gr. *μέσσεα*, *μήδεα* 'the genitals,' *μαζός* 'breast, pap,' *μεστός* 'full, filled,' Skt. *matta-h* 'trunken,' *māda-h* 'Trunkenheit, Stolz, Freude,' Goth *mats*, ON. *matr* 'Speise,' *mettr* 'satt,' OE. *mete* 'food,' NE. *meat* 'food; solid food; flesh of animals used as food; edible part of anything, as of an egg, a nut, a shell-fish,' OHG. *mazal-*, *-ol* (lump, knot), *mazol-tra* 'eine Ahornart, Massholder' (cf. Schade,  *Ad. Wb.* 597), Lat. *medulla* (soft substance) 'marrow, pith, kernel,' *massa* (*\*mad-tā*) 'mass, lump, soft mass.'

9. *\*Maregh-* 'lump, bunch; lumpy, soft mass,' OE. *brægen*, NE. *brain* 'Gehirn,' Gr. *βρέχμα*, *βρέγμα*, *βρεχμός*, *βρεγμός* 'the upper part of the head' (cf. Prellwitz,  *Et. Wb.*<sup>2</sup> 84 with references): Lat. *marga* 'marl,' 'Mergel.'

10. Goth. *mēgs* 'Schwiegersohn,' ON. *mágr* 'Verwandter durch Heirat,' OE. *mæg* 'kinsman,' OHG. *māg* 'Verwandter, cognatus, affinis,' etc., are usually compared with Goth. *magus* 'Knabe, Knecht,' etc. This is a connection that in meaning and form is objectionable. Germ. *mēga-* may be from pre-Germ. *\*mēko-* 'a joining together, match' with which compare OHG. *gimahalo* 'Gatte, Bräutigam,' fem. *gimahala*, *mahalen* 'verloben, desponsare' (Goth. *\*mahljān*, a different word from *mahalen* 'sprechen,' Goth. *maþljān*), NHG. *Gemahl(in)*, *vermählen*.

11. Compare the synonymous Germ. *mak-*: ON. *make* 'match,

mate, pair,' *maka sik* 'pair, mate, esp. of fowls,' *makr* 'quiet, peaceful; fitting, convenient,' Swed. *mak* 'gemach,' *maka* 'zusammengehörend,' sb. 'Gattin,' *make* 'Gatte,' OE. *gemæcc* 'well matched, suitable; equal, being a match for,' *gemæcca*, *-maca* 'one of a pair, esp. a male and a female animal; mate; husband, wife,' *macian* 'arrange, manage, cause; do, make; intr. act, behave, fare,' OFris. *mek* 'Verheiratung,' OS. *gimako* 'Seinesgleichen,' MLG. *mak* 'ruhig, sanft, zahm,' *gemak* 'bequem,' *mak* 'Ruhe, Bequemlichkeit, Gemächlichkeit; Gemach,' OHG. *gimah* 'womit verbunden, zugehörig, entsprechend, passend, bequem,' sb. 'das Zugehörige, Verbindung, Bequemlichkeit, Annehmlichkeit,' *gimahha* 'conjux,' *kamahho* 'socius,' *gimahhōn* 'verbinden, passend machen,' *mahhōn* 'zu Stande bringen, hervorbringen, anstellen, bewirken, componere, concinnare, jungere, conficere, parare; treiben, betreiben, machen, facere, moliri, machinari; refl. sich bereit machen, sich rüsten; sich<sup>1</sup> wohin machen, eine Richtung wohin einschlagen,' MDu. *macker*, Du., EFris. *makker* 'Genosse, Kamerad.'

These words are wrongly compared by Meringer, *IF*. XVII, 146 ff., with Gr. *μαγέυς* 'der Knetende,' OBulg. *mazati* 'schmieren,' etc., with which compare ON., Nlcel. *maka* 'smear, grease' (*IE*. *a<sup>z</sup>:a<sup>z</sup>i:a<sup>z</sup>u* 34).

In *make* and its cognates there is no trace of 'smearing, daubing' or 'kneading, baking,' but of 'arranging, contriving, making fit, preparing, etc.' The pre-Germ. root was probably *\*mēg-* from the IE. root *\*mē* in Skt. *mā-* (*māti*, *mīmāti*, *mīmūtē*) 'messen, abmessen, durchmessen, ermesen, vergleichen mit; intr. dem Mass entsprechen, Raum finden in (:OHG. *gimah* 'zugehörig, entsprechend, passend, bequem'); zuteilen, bereiten, bilden, verfertigen,' *mita-h* 'gleichkommend, betragend,' with *upa-* 'verglichen, gleich,' with *mis-* 'gemacht, geschaffen, gebildet von, bewirkt, festgesetzt, bestimmt,' *māpayati* 'lässt messen, bauen, herrichten; misst, baut,' *māti-h* 'Mass,' Gr. *μητρῖς* 'wisdom, skill; plan, undertaking,' *μητριάω* 'plan, intend; devise, bring about,' OE. *māþ* 'measure, degree, proportion; efficacy, (human) power, capacity; what is fitting, right; respect,' *gemāte* 'of suitable dimensions, fitting well,' *gemet* 'fit, proper, right,' OHG. *mezzan* 'messen; messend gestalten, bilden, dichten,' Gr. *μηδομαι* 'intend, devise, plan, bring about, make,' etc. (cf. No. 15).

The root *\*mēg-* therefore meant 'measure off, give the (proper)

measure to, make even, like, suitable, convenient; measure off, lay out, plan, contrive, make.'

Compare Lith. *mēgti* (angemessen, passend sein, commodare) 'wohlgefallen,' *mēgstus* (commodus) 'ergötzlich, gefällig,' *mēgus* 'vergnügungssüchtig': ON. *makr* 'passend, bequem,' 'commodus,' MHG. *gemach* 'passend, bequem, angenehm, ruhig,' etc. Here also probably Lett. *mēgt* 'probiren,' Lith. *mēginti* 'prüfen, versuchen' (:OHG. *mezzan* 'messen, abmessen: vergleichend betrachten, erwägen, überlegen, prüfen,' MDu. *meten* 'messen: untersuchen').

12. ON., Nícel. *mók* 'doze, slumber; drowziness,' *móka* 'doze, be drowzy' belong here also. Compare especially ON. *makr* 'quiet, peaceful,' *makindi* 'rest, ease, comfort,' MLG. *mak* 'ruhig, sanft, zahm,' sb. 'Ruhe, Bequemlichkeit, Gemach.'

13. NHG. *mäkeln*, *makeln* 'den Unterhändler machen, Maklergeschäfte treiben' is properly referred to LG. *make* 'make.' But the word is a derivative of *make* in the older sense 'join, bring together, arrange': OHG. *machōn* 'componere, jungere, facere,' OS. *macon* 'fügen, bereiten,' MLG. *makeligge*, *-inge* 'Vermittlerin, Kupplerin,' *makeler*, *mekeler* 'Mäkler,' MHG. *mechele* 'Kupplerin,' *mecheler* 'Unterkäufer, Mäkler,' MDu. *makelaar* 'Vermittler; Kuppler,' fem. *makelerse*, *-ligge*, *-laerster*.

It is a noteworthy fact that though the nouns occur in MDu., MLG., and MHG., there are no corresponding verbs. This is because the nouns were derived from *makon*, *machōn* with the suffixes abstracted from *Vermittler*, *Kuppler*: MDu. *middelaer* 'Vermittler, Mäkler,' fem. *middelerse*, *-lige*, *-laerster*, *coppelaer* 'Kuppler,' fem. *-lerse*, *-laerster*, MLG. *middeler* 'Vermittler, Unterhändler,' MHG. *mütteler*, *kuppelære*, *-ler*. From the noun was abstracted the verb *mäkeln*, *makeln*.

14. NHG. *mäkeln* 'kleinlich tadeln, bekritteln' is supposed to be identical with the above *mäkeln*. This is improbable. Compare rather Norw. *makla*, *mikla*, *mjakla* 'hakke, pirke,' 'hack, pick at,' *mekla* 'spise langsomt og smaat, med svag appetit,' 'pick at, eat daintily and with little appetite.' *Mäkeln* is therefore a LG. word: E Fris. *mäkeln*, *makeln* 'tadeln,' Pruss. *mäkeln* 'Kleinigkeiten tadeln, Fehler aufsuchen, namentlich an den Speisen einen Makel finden,' *mäklig* 'wählerisch.' The word spread into the HG.: Als. *makelen*



'ohne besondere Lust essen,' Swiss *maggelen* 'langsam, bedächtig mit wenig Appetit essen; wählerisch sein im Essen.'

These may be related to Lith. *māzas* 'klein,' *māžinti* 'klein machen, verringern.' In meaning this also can be compared with \**mē-* 'measure': Skt. *mita-h* 'abgemessen, kärglich, klein,' OE. *metan* 'measure, mark off, fix bounds,' *māte* 'insignificant; small, few; bad,' MHG. *māzen* 'abmessen, Mass und Ziel stecken, mässigen, beschränken, verringern.'

15. ME., NE. *mate* 'associate, companion; equal, match; one of a pair; a ship's officer whose duty it is to oversee the execution of the orders of the master or commander,' MDu. *maet* 'mate,' Du. *maat* 'Genosse, Kamerad,' MLG. *māt*, *mate* 'Genosse, Kamerad, Gehülfe, bes. in der Schifffersprache,' EFr. *māt* 'Genosse, Gehülfe, Spielgenosse, Freund, Bursche,' OHG. *gimazzo*, MHG. *gimazze* 'Tischgenosse' contain a Germ. \*(*ga*)*matan-* 'mate, equal,' which is not a derivative of \**mati-* 'food, meat,' but of the root *mēd-*, *mōd-* 'measure: measure with, compare, make like.'

Compare OE. *gemet* 'fit, proper, right,' *gemæte* 'of suitable dimensions, fitting well,' NE. *meet* 'fit, right, suitable, proper, convenient, adapted, appropriate,' earlier also 'proper, own; equal; even (with),' sb. 'equal, companion,' Nicel. *mātar* 'friends,' OHG. *gimāzi* 'angemessen, gemäss, aequalis,' MHG. *māzen* 'abmessen; gleichstellen, vergleichen mit,' MDu. *mate* 'gematigd, zachtzinnig, vriendelijk, minzaam,' *maten* 'meten; matigen; zich matigen; passen, lijken'; OSwed. *mōt* 'Mass,' MLG. *mōtich* 'geneigt, willig'; Lat. *commodus* 'suitable, fit, proper, appropriate, convenient, friendly, gentle': Skt. *mā-* 'messen, abmessen, vergleichen mit,' *upa-mita-h* 'verglichen, gleich.'

16. Goth. *gamōt* 'findet Raum, χωρεῖ,' OE. *mōt* 'have opportunity, am allowed,' OHG. *muozzan* 'Raum haben; die Gelegenheit, Freiheit, Veranlassung wozu haben; dürfen, mögen, können, müssen,' etc., have long been referred to *messen* and *Musse* (cf. Schade, *Wb.* 630).

This connection was not generally accepted until Meringer's explanation appeared in *IF.* XVIII, 211 ff. But if the old explanation was faulty, Meringer's is worse. For if 'ich darf' could not have sprung from 'ich habe für mich ausgemessen,' much less could it come

from 'habe meine Abgabe entrichtet.' It is easy to see how 'ought' comes from 'owed,' but how could it grow out of 'I have paid my debts'?

If *gamōt* is an original perfect, as Brugmann, *IF.* XXXII, 189, insists, and not an original present, of the root *med-*, as it seems more probable to me, then it must have meant originally 'I have apportioned, allotted,' and then 'I have an apportionment, allotment: space, time, opportunity, permission, power, necessity.' In German: 'ich habe (mir) zugemessen, zugeteilt' > 'ich habe (etwas mir) Zugemessenes, Zugeteiltes: Raum, Zeit, Gelegenheit, Erlaubnis, Kraft, Zwang.'

The change from the active to the passive force is common enough, and the development in meaning is just what we have in the related nouns: OSwed. *mōt* 'Mass,' OHG. *muoza* 'angemessene Gelegenheit wozu, licentia, facultas, Freiheit wozu, Gestattung, Möglichkeit, otium, freie Zeit, Musse,' MHG. also 'Bequemlichkeit,' *muozen* 'freie Zeit haben, zur Ruhe kommen,' MDu. *moete* 'vrije of ledige tijd; tijd, geschikte gelegenheid, leizure, opportunity,' Goth. *mōta* (das Zugeteilte, the part to be paid) 'Zoll,' OE. *mōt* 'toll, tax,' MHG. *muoze* 'Mahllohn,' ON. *mót* (modus) 'Art, Beschaffenheit, Merkmal' (cf. Noreen, *Abriß* 43): OHG. *māza* 'Mass, zugemessene Menge, abgegrenzte Ausdehnung in Raum, Zeit, Gewicht, Kraft; Art und Weise; gemessene richtige gehörige Grösse, rechtes gebührendes Mass; Angemessenheit; Mässigung,' OHG. *mezzan* 'messen, abmessen, ausmessen; zumessen, zuteilen, geben,' etc.: Skt. *mā-* 'messen, abmessen; zuteilen, gewähren, bereiten; dem Mass entsprechen, Raum finden in': Goth. *gamōt* 'findet Raum.'

It is evident from the above that *gamōt* did not mean 'ich habe meine Abgabe entrichtet,' and may not even have had any direct reference to duties or tolls imposed, though it did, of course, refer to something assigned or granted by a higher authority or by fate, *metod*. But this allotment was not simply, or even mainly, an obligation or tax imposed, but more often a favor granted. And just as Skt. *mā-* meant *tr.* 'zumessen, zuteilen' and *intr.* 'dem Mass entsprechen, Raum finden in,' so Germ. *gamōtan* meant ('zumessen, zuteilen'): 'Raum, Zeit, Gelegenheit, Kraft, Zwang (*muoza*) haben.'

It is, therefore, self-evident that when one of our ancestors said: *ik mōt it dōn, ih muoz ez tuon*, he was saying (whether he knew it or not): 'I have the lot, am allotted to do it.' According to circumstances this would mean, just like NE. *I am to do it*: 'I may, can, shall, or must do it.'

It may be added, what is perhaps unnecessary after the preceding discussion, that the idea of 'freedom, leisure' (*Musse*) came from 'grant, give' (:OHG. *mezzan* 'zumessen, zuteilen, geben,' Skt. *mā-* 'zumessen, zuteilen, gewähren,' with *upa-* 'zuteilen, verleihen'), just as in NE. *leisure*, Fr. *loisir*, OFr. *leisir*, *loisir* 'permission, leisure,' Lat. *licere* 'be permitted.' And though it is all very true: "Wer seine *mōta* entrichtet hat, *gamōt*, der ist frei, 'hat Raum,'" yet the meaning 'hat Raum,' *gamōt*, could not possibly come from 'hat seine *mōta* entrichtet.' For *gamōt* does not refer to a duty done by a vassal, but to a privilege or permission granted or a duty imposed by a lord or by fate.

17. Goth. *ga-mōtjan* 'begegnen' does not imply a *\*mōtjan* 'Mota zahlen' (so Meringer, *IF.* XVIII, 212), for *gamōtjan*, ON. *mōta* 'begegnen,' OE. *mētan*, *gamētan* 'find, discover, come upon, meet,' OFris. *mēta*, OS. *mōtian* 'begegnen,' MLG. *mōten* 'zufällig begegnen; entgegen gehen; hemmend entgegentreten, abwehren,' MDu. *moeten*, etc., are not denominatives of Goth. *mōta* 'Zoll' but of ON. *mót* n. 'meeting, encounter,' OE. *gemōt* 'meeting, council, discussion; battle,' MDu. *moet* 'meeting,' etc. But MLG. *mōte*, *mute* 'Begegnung, Zusammentreffen,' whence MHG. *muote*, is from the verb: Goth. *\*mōteins*.

From OE. *gemōt* 'meeting; discussion' comes *mōtian* 'talk, make speech, discuss, dispute.' This might lead us to assume that 'discussion, counsel' was the original meaning: OHG. *mezzan* 'stückweise u. abgemessen vorlesen od. sprechen,' Gr. *μῆδεα* 'counsels, plans.'

But the evidence points rather to the primary meaning 'meeting, meeting-place.' Hence if the word belongs to *\*mēd-* 'measure,' pre-Germ. *\*mōdo-m* must first have meant 'a measuring, measure' (:OSwed. *mōt* 'Mass', ON. *mót* 'modus, Art u. Weise'), and then, perhaps, 'a place measured or marked out, space, ring: meeting-place for barter, discussion, judicial proceedings, ordeals, combat, religious



rites, etc.' Compare OE. *metan* 'measure: mark off, fix bounds,' *gemet* 'measure: boundary, limits,' MHG. *mezen* 'messen, messen bei zauberischem Heilverfahren,' *mez-stat* 'Platz, wo das verkäufliche Getreide gemessen werden musste,' Goth. *maþl* 'Versammlungsplatz, Markt' (if from \**mod-tlo-*), *maþljan* 'reden,' OE. *mæpel* 'meeting, council; harangue, talking,' OHG. *mahal* 'Gericht, Gerichtssitzung,' *mahalen* 'sprechen.'

Or the primary meaning of the above may have been 'measure with, make like, match, compare, join together: gathering, meeting': OHG. *gimazzo* 'Genosse,' *gemāzi* 'angemessen, gemäss, aequalis,' MHG. *māzen* 'gleichstellen,' NE. *mate* 'companion, equal; match,' vb. 'join or match as a mate; match one's self with or against': OHG. *gimah* 'womit verbunden,' *kamahho* 'socius,' OE. *gemæcca* 'mate,' NE. *match* 'companion, mate, equal; a mating or pairing; an engagement for a contest or game, the contest or game itself': Skt. *mā-* 'messen, vergleichen mit.'

18. Goth. *manwus* 'bereit,' *manwjan* 'bereit-, zurecht machen,' *ga-m.* 'einem etwas (zu)bereiten zu,' p.p. 'geschickt, bereit, zubereitet' may be compared with Skt. *mānam* 'Messen, Masstab, Mass; Bild, Erscheinung, Ähnlichkeit; Beweis, Beweisstand': *mā-* 'messen, abmessen; zuteilen, gewähren, bereiten, bilden, verfertigen, offenbaren,' *mita-h* 'abgemessen, kärglich, klein': Gr. *μάνν-μικρόν, μᾶνός, μανός* (\**μανρός*) 'thin, loose, slack; few, scanty,' *μόνος* (\**μόνρος*), Ion. *μόνος*, Dor. *μῶνος* (marked off, separated) 'alone, solitary,' Ir. *menb* (\**menuos*) 'small,' etc. (cf. Boisacq, *Dict. Ét.* 608 with references): OE. *māte* 'insignificant; small, few; bad,' MHG. *māzen* 'abmessen, beschränken, verringern,' *mæzec* 'mässig, enthalt-sam; klein, gering, wenig,' MLG. *mate* 'mässig, gering, wenig.'

19. ON. *baðmr* 'tree' is parallel in formation but not identical with Goth. *bagms* 'tree.' Both may go back to the primary meaning 'clump, mass, stock.' With the former compare Russ. *batŭ* 'Eichenstock, Knüttel,' Sloven. *bât* 'Kolben, Holzschlägel,' *batati* 'prügeln.' The root is probably \**bhāt*, \**bhāt*, perhaps from \**bhuāt-*, \**bheuāt-*, which may be in the following.

20. Germ. \**bud-*, \**butt-*, \**büt-*, \**baut-* 'swell, be big, thick, clumsy, dull, etc.,' and 'swell, sprout, bud': ME. *budde* 'bud,' N.E. *bud*, MHG. *butte* 'Fruchtknopf der Hagerose'; *butze* 'Masse, Klumpen,' *butzen*

'turgere,' NHG. Steir. *putz* 'Kerngehäuse beim Obst,' *putzen butzen* 'Klümppchen weichen Stoffes aller Art; Knospe; knotig verdickte Stelle der Haut; in der Entwicklung zurückgebliebenes Tier,' *botzen* 'Knospe, Spross, Keim; Samen- oder Kerngehäuse bei Kernfrucht; knotige verdickte Stelle im Kerzendocht,' Als. *butz* 'Kerngehäuse des Obstes; Eiterbeule; Eiterpfropf; getrockneter Nasenschleim; Menge, Haufen,' Du. *bot* 'Auswuchs an Bäumen,' EFrís. *butten* 'sprossen, knospen,' *but* (*butt*) 'dick, stark, grob, plump,' NE. *butt* 'thick end of anything,' *buttock* 'either of the two protuberances which form the rump in men and animals,' OE. *butuc* 'end'; MHG. *būzen* 'aufschwellen,' *būze* 'das Hervorsprossen, Ausschlagen,' ON. *bútr* 'Klotz, Stumpf'; MLG. *bōte* OHG. *bōzo* 'Flachsbündel,' NHG. Als. *bose* 'Bund glatten Weizenstrohes; Flachsbündel, Bündel Weiden u. dgl.'

These may be from the root \**bheũā-* 'grow, swell; become, be.' Compare especially Gr. *φύρον* 'plant, tree; growth on the body, tumor,' *φύμα* 'growth; tumor, boil,' OHG. *boum* 'Baum; Balken,' etc.

21. ON. *boðe* 'breaker,' 'Brandung,' Norw. *bode* 'eddy, bubbling water,' *boda* 'bubble,' MLG. *boddele* 'aufwallende Wasserblase,' *boddelen buddelen* 'Blasen aufwerfen,' EFrís. *buddeln* 'sprudeln, brodeln, schäumen, Blasen werfen; sich mit Geräusch waschen und baden,' Waldeck *bud<sup>el</sup>en* 'sich im Sande baden, von Hühnern,' Wfal. *buddeln* 'wühlen, vom Maulwurfe,' NHG. *butteln* 'schäumend sprudeln,' MHG. *bütteln* 'rütteln' may likewise be referred to the root *bheũā-* of the above. Compare especially Serb. *bújati* 'toben,' *bûjan* 'heftig, stürmisch,' *bujica* 'Giessbach,' Pol. *bujac* 'schweifen, fliegen, schwärmen, ausgelassen sein,' LRuss. *bujáty* 'ausgelassen sich herumtreiben; üppig wachsen, wuchern,' etc. For other allied words see Berneker, *Et. Wb.* 98.

The primary meaning of the root \**bheũā-* was, of course, not 'become, be' or even 'grow, swell,' but 'spring, spring up' or the like.

Parallel in meaning and development with the above are many Germ. words from the base *būb-*, *bubb-* in the following.

22. ON. *býfa* 'club-foot,' Norw. *būva būve* 'a clumsy person, lubber,' *buva* 'squat,' 'hocken,' *bov* 'a big, heavy-set person; a big acting person,' *bova* 'boast,' Swed. dial. *bobb* 'a short, thick person; a short, thick insect,' *bobbe* 'lubber,' ON. *bobbi* 'knot; snail-shell,' ME *bobbe* 'cluster,' NE. *bob* 'a small round object swinging loosely at the

end of a cord or wire,' NHG. Als. *boppe* 'Knäuel Hanf,' *boppi* 'Mops, dicker Hund,' *buppe* 'Gebund Hanf oder Tabak, Büschel Werg, Fruchtzapfen der Kiefer,' *buppisch* 'klein, zierlich,' Steir. *popper* 'Eiterbeule,' *popperl* 'Knötchen, Hitzbläschen,' *poppeln* 'Blasen werfen, sprudeln; drängend und stossend vorwärts fallen (von plumpem Gehen),' Swab. *poppel* 'kugelförmiger, nicht allzu grosser Körper: Knäuel Faden, Garn, Wolle; Knötchen auf der Haut, bes. im Gesicht; in der Kindersprache für kugelförmige Früchte, Obst, bes. Beeren, kleine Kartoffel, Kernlein; kleiner Mensch, kleines Tier, kleines Kind, kindische Person, dummer Mensch,' MDu. *bobbel bubbel* 'Blatter, Beule; Wasserblase,' Du. *bobbelen bobberen* 'Blasen aufwerfen,' MLG. *bubbeln*, NE. *bubble*, etc.

In Slavic occur similar words: LRuss. *búba* 'kleines Geschwür,' *búben* 'kleiner Junge, Knirps,' *bubnávity* 'aufschwellen,' Serb. *bubŭljica* 'Blase, Pustel; Knoten; Erdhaufen; Art Pflaume,' *búban* 'Art Bohne,' *bŭbla* 'Klumpen,' Czech *boubel bublina* 'Wasserblase,' etc. These words are otherwise explained by Berneker, *Et. Wb.* 78 f.

23. ON. *bófe*, MLG. *bōve* 'Bube,' MDu. *boeve boef* 'Knappe, Knecht; Bube, Bengel,' MHG. *buobe* 'Knabe, Diener; zuchtloser Mensch; die weibl. Brüste,' etc., presuppose a Germ. *\*bōban-* 'clump, lump: lumpish fellow, clod, undersized person, boy.' For meaning compare NHG. Hess *knabe* 'Stift, Bolze,' OHG. *knabo* 'Knabe, Jüngling, Diener,' MHG. *knebel* 'Knebel; Knöchel; grober Gesell, Bengel.'

Germ. *\*bōban-* may therefore be compared with Lat. *faba* 'bean,' primarily 'lump,' Russ. *bobŭ*, OPruss. *babo* 'bean,' etc.

If these are from IE. *\*bh(u)ābhon-* (Germ. *\*bōban-*) and *\*bh(u)əbhā* (Lat. *faba*), they may be related to the words given under No. 22, and even remotely connected, as derivatives of the root *\*bheṷā-*, with ON. *baun*, OE. *bēan*, OHG. *bōna* 'Bohne.'

24. Goth. *bagms* 'tree' may be compared with Lith. *bāžmas* 'Menge, Masse,' *būžė* 'Keule; Klöppel am Dreschflügel; Kopf der Stecknadel' and also OE. *bōg* 'shoulder, arm; bough, branch,' OHG. *buog* 'Bug,' MHG. *büegen* 'biegen,' ON. *baga* 'anything twisted,' Gr. *πῆχυς* 'elbow,' Skt. *bāhū-h* 'arm; fore-leg,' etc.

Here also *\*bhāgh-*, *\*bhāgh-* may be from *\*bhṷāgh-*. Compare Lith. *bužmas* 'Falte, Krause' from *\*bhūghmos*. Compare also *\*bhṷgh-* in



Skt. *bahú-h* 'strong, much,' *bahulá-h* 'thick; abundant,' Gr. *παχύς* 'thick, large, fat; thick-witted, dull,' OHG. *bungo* 'Knolle,' MDu. *bonge* 'plug, bung of a barrel,' NE. *bung*, and ablaut-forms in ON. *bingr* 'Haufen,' MHG. *bengel* 'Prügel,' NHG. *Bengel*.

25. Nicel. *beyki* 'beech' has Germ. *-au-*, which may represent IE. *-ou-* rather than *-eu-*. IE. *-ou-* may also be in Russ. *buziná*, dial. *buzŭ* 'Holunder.' The ablaut *-ŭ-* occurs in LRuss. dial. *bŭže* 'Holunder, Flieder,' Kurd. *bŭz* 'Art Ulme,' and *-u-* in Russ. dial. *bozŭ* 'Holunder,' etc. With these are supposed to be related Gr. *φηγός* 'oak,' Lat. *fāgus* 'beech,' ON. *bók*, OHG. *buohha* 'Buche,' etc. (cf. Berneker, *Et. Wb.* 111, with references), which in that case may be from *\*bh(ŭ)āg-* not *\*bhā(u)g-*, and possibly derivatives of the root *\*bheŷā-*.

The primary meaning of the base *\*bheŷā-g* would naturally be 'swelling, hump, bunch, etc.,' and from this meaning are better derived the following words, which are now commonly connected with the above: OHG. *bŭh* 'Bauch; Rumpf,' MHG. *bŭch* 'Schlägel, Keule eines Kalbes,' MDu. *buuc* 'belly, rump; half or quarter of a slaughtered animal; bulge; beehive,' OE. *bŭc* 'pitcher; stomach,' etc. That these words originally meant 'beechen vessel' is altogether improbable.

Similarly from *gʷel-* 'swell' come Gr. *βάλανος* 'acorn, ben-nut, date, chestnut; the trees that bear these fruits,' Lat. *glans* 'the fruit of the oak, beech, chestnut, etc.,' Gr. *βαλάντιον* 'bag, pouch, purse.'

26. ON. *býte* 'Tausch, Beute,' *býta* 'tauschen, verteilen,' MLG. *bŭten* 'tauschen, verteilen; erbeuten' etc., are compared with Ir. *bŭaid* 'Sieg,' Welsh *budd* 'utilitas, commodum, quaestus' (Fick II<sup>4</sup>, 175).

These may be derivatives of the root *\*bheŷā* in Skt. *bhāvati* 'werden, geschehen, gedeihen; jmd zufallen oder zu teil werden, gereichen zu,' with *anu-* 'jmd helfen, dienlich sein; erreichen, gleichkommen; bewältigen, umfassen, einschliessen; empfinden, geniessen,' with *abhi-* 'herankommen, sich jmd zuwenden, jmd beschenken mit; jmd bedrängen, bezwingen, überwältigen,' *bhā-vayati* 'bringt hervor, hegt, fördert, übt aus, zeigt,' Lat. *faveo, favor, faustus*, MIr. *buan* 'gut,' *bā* 'Nutzen' (cf. Fick II<sup>4</sup>, 163), ChSl. *po-bytŭ* 'Sieg,' Serb. *dŏ-bit* 'Erwerb, Gewinn, Nutzen; Sieg,' Russ.

*dobýča* 'Gewinn, Beute,' Skt. *bhūti-h bhūti-h* 'Kraft, Macht, Gedeihen, Wohl, Heil, Glück, Schmuck,' etc.

With the same determinative (*d*-formans) occur also Czech *bydlo* 'Aufenthaltort, Wohnung,' *bydliti* 'leben, wohnen,' Pol. *bydło* 'Vieh' (i.e., 'Gewinn, Habe'), OE. *botl* 'dwelling, house,' *byttan* 'build; fortify,' etc. (Berneker, *Et. Wb.* 112).

Compare the following, which are possibly from *\*bh(y)ōd-*, and certainly closely related in meaning.

27. Goth. *bōta* 'Vorteil, Nutzen,' *bōtjan* 'nützen,' *batiza* 'bessere,' *gabatnan* 'Vorteil haben,' ON. *batna* 'besser werden,' NE. *batten* 'improve, grow fat, thrive,' OFris. *bata* 'Vorteil, Gewinn,' *batia* 'helfen, frommen,' etc., Av. *baθrō* 'glücklich, gesegnet,' Skt. *bhadrá-h* 'erfreulich, glücklich, günstig, gut, schön,' *bhadrá-m* 'Glück, Heil,' but not *bhándatē* 'glänzt, funkelt,' which belongs to a different range of meanings.

In meaning and form Germ. *\*būt-*: *\*bōt-*, *\*bat-* can be compared as well as Germ. *\*būþ-*: *\*bōþ-* in ON. *búð* 'Aufenthalt, Zelt, Bude' (:Skt. *bhūti-h* 'Kraft, Macht, Gedeihen, Wohl, Heil, Glück,' Serb. *bíce* 'Dasein, Wesen, Stand, Zustand; Stoff, Eigenschaft; Wohnung; Vermögen, Hab und Gut,' etc.): MLG. *bōde*, MHG. *buode* 'Hütte, Bude,' OS. *bōdlos* pl. 'Haus u. Hof, Hausgerät,' MLG. *bōdel* 'das Gesamte Vermögen,' etc.

28. Goth. *barms* 'Schoss, Busen,' ON. *barmr*, OE. *bearm*, OHG. OS. *barm* are referred to the root *\*bher-* 'bear.' It is more probable that the primary meaning was 'swell, projection,' and that the words are the same as ON. *barmr* 'brim, edge,' from a root *\*bher-* 'rise, swell, project, etc.' Compare *\*bher-s-* in Skt. *bhṛ̥ṣṭi-h* 'Zacke, Spitze; Kante, Ecke,' Ir. *borr* 'gross, stolz,' OHG. *parrēn* 'starr emporstehen,' *parrunga* 'Stolz, Hochmut,' etc.; *\*bher-dh-* in ON. *barð* 'Bart, Steven, Rand, Saum,' *borð* 'Rand, Schiffsbord,' etc.; *\*bher-gh-* in Skt. *brhánt-* 'dick, dicht, stark, gross, hoch,' OHG. *berg*, *burg*, etc.

29. OE. *brōm* 'broom,' *brēmel* 'bramble,' OHG. *brāmo* 'Dorn-, Brombeerstrauch,' etc., are from a base *\*bhrē-m-* 'rise, project,' with which compare *\*bhor-m-* in No. 28. Closely related are OE. *brēme* '(high) famous, noble,' OSw. *bram* 'Staat, Pomp,' Swed. dial. *brama* 'sich brüsten, prunken,' Norw. *brama* 'prangen,' NHG. Steir. *bram* 'Saum, Rand,' MLG. *brem* 'Verbrämung,' OE. *brymme* 'border, shore,' NE. *brim*, etc.

Compare the similar development in meaning in *\*bher-s-*: OHG. *parrēn* 'starr emporstehen,' *parrunga* 'Stolz, Hochmut,' Ir. *borr* 'gross, stolz,' Skt. *bhṛṣṭi-h* 'Zacke, Spitze; Kante, Ecke,' etc.

30. ON. *brīnga* 'Brust,' Nlcel. *brīnga* 'chest; brisket; grassy slope' are related to MHG. *brangen, prangen* 'prangen, prahlen,' Skt. *bṛhati, bṛhāti* 'kräftigt, stärkt, macht fest,' *bṛhánt-* 'dick, stark, hoch,' etc. Cf. No. 28.

31. Swed. dial. *brekka, brikla* 'breast,' 'Brust' belong similarly to ON. *brekka* 'steile Anhöhe,' Nlcel. *brekka* 'slope,' MLG. *brink* 'Hügel, Rand eines Hügels, Rand, Ufer,' NE. *brink*: MDu. *bronken* 'stolz sein, pochen; mürrisch sein,' NHG. *prunken*.

32. OE. *brōc* 'trousers,' pl. *brēc* 'breech, hind quarters,' OHG. *bruoh* 'Bruch, Hose' etc., represent a Germ. *\*brōk-*, the original meaning of which was probably 'thick, big,' as descriptive of the breech or buttocks. Compare NHG. Swab. *bruch* (-ue-) 'dicker Mann,' *bruchig* 'dick, von einem Mann; unbeholfen.'

Since from 'thick, big' come words for 'tuft, clump, bush,' we may compare NE. *brake* 'thicket; bush,' Norw. *brake* 'juniper' (for meaning compare Norw. *brūse* 'tuft, bunch: juniper'), MLG. *brake* 'Zweig,' EFris. *brak* 'allerlei wild und wirr durcheinander wachsendes Gesträuch,' and also Lat. *frāgum* 'strawberry-plant,' primarily 'bunch,' either in reference to the plant or the berry.

33. OE. *brand* 'brand, sword,' ON. *brandr* 'blade of a sword; post,' Norw. *brand* 'stake, post; sword' probably represent pre-Germ. *\*bhrontó-* 'point, edge.' Compare Lat. *frons, -tis* 'brow, front, exterior.' For meaning compare Russ. *brevnó* 'Balken,' Bulg. *bŭrv* 'Balken, Klotz; Brücke,' OBulg. *brŭvŭ* 'Braue,' ON. *brún* 'Braue; Rand.'

If OE. *brand* 'fire-brand' is the same as *brand* 'sword,' then the primary meaning was 'stick,' 'Holzscheit.' But (fire)-*brand* is probably a derivative of *burn*, identical with OHG. *brant* 'Brand,' NE. *brand* 'a mark made by burning,' etc.

34. OE. *brant* 'lofty, high' (ship), *brenting* (prow) 'ship,' NE. dial. *brant* 'steep, proud,' ON. *brattr* 'steil,' *bretta* 'emporrichten,' Norw. *bretta* 'raise; turn up (sleeves); strut' are from pre-Germ. *\*bhrond-* 'rise, swell, etc.' Compare Lat. *frons, -dis* (tuft, bunch) 'a leafy branch, foliage,' Lith. *brandus* 'körnig,' *bręsti* 'einen Fruchtkern gewinnen; reifen.'



Beside the many bases *\*bherex-* 'rise, swell; become bushy; project, become pointed,' etc., occur synonymous bases *\*bhrēu-x-*.

35. Base *\*bhrēu-* 'anything swollen, big, projecting: brow; beam, bridge, etc.': OE. *brū* 'brow,' ON. *brú* 'Brücke,' *brún* 'Braue; Rand,' Skt. *bhrū-ḥ*, OBulg. *brŭvŭ* 'Braue,' LRuss. dial. *berv* 'Baumstumpf,' *bérva* 'Stegbrücke,' etc.

Compare the following in which the underlying meaning is 'swell, be big': ON. *brum* 'bud,' 'Knospe,' Norw. *brum* 'buds; fresh twigs for fodder,' *bruma* 'bud, bloom' (for meaning cf. No. 20); Skt. *bhrūná-ḥ* 'embryo,' Ir. *brú* 'body, belly,' MHG. *brüne* 'weibl. Scham,' and perhaps Gr. *φρῦνη*, *φρῦνος* 'toad' (compare Swab. *protze* 'sich aufblähen,' *protz* 'Kröte'); LRuss. *brýta* 'Klumpen, Scholle,' Russ. *brylá* 'Lippe, hängende Unterlippe; Rand, Saum; Krämpe des Schlapphutes.'

36. Base *\*bhrēu-ḥ-*: MHG. *brogen* 'sich erheben, in die Höhe richten; sich übermütig erheben, gross tun, prunken; tr. in die Höhe, zum Zorn bringen,' NHG. Steir. *brogen*, *brogeln* 'sich erheben, gross tun, prahlen,' Als. *broge* "widerreden, grob oder spöttisch antworten; mürrisch sein, mürrisch reden,' MHG. *bröuc*, *-ges* 'Hügel,' *brügel* 'Prügel, Knüttel,' *brüge* 'Brettergerüst,' *brücke*, OHG. *brucka*, OE. *brycg*, etc. Compare Russ. *brusŭ* (-s- from *-ḥ-*) 'vierkantig behauener Balken,' LRuss. *brus* 'Balken; Klippe,' Pol. *brus* 'Balken.' With these compare *\*bhrüg-* in ON. *brúk* 'heap of washed up seaweed; arrogance, boastfulness,' EFris. *brúkel* 'unfreundlich, mürrisch.'

37. Base *\*bhrēud-*: MHG. *briezen* 'anschwellen, Knospen treiben,' *sich ūf br.* 'sich aufblähen, brüsten,' *ūz br.* 'anschwellen, Beulen, Ausschlag bekommen,' NHG. Swiss *erbriesse* "refl. 'sich stellen, wichtig machen, wehren, aufbegehren,' OHG. *proz*, MHG. *broz* 'Knospe, Sprosse,' *brozzen* 'Knospen treiben, sprossen,' NHG. Steir. *bross* 'Spross, Knospe, Zweiglein,' Swab. *bross*, *brotz* " 'Knospe; junger Coniferentrieb; Zweige an Bäumen u. Sträuchern,' *brotze* " 'sprossen,' with which is identical *protze* " 'stolz tun, sich aufblähen,' *protz* 'Kröte; ungebildeter, anmassender, reicher Mann,' *bross* 'stolz,' Steir. *brotz(er)* 'Grosstuer, eingebildeter, dummer Mensch,' *brotze(l)n* 'grosstun, prahlen; widersprechen; schmollen,' Lothr. *prutze* " 'trotzen, die Lippen aufwerfen,' WFlem. *brotten* 'verdriesslich sein,' Norw. *brote*

'heap, mass; bush,' *brot* 'steep ascent; brush,' *brotā* 'heap up,' *brotā* 'powerful, abundant,' *brytja* 'big, strong, clumsy,' *brøytar* 'a capable but blustering fellow.'

38. Base *\*bhreus-*: Norw. *brusa* 'sich ausbreiten, sich buschen; sich brüsten,' *brus* 'Quaste, Büschel, Strauss,' *brüse* 'Büschel; Wachholder,' LG. *brüsen* 'neue Triebe werfen, sich ausbreiten, von Pflanzen,' Norw. *brusk* 'Gebüsch, Büschel,' Als. *brüsch* 'Heidekraut,' NE. *brush*, Lith. *brūzgas* 'Gestrüpp,' MHG. *brüsche* 'Brausche, mit Blut unterlaufene Beule,' ON. *brjósk* 'Knorpel,' Steir. *brosch* 'Uterus des Schweines,' *broschet*, -ig 'dick, aufgedunsen, von breiter Statur,' Russ. *brúcho* 'Unterlieb, Bauch, Wanst'; LRuss. *brost* 'Knospe' ('swelling'), *brostáty* *śa* 'knospen,' OS. *brustian* 'Knospen treiben,' MHG. *sich brüsten* 'stolz tun' ('swell up, be puffed up'), Goth. *brusts*, OHG. *brust*, ON. *brjóst*, OE. *brēost* 'brest,' 'Brust,' MHG. *brüstern* 'anschwellen'; OE. *brord* (Germ. *\*bruzda-*) 'point; first blade of grass, young plant,' *bryrdan* 'stimulate,' ON. *broddr* 'point, sword-, spear-point,' Norw. *brodd* 'point; small, green blade of grain; hair, esp. of the reindeer,' *brydda* 'sprout, germinate,' OHG. *brort* 'Vorderteil des Schiffs; Rand eines Dinges,' NHG. Steir. *brort* 'Rand, Ende, Platz, Stelle; Stückschlegel (ein Hammerwerkzeug).'

39. ON., NIce. *bros* 'smile,' *brosa vb.* 'smile' probably come from the meaning 'swell out (the lips)': Norw. dial. *brusa* 'spread out, become bushy; boast,' *brus* 'tuft, bush,' MHG. *brüstern* 'anschwellen.' Compare the similar development of meaning in MHG. *brießen* 'anschwellen, Knospen treiben,' NHG. Swab. *protze* 'sich aufblähen, stolz tun,' Steir. *brotze(l)n* 'grosstun, prahlen; widersprechen; schmollen,' Lothr. *prutze* 'die Lippen aufwerfen, schmollen.' For the combination 'pout': 'smile' compare MHG. *smollen* 'schmollen; lächeln.' Cf. No. 38.

40. Ice. *broddr* (*\*bruzda-*) 'beestings,' 'Biestmilch,' *á-brýstur* pl., Swab. *briester* 'Biestmilch,' Als. *briest*, *briesch* 'Art Brei aus der Milch junger Kühe, Grütze und Mehl; Milch einer frischmelkenden Kuh; gestockte junge Milch' may be referred to a base *\*bhreus-* 'swell, gush out, etc.' This may be identical with the base discussed in No. 38 (cf. Fick, *Wb.* III<sup>4</sup>, 282). Compare Serb. *brúždati* 'stark strömen,' *brážditi* 'weinen,' *brižđati* 'Milch absondern,' *bržgati* 'ausschwitzten, nassen; Milch absondern,' Russ. *brýzgat'*, *brýznut'* 'spritzen, sprühen,'

OSwed. *brūsa* 'einherstürmen,' MHG., MLG. *brūsen* 'brausen,' Du. *bruisen*, MDu. *brūschen* 'schäumen, brausen,' etc.

41. MDu. *bruut* 'Dreck, Auswurf' may be compared with Sorb. *bruda* 'Auswurf,' LRuss. *brud* 'Schmutz,' *brudyty* 'beschmutzen,' WRuss. *brud* 'Schmutz,' *brúdyj* 'dunkelfarben,' apparently from a root \**bhre-*: Russ. *brukát*, *bruchát* 'werfen; beschmutzen, besudeln,' Serb. *brúknuti* 'hervorbrechen': Russ. *brujá* 'Strömung,' *bruít* 'stark, reissend strömen, dahinfließen,' Lat. *ferveo*, etc. (cf. No. 40), Gr. *φορύνω* 'mix up; spoil,' *φορύσσω* 'mix up; defile,' *φορυκτός* 'stirred up together, mixed, stained.'

42. MHG. *brouchen*, *brüchen* 'biegen, formen, bilden,' *gebrouchen* 'biegen, beugen' evidently come from the meaning 'press, press down.' Compare Lith. *brūžyti* 'niederdrücken, drücken, dass Spuren davon sichtbar werden,' *brūžūti* 'mit Geräusch scheuern,' ON. *brauk* 'Lärm, Geräusch,' *brauka* 'lärmern,' MHG. *brohseln* 'tosen, lärmern.'

43. MHG. *bröuwen* 'biegen, drehen' may represent Germ. \**braugw-*. If so, compare Lith. *braukiù*, *-kti* 'etwas mit Anwendung einigen Druckes streichen, scharren,' *braukaũ*, *-kýti* 'mehrfach drückend streichen oder streicheln.'

44. OE. *blōma* 'mass of metal' belongs to the Germ. root *blē-*, *blō-* in OE. *blāwan* 'blow,' MHG. *blæjen* 'blähen; im aufgeblasenen Feuer schmelzen und durch Schmelzen bereiten.' So also Lat. *flāre* 'blow; cast or coin metals by blowing.'

45. NE. *blunt* 'thick, obtuse, dull,' OE. *Blunta*, man's name, contain a Germ. base which is also in Swab. *blunze* 'schwerer, fatter Körper: dicker, kurzer Mensch; unförmlich dicke Nase; das Junge im Ei, wenn es im Ausschlüpfen ist; eine Art Blutwurst.'

46. NE. dial. *plash* 'splash liquid or mud about, either by spilling it or treading in it; drink to excess, soak,' *sb.* 'a splash or dash of liquid or mud; a heavy fall of rain or sleet; liquid, soft mud: weak, trashy stuff; nonsense, foolish talk,' *blashy* 'rainy, wet, gusty; wet, muddy, splashy, sloppy,' Swed. dial. *blask* 'wet weather,' *blaska* 'splash, spirt,' Norw. *blaskra* 'splash; blow softly': Lith. *bląžėti* 'schallen, klappern z. B. von Türen, losen Brettern, wenn sie vom Winde hin und her geworfen werden.'

47. NHG. Bav. *plauschen* (Germ. \**blūsk-*) 'schwätzen, plaudern; lügen': Serb. *bljūzgati* 'mit Geräusch strömen; dummes Zeug



schwätzen,' *bljūzgav* 'laut strömend, rauschend; schwatzhaft,' Sloven. *bljūzgati* 'im Kot waten, plätschern,' LRuss. *blúznúty* 'im Strahl hervorschiessen,' root *\*bhleu-s-* 'gush out': EFrís. *blūsen* 'blasen,' MDu. *bluyster* 'Blase,' Hess. *blustern* 'Blasen treiben,' EFrís. *blūstern* 'heftig u. mit Geräusch wehen, stürmen, brausen,' NE. *bluster*: Gr. *φλέω, φλύνω* 'overflow, gush out; babble, chatter,' ChSl. *blúvati* 'speien,' Lith. *bliáuju, bláuti* 'brüllen, blöken.' Cf. the following.

48. OE. *blyscan*, NE. *blush*, MDu. *bloschen* 'erröten, erglühen': OE. *ā-blysan*, MDu. *blosen* 'erröten,' EFrís. *blūsen* 'blasen, wehen, fachen,' *an-blūsen* 'anblasen, anfachen, brennen u. flammen machen,' OE. *blysa* 'torch, fire.' Probably also to the root *\*bhleu-* 'swell, gush out,' whence also 'blow, blaze.'

49. Early NHG. *blodern, plodern* 'schlagend rauschen,' NHG. Steir. *plodern* ('anschwellen; sprudeln') 'trächtig werden; Blasen werfen; Falten werfen; plaudern,' NHG. *plaudern*: Serb. *blátiti* 'ungereimt, unpassend sprechen': Lith. *bláuti* 'brüllen, blöken,' etc. Cf. No. 47.

50. Swed. dial. *bloslin* 'weakly,' Norw. dial. *blyr* 'a moderating, becoming mild,' *blyr* 'mild, warmish,' *blyrast* 'become mild, warm,' *blþyra* 'coward, weakling,' Swab. *blūsche* 'langsam, träge' may be compared with Lith. *ap-blusu, -sti* 'verzagten, traurig werden.' Here may belong Lat. *flustra* 'a calm at sea' (author, *Class. Phil.* VII, 306).

51. ON. *dōf* 'rump' evidently meant primarily 'thick, big (end),' and belongs to *dafna* 'stark, tüchtig sein,' Nicel. *dafna* 'thrive.'

With these compare ChSl. *debelǐ* 'dick,' Russ. dial. *debjolyj* 'wohlbeleibt, stark, fest,' *dobólyj* 'stark, kräftig,' Bulg. *debél* 'dick,' Serb. *dèbeo* 'dick, fett, gross,' etc. According to Berneker, *Et. Wb.* 182, these are related to OHG. *taphar* 'gravis, gravidus; schwer, gewichtig,' MHG. *tapfer* 'fest, gedrunken, voll, gewichtig, bedeutend,' later 'tapfer,' ON. *dapr* 'schwer, bedrängt, düster, traurig.' Both connections are possible: root *\*dhebh-* and *\*dheb-*.

52. ON. *dubba*, OE. *dubbian* 'dub, knight,' MDu. *dobben, dubben* 'drücken, stossen,' EFrís. *dubben* 'stossen, schlagen, puffen, ein lärmendes Geräusch machen,' *dufen, duven* 'stossen, drücken,' Norw. dial. *dypja* 'emit a hollow sound, as when one walks in a vault or beats on hollow trees': Sloven. *dupati* 'auf etwas Hohles schlagen

dumpf rauschen,' Serb. *dūpiti* 'mit Getöse schlagen,' Czech *dupati* 'stampfen, trappeln,' etc. (differently explained by Berneker, *Et. Wb.* 238).

53. ON. *dúrr* 'nap, slumber,' *dúra*, Swed. dial. *dūra* 'doze,' Shetl. *dūr* 'lifeless motions,' *dwarm* 'doze,' Swed. dial. *dorma* 'doze, slumber,' Norw. *dorma*, *durma* 'subside; doze,' *dormen* 'dusky, dark (of the air),' *durm* 'haziness,' MHG. *turm* 'Wirbel, Taumel, Schwindel,' *türme(l)n* 'schwindeln, taumeln,' *türmic* 'tobend, ungestüm,' Norw. *dūra* 'poltern, tosen, dröhnen' contain Germ. bases *dūr-*, *durm-*, *dwarm-*, with which compare LRuss. *durá* 'Betäubung, Taumel, Narrheit,' *durnýj* 'töricht, dumm, verrückt, eitel, nichtig,' Serb. *dúriti se* 'aufbrausen,' Sloven. *dúr* 'scheu, wild, menschenscheu,' Pol. *dur* 'Betäubung, Bewusstlosigkeit; Typhus,' *durzyć* 'betören, verführen,' OPruss. *dūrai* pl. 'scheu,' Russ. *dur* 'Torheit, Albernheit, Eigensinn,' *durýt* 'Possen reissen,' *durnoma* 'Schwindel, Übelkeit, Erbrechen,' Lith. *pa-dūrmai* 'mit Ungestüm, stürmisch,' etc. Here also with Berneker, *Et. Wb.* 239, Gr. *θοῖπος* 'leaping, rushing, raging, eager,' to which may belong MHG. *tōre* 'Wahnsinniger, Tor,' *tōren* 'toll sein, rasen,' etc. and Lat. *furo*, *furor*. For synonymous words with *l* see Fick III<sup>4</sup>, 215 f.

54. Shetl. *dwarf* 'a hastening, rush; a passing shower,' *vb.* 'go with haste, rush along, esp. of a shower with wind,' Norw. *dorg* 'rush, haste,' *dyrgja* 'run, rush toward,' Swed. dial. *dårga* 'rush away' (Jakobsen, *Et. Ordbog over det norrøne sprog på Shetland* 130), MHG. *turc* 'schwankende Bewegung, Taumel, Sturz, Umsturz,' *torkeln*, *torgeln*, 'hin u. her schwanken, taumeln,' Germ. base *dwarf-*, *durg-* from *dwar-*, *dūr-* of the above.

These are from the root *\*dheu-* 'shake, whirl, rush: blow, puff, whirl, roll, etc.' Hence here belong several words for 'roll, tuft, bunch, bush' and 'big, massive, strong.'

55. MHG. *topfe*, *topf* 'Kreisel, turbo' (*\*dhubhno-* 'whirl, roll, any round object'), *topf* 'Topf, Hirnschale,' *topfe* 'Tupf, Punkt,' MLG. *dop(pe)* 'Schale, bes. von Eiern, Kapsel, Kelch, Topf; Kreisel; Knopf,' Norw. dial. *dupp* 'Büschel, Wipfel,' MLG. *dovel* 'Zapfen,' MHG. *tübel* 'Klotz, Pflock, Zapfen, Nagel': Gr. *τῦφός* 'turbo, whirlwind,' *τῦφη* 'a plant used for stuffing bolsters and beds, cat's-tail,' *τῦφοι . σφῆνες* Hes. (cf. Fick I<sup>4</sup>, 466).

With *\*dhūbh-* compare *\*tūbh-* from *\*tū-* 'swell': Lat. *tūber* 'hump, bump, swelling, tumor, gnarl, mushroom,' OE. *þūf* 'tuft; banner,' *þūft* 'thicket,' *þūfel* 'bush, leafy plant; thicket,' ON. *þúfa* 'knoll, mound' (cf. Walde, *Et. Wb.*<sup>2</sup> 796).

56. Norw. *dodd*, *dott* 'tuft, wisp; little heap; crowd, swarm; lazy person,' *dotta* 'pile in little heaps,' *dytta* 'stop up, make tight; dam up; cram, pack,' OE. *dyttan* 'shut (ears); stop (mouth),' *dott* 'speck, head (of boil),' NE. *dot*, MDu. *dutten* 'klopfen, tüpfen,' early Du. *dodde* 'Stengel, Stift,' Du. *dot* 'Knäuel, Büschel,' *dodde*, *dotje* 'liebkosende Benennung für ein Kind,' 'Docke,' LG. *dott* 'Eigelb,' EFrís. *dotte* 'Haufen, Klumpen, Büschel, Zotte, bz. eine wirre Masse von Dingen,' *dotterig* 'klumpig, knotig, zottig,' OS. *dodro*, OHG. *totoro* 'Dotter,' *tut(t)a*, *tut(t)o* 'Brustwarze, weibl. Brust,' MHG. *tütel* 'Punkt,' NHG. Steir. *tudel* 'kurzes, dickes Weib; Puppe,' Germ. *dud-*, *dutt-* 'tuft, clump, chunk, etc.': Gr. *θύσarov* 'tassel, tag' Skt. *dúdhita-h* 'dick, steif,' *dudhrá-h* 'steif, störrig,' etc., *\*dhūdh-* 'roll, twist together' in Nícel. *dúða* 'swathe,' 'einwindeln,' EFrís. *bedudeln* 'einhüllen,' LG. *dudel* 'herabhängender Flitter an Kleidungsstücken,' NE. *duds* 'Lappen, Lumpen,' *dodder* 'shake, tremble,' Gr. *θύσσομαι* 'shake,' etc. (cf. MLN. XXII, 235). Perhaps here also Lat. *fusus* 'spindle' (*\*dhūt-to-s*).

57. MHG. *tocke* 'walzenförmiges Stück, Stützholz, Schwungbaum einer Wurfmaschine; Bündel, Büschel; Puppe; Schmeichelwort für ein junges Mädchen,' MLG. *docke* 'Puppe, Figur; Strohbandel zum Dachdecken,' MDu. *docke* 'Puppe; Block; Benennung für allerlei Pflanzen: Huflattich, Seeblume, Klettenkraut, Ampfer,' OE. *docce*, NE. *dock*, plant-name, *dock* 'the stump of a tail,' ON. *dokka*, 'windlass,' Germ. *dukk-* 'roll, whirl: something thick, tufted, bushy': Lith. *dušnas*, *dužas* 'dick, beliebt,' *\*dhugh(n)o-* 'roll or press together, make big, thick.' Compare the following.

58. Goth. *daug* 'es taugt,' MHG. *tuht* 'Kraft, Gewalt, Tüchtigkeit,' OE. *dyhtig* 'strong,' *dohtig* 'of worth, doughty, vigorous,' *dogian* 'endure,' MDu. *doghen* MLG. *dogen* 'leiden, erdulden,' etc. represent a root *\*dheugh-* 'be big, strong' in Lith. *daug*, 'viel,' Pol. *duży* 'gross, stark,' Russ. *d'úžij* 'gesund, fest, stark, solid,' *d'úžit'* 'aushalten, dulden.' Since the meaning 'big, strong' in these words probably comes from 'roll, press together,' we may compare Skt. *dógdhi* (press) 'milk,' etc. (cf. Schade, *Wb.*<sup>2</sup> 965 ff.).



59. OHG. *tola*, *tolo* 'racemus,' *wīn-tola* 'Weintraube,' *toldo* 'Wipfel od. Krone der Pflanzen, Blütenbüschel,' NHG. *Dolde*: Gr. *θῦλάς*, *θυλλίς* 'sack,' *θῦλαξ*·*προσκεφάλιον*, 'pillow,' *θῦλακος* 'bag, sack, pouch,' etc., Nicel. *dula* (flap) 'worn strip of cloth, rag,' and the following, which may, however, come from \**dhl-* rather than \**dhu-l-*: NE. *doll* 'Puppe,' Sc. *doll* 'a large lump; dung, esp. of pigeons; a large cake of sawdust mixed with dung, used for fuel,' NE. dial. *dollop* 'a tuft, bunch, or small patch of grass, grain, or weeds; lump, heap; a large piece or quantity,' Norw. *dulla* 'a little round thing or person.'

Similarly from *tū-*: Gr. *τῦλη* 'swelling, lump, pad, cushion,' *τύλος* 'lump, knob, callus; a wooden bolt,' Skt. *tūlam* 'tuft,' etc.

60. OS. *durð* 'Unkraut,' MLG. *dort* 'Trespe,' MHG. *turd*, *turt*, *türd* id., Germ. stem \**durp-* or \**durpu-* with the primary meaning 'tuft, bunch': Gr. *θύρσος* (\**dhurtuo-s*) 'any light, straight shaft, esp. the stalk of umbelliferous plants, like *νάρθηξ*; the thyrsus, a wand wreathed with ivy and vine-leaves, with a pine-cone at the top, carried by the devotees of Bacchus,' root *dhur-*, *dhūr-* 'whirl, roll; tuft, bunch,' also in Lat. *fūrunculus* 'knob, gnarl on a vine; inflamed swelling, boil,' *ferula* (\**dhuer-*) '*νάρθηξ*, eine Doldenpflanze mit knotigen, markhaltigen Stengeln,' 'fennel-giant; branch, rod, splint.'

61. ON. *dys* 'aus Steinen aufgeworfener Grabhügel,' 'cairn,' Norw. dial. *dýysa* 'heap up,' *dóys* 'a fat, flabby woman,' *duse* 'tuft, bush,' *dos* 'bush,' *dusk* 'tuft, tassel, bush.' Here perhaps Gr. *θύια*, *θία* (\**dhusiā* 'tufted') 'thuya, a kind of juniper or arbor-vitae.'

EFris. *dūst* 'Haufen, wirre Masse' does not belong here (so Fick III<sup>4</sup>, 216). Cf. No. 62.

62. ON. *þústa* 'eine unförmliche Masse,' Norw. *tusta* 'tuft, bunch, bundle; a low tree with a bushy top,' EFrís. *dūst* 'Klumpen, Haufen, wirre Masse, Wulst, Büschel, Zotte,' OHG. *dosto* 'Doste, wilder Thymian,' MHG. *doste* 'Strauss, Büschel; Doste,' NHG. Bav. *dosten* 'Busch, buschartig sich Ausbreitendes': Skt. *tūṣa-h*, *-m* 'Zipfel, Franse,' *tūṣa-h* 'Hülse des Getreides,' \**tū-s-* 'bunch, tuft, tassel': Skt. *tūlam* 'Rispe, Wedel, Büschel,' Gr. *τῦλη* 'swelling, lump; pad, cushion,' Lat. *tumeo*, etc.

63. OE. *post*, OHG. *dost* 'stercus' are probably related to the above. Primary meaning 'lump.'

64. MHG. *līp* 'Leib, Körper,' MDu. *lijf* id.: ChSl. *libivŭ* 'gracilis,' Lith. *lāibas* 'schlank,' *lėbas* 'mager,' OS. *lēf* 'schwach, gebrechlich,' OE. *lēf* 'infirm, diseased, ill' (\**lēibho-*), NHG. Tirol. *loabelen* (MHG. \**leibelen*) 'zögernd, langsam tun,' *loabeler* 'matter, langsamer Mensch,' *loabelet* 'matt, kraftlos' (MLN. XXIV, 49, XXVI, 166) is a combination that seems not to have found favor. That it is correct I can now prove.

Germ. \**lība-* referred to the soft, fleshy part of the body as distinguished from the bones, pre-Germ. \**lībho-* or \**leibho-* 'giving way, soft, fleshy': Russ. dial. *libivj* 'schwach,' Czech *liběvy* 'mager,' *libovy* 'fleischig, ohne Fett,' *libivina* 'mageres, fettloses Fleisch,' Sloven. *libivo*, *libovina* 'Dickfleisch ohne Knochen,' Serb. *libiv* 'fleischig,' *libovina* 'Keule, Schlägel' (cf. Berneker, *Et. Wb.* 716).

Since the primary meaning of \**lei-bh-* was probably 'bend, give way, sink' (:Gr. *λινάμαι·τρέπομαι, λιάζομαι* 'weiche aus, entweiche, biege ab; sinke, falle,' etc.), we may also compare Serb. *libiti se* (sich ducken) 'schleichen, sich heranschleppen; vitare, evitare, effugere,' *libati* 'wanken; sinken.'

65. OE. *līra* 'fleshy parts of body, flesh,' *līreht* 'brawny,' NE. dial. Sc. *lire* 'flesh or muscles as distinguished from the bones,' MDu. *līre*, *liere* (-*ie-* either for *ī* or else Germ. *ē*, pre-Germ. *ēi*) 'fleshy part of the leg, calf' imply a Germ. adj. \**līza-* or \**līra* 'falling away: small, weak, soft, fleshy (as opposed to bony), lean, brawny (as opposed to fat).' This adj. is perhaps also in EFris. *līr-lūtje* 'winzig klein,' Du. *lier-lauw* 'lau, flau.'

If the *r* in these words is from *z*, compare OE. *lēssa* 'less' (Goth. \**laisiza*), *lēs* adv. 'less,' *lēst*, *lēsest*, *lērest* 'least, smallest,' OS. *lēś* adv. 'weniger': Lith. *lēsas* 'mager,' *lįsti* 'mager werden,' Lett. *lēss* 'mager, hager,' *lēsa gaļa* 'mageres Fleisch, auch bloss im Gegensatz zu Fette, das derbe Fleisch.' This is almost the exact equivalent of OE. *līra*. Here also belong OE. *gelīsian* 'slip, glide,' MHG. *līse* 'leise, sanft,' etc.

Possible though less probable is the connection of OE. *līra* with Gr. *λερός·ὁ ἰσχνὸς καὶ ὠχρός*.

66. Goth. *spaurds* 'Rennbahn,' OE. *spyrd* 'stadium, (foot) race-course; furlong,' OHG. *spurt* 'stadium' are compared by Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.*<sup>2</sup> 137, with Skt. *spṛ̥dh-* 'Kampf,' *spārdhatē* 'wetteifert, streitet.'

The primary idea was probably 'stretched out,' and so we may compare Skt. *sphārā-h* 'ausgedehnt,' *sphāyatē* 'wird feist,' OHG. *spuot* 'Gelingen, glücklicher Fortgang; Schnelligkeit, Beschleunigung,' OE. *spēd* 'success,' NE. *speed*, *speedway*, Lat. *spatium* 'space; course, race, track'; Gr. Arg. *σπάδιον* 'race-course, stadium' (cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*<sup>2</sup> 429).

67. OE. *spearwa* 'calf of the leg' is supposed to be identical with *spearwa*, Goth. *sparwa* 'sparrow.' Inasmuch as the calf of the leg is thought of and described as the thick or bulging part, this connection is improbable. Compare rather Gr. *σφαῖρα* 'ball, globe,' *σφυρόν* 'ankle,' *σφύρα* 'hammer,' *σφυράς*, *σφύραθος* 'round dung, as that of sheep and goats,' ON. *sparð* 'sheep's dropping,' Lith. *spirà* 'Schafmist,' OPruss. *sperclan* 'Zehenballen,' *sparts* 'stark.'

These words are commonly referred to Skt. *sphurāti* 'stösst mit dem Fusse weg, tritt, zuckt, zappelt,' Lat. *sperno*, etc. They go better, since they all indicate 'something round, bulging, swollen,' with Skt. *sphirā-h* 'feist,' *sphārā-h* 'ausgedehnt, reich, gross,' *sphāyatē* 'wird feist, nimmt zu,' etc.

68. Goth. *-waddjus* 'Mauer,' ON. *veggr* 'Wand' are properly referred to the IE. root *\*uēi-* 'wind, braid, plait' (cf. Walde, *Et. Wb.*<sup>2</sup> 835, with references). Compare, from the same root, Lett. *wija* 'ein von Strauch geflochtener Zaun.'

69. OE. *wāg* 'wall,' OFris. *wāch* 'Wand,' OS. *wēg* 'Mauer,' MDu. *wēch*, *weech* 'Wand, Mauer,' *wēgen* 'die Wände wiederherstellen' represent a pre-Germ. *\*uoiḱó-* 'anything plaited, wicker-work, fence, enclosure, Geflecht, Zaun, Wand, Gehege,' which may be referred to Lat. *vincio* 'bind,' Skt. *padvīcam*, *-vīcam* 'Schlinge, Fessel, Strick' (cf. *MLN.* XVIII, 16; *Class. Phil.* VII, 334).

To the same base belong Skt. *vēṣā-h* 'house' (*\*uoiḱó-s* = OE. *wāg*), Gr. *oikos* 'house, dwelling, temple, household, family,' Lat. *vīcus* 'village, street,' Goth. *weihs* gen. *weihsis* 'village,' etc.

For meaning compare the following: OHG. *zūn* 'Zaun,' OE. *tūn* 'enclosure round house, yard, garden; manor, farm; dwelling; village, town.'—Goth. *gairdan* 'gürten,' Lith. *žardis* 'Hürde,' OPruss. *sardis* 'Zaun,' OS. *gard* 'Umzäunung, Wohnung,' Goth. *gards* 'Haus, Familie.'

70. Goth. *weihs* 'heilig,' OS., OHG. *wīh*, etc., together with OS. *wīh* 'Heiligtum, Tempel,' OE. *wīg*, *wēoh* 'idol,' etc. may likewise be



compared with No. 69. The primary meaning would accordingly be 'enclosed, protected,' an 'enclosed, protected space.' For meaning compare OE. *ealgian* 'defend,' *ealh* 'temple,' Goth. *alhs*, etc.; Gr. *σηκός* 'a pen, fold; any dwelling; any enclosure; sacred enclosure, shrine.'

71. OE. *wīgol* 'belonging to divination,' *wīglian* 'practice divination,' *wicca* 'wizard,' *wicce* 'witch,' LG. *wicke* 'witch,' MDu. *wijchelen* 'practice divination,' etc. are referred by Zupitza, *Germ. Gutt.* 142, to Goth. *weihs* 'holy.' A more probable connection is with OHG. *wiaga*, MHG. *wiege*, *wige* 'Wiege,' *wigen* 'wiegen,' *weigen* 'schwanken,' Swiss *weiggen*, *waicken* 'wackelnd bewegen,' Norw. dial. *veiga* 'swing, sway,' MHG. *wigelen*, MDu. *wigelen*, *wiegelen* 'wanken,' NE. *wiggle*, EFris. *wiggeln* '(sich) hin und her bewegen, schwingen, schaukeln,' *wiggen* 'wiegen, schwingen, hin und her bewegen, schaukeln, gaukeln,' etc., with which compare Lett. *wīkti* 'geschmeidig werden, sich biegen,' Lith. *veikùs* 'schnell, flink,' etc.

For the meaning compare MHG. *gugen* 'schwanken,' *gogeln* 'sich ausgelassen geberden, hin und her flattern,' *gougern* 'umherschweifen,' *gougel*, *goukel* 'Zauberei, zauberisches Blendwerk,' *gougeln*, *goukeln* 'Zauberei, Gaukelpossen oder Taschenspielererei treiben.' Similarly Gr. *μάντις* 'diviner, prophet' belongs to *μανία* 'madness, frenzy,' *μαίνομαι* 'rage, be furious'; and Lat. *vātes* 'prophet, seer' to Goth. *wōds* 'wütend, besessen.'

72. ON. *veig* 'berauschendes Getränk; Trinkbecher' meant primarily not 'strength, strong, drink,' but 'fluid, liquid,' as is shown by Norw. *veigja* 'Flüssigkeit, Saft,' OE. *wāge*, OS. *wēgi* 'Becher,' OHG. *bah-weiga* 'lanx, discus,' NHG. Steir. *weike* 'Trog, in dem die zur Mälzung vorbereitete Gerste mit Wasser begossen wird,' *weiken* 'etwas in Flüssigkeit legen, um es dadurch weich oder leichter biegsam zu machen; refl. ein Wannenbad nehmen,' Swiss *weiggeln* 'runde hölzerne Schüssel.'

Compare with these Skt. *vīcti-h*, *vīcī* 'Welle, Woge,' MHG. *weigen* 'schwanken,' *weigec* 'schwankend, wackelnd,' *wiegen* 'wiegen,' etc. Cf. No. 71.

73. ON. *hófr* 'hoof,' OE. OS. *hōf*, OHG. *huof* 'Huf': Skt. *çaphá-h* 'Huf, Klaue,' Av. *safō* (Fick I<sup>4</sup>, 42, 206, 420) are semantically unexplained. The primary meaning was perhaps projecting point:

peg, pin, plug; claw, hoof.' Compare Skt. *çaphara-h* 'eine Karpfenart,' Lith. *szāpalas* 'Döbel, ein Fisch' (cf. Uhlenbeck *Ai. Wb.* 302), and for meaning NHG. *Döbel* 'Pflock, Zapfen: dickkopfiger Weissfisch' (Weigand<sup>5</sup>, I, 363).

That 'projecting point' was the primary meaning is made probable by the parallel formation: Skt. *çākhā* 'Ast, Zweig,' NPers. *šāx* 'Zweig, Ast; Horn, Geweih,' Lith. *szakà* 'Ast, Zweig,' OBulg. *sqkǔ* id., Skt. *çāṅkū-h* 'spitzer Pflock, Holznagel, Stecken, Pfahl,' etc. (cf. Horn *Np. Et.* 169; Uhlenbeck *Ai. Wb.* 301, 307).

These may be referred to the root *kō-i-* 'sharp; sharpen' in Skt. *çīçāti*, *çyāti* 'schärft, wetzt,' Gr. *kōvos* 'cone, peak,' Lat. *cōs*, *-tis* 'hard stone, flint, whetstone,' *catus* 'keen, shrewd,' etc.

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## THE BATTLE OF FRAGA AND LARCHAMP IN ORDERIC VITAL

In the introduction to his edition of the *Prise de Cordres et de Seville*, O. Densusianu calls attention to the resemblance between Orderic Vital's account of the battle of Fraga (1134) and the epic tradition of Larchamp.<sup>1</sup> In his opinion Orderic would have adapted the Larchamp story to the facts of Fraga. On the other hand, in a note on Densusianu's statement, Professor Raymond Weeks would have Orderic modify the real battle by the incidents of the epic legend.<sup>2</sup> Either conclusion may well be correct, but before we consider the point as definitely settled a more detailed analysis of Orderic's description might be worth while.

This description, whether by accident or design, is not reproduced in its entirety by Densusianu. Indeed Orderic himself inserts into it a paragraph on the death of Robert of Normandy. But it must be read as a unit in order to be fully understood.

Alphonso of Aragon was besieging Fraga. Its inhabitants asked aid from Africa. It came, but before joining battle its commander sent word to Alphonso to raise the siege. Then, Orderic says, "*rex sanctas sibi de capella sua reliquias deferri praecepit*," and on these relics the king swore he would do so only in case the city surrendered, or he was killed, or put to flight. Twenty barons swore with him. He then summoned his friends and neighbors (Orderic is not particularly consistent in his account), fell back on a nearby hill, and withstood the repeated attacks of the Arabs during three days and three nights. Finally Robert of Tarragona, with other allies, appeared, charged the exhausted infidels, and drove them in headlong rout.

But in this transitory life no mortal fortune endures. The Moslems of Fraga and the Christian renegades harbored there, fearing Alphonso's vengeance and the valor of his brave soldiers, "marked with the cross of Christ" (*Christi cruce signatos*), offered

<sup>1</sup> Edition of the "Société des anciens textes français," pp. xlvj-xlviii.

<sup>2</sup> *Modern Philology*, II, 234, n. 1.



peace and submission. In his obstinacy the king rejected all proposals, and vowed he would take the city by storm. In their despair the citizens sent again to Africa and to some of the pagan rulers of Spain.

This time the African prince came with a large army, and the emirs of Cordova, Dalmaria, and the cities of the coast. In five divisions they advanced. Two hundred camels, laden with supplies, formed the first, in order to tempt an attack from the booty-loving Christians. The other four remained concealed, to catch the pursuing enemy unawares.

At Fraga two rivers come together, the Segre and the Ebro (in reality the Cinca). On the plain between them the battle was fought ("in Campo Dolenti inter haec flumina pugnatum est"). Learning of the enemy's approach, Alphonso urged his leaders to be valiant. When the division of camels appeared he ordered Bertran of Carrion to charge it. Bertran suggested caution and strategy. Alphonso intimated cowardice, at which Bertran rushed forward, the train turned in flight, the countless supports came up and slaughtered the pursuers by the thousands. Alphonso, however, taking his stand on a hill, proposed to fight till death ("ad mortem usque pro Christo configere proposuit"). But the bishop of Urgel objected that should he fall the whole region would be possessed by the Pagans, and ordered him to escape. Choosing the weakest point in the hostile line, the king opened a way through with sixty knights—sixty reduced to barely ten when he finally cut his way out. And among the slain lay the bishop.

The joy of the Pagans was great. It was also untimely, for Alphonso is met on his flight to Saragossa by reinforcements of Aragonese and French. Calling on God to grant him one last vengeance before his death, he leads these fresh troops by devious ways to the shore, surprises the Arabs in the act of loading their vessels with spoil and prisoners, and crushes them. One boat was freighted with the heads of Christians, proofs of victory for the king of Africa. Another carried seven hundred prisoners and much treasure.

The heads recovered were consigned to the church for burial. The seven hundred prisoners, hearing the noise of the conflict, threw

off their chains, leaped ashore, seized the weapons of the fallen, and aided in the carnage. Thus was the joy of the infidels changed into mourning ("et Christiana cohors in cunctis operibus suis Deum benedixit"). Shortly afterward Alphonso fell ill and died.<sup>1</sup>

The legendary character of part of this description of the Fraga campaign is quite evident. So too is the religious bias of the author. Both excite pardonable suspicion of the accuracy of any section of the story. But before weighing romance against history on the basis of Orderic's narrative alone, it is advisable to compare his pages with the statements of another record of the same events, where there is not the least question of romancing.

The *Cronica de Alfonso VII* (-1147) dates but a few years after Orderic's *Historia*. It was written in Spain, not far from Fraga. It had the incidents of that great defeat fresh in mind. It, too, shows a strong partisan coloring, but it is a bias due to patriotism and not religion, and it works steadily against Alphonso, not for him. For all the king's mischance is attributed to his sins against the neighboring Christian kingdom of Leon.

In company with several bishops, among whom was Donao of Jaca, and numbering among his soldiers French knights and other allies, the *Cronica* tells us, Alphonso was besieging Fraga. The Arab ruler of Valencia and Murcia, Abengama by name, marched to its relief. In two battles he was driven from the field (*de campo*), leaving rich spoil for the victors.

With him, on this campaign, Alphonso carried a richly decorated shrine (*arca*), which contained a piece of the true cross. This shrine he had stolen from a monastery of Leon. He also had with him relics of the Virgin and various saints. All these sacred objects were kept in a tent, which the king used as a chapel, and which was pitched close by the royal tent. A large body of clergy watched over them. Now the people of Fraga, after Abengama had fled, offered to surrender. But Alphonso, as a punishment for his sins against Leon and Castille, answered that he intended to storm the town, kill its nobles, and make prisoners of their wives and children. And this answer he confirmed by a royal oath on his relics.

<sup>1</sup> *Historia ecclesiastica*, XIII, c. 8, 10 (edition of the "Société de l'Histoire de France," V, 16-23).

But Abengama had rallied another army, from Africa, Cordova, Seville, Granada, Valencia, and all Spain, knights, footmen, archers, "countless thousands." This fact, however, became known to Alphonso only at the hour when his sentinels espied the advancing host. He gave orders at once to defend the camp. But his forces had been weakened by the departure of many Aragonese nobles and other soldiers to collect supplies. The camp was surrounded, nor could the prayers of the clergy avail because of the king's sins. Unable to defend the camp the Christians drew out into the plain (*in campum*), whereupon an ambushed division of the Pagans stormed the camp, seized the shrines, and carried off many clergy and members of the royal household. But Danao, bishop of Jaca, remained on the field together with many nobles, French knights, and all the leading men of Aragon. Seven hundred foot soldiers, who formed the king's bodyguard, fell in one place. Finally Alphonso escaped to Saragossa with ten followers. He then took refuge in a monastery of his kingdom, and died in a few days of heart disease. The bishop of Lescar was carried to Valencia, put to the torture on account of his faith, and finally ransomed.<sup>1</sup>

If we compare this account of the campaign around Fraga with Orderic's, we are quickly convinced that both writers are telling the same story. Their general statements agree and so do curious details, which would seem surely legendary were the version of the *Historia* our only guide. Among these details are the three separate fights—two Moslem defeats and a final victory in the *Cronica*, a defeat, a victory, and a defeat in Orderic—the relics and the oath sworn on them, mysterious in Orderic (who, however, retains enough of his original to say that the relics were fetched *de sua capella*), plain in the *Cronica*, the escape of Alphonso with ten comrades, and the death of a bishop in battle. Even the rhetorical *in Campo Dolenti*, twice used in the *Historia*, may echo the source of *de campo*, *in campum* of the monk of Leon. And when Orderic tells us that the number of Christian captives on one ship was seven hundred, is he not influenced by the report which made seven hundred soldiers of Alphonso's bodyguard die in one place, as given in the *Cronica*? Of the two records the *Historia* is the earlier—about 1141, at the latest,

<sup>1</sup> *España Sagrada*, XXI, 339-42.



to about 1147, as the earliest for the *Cronica*. Therefore a common source seems quite plainly indicated.

How Orderic got his knowledge of Fraga, from manuscript or by word of mouth, is not so easily determined. The intimate correspondences noted above would point toward a written source. This source he would have worked over under the influence of epic romance. Or if his information reached him orally, he would have worked over what he had heard also. For only under the assumption of a revision of his first draft can Orderic's insertion of the death of the Norman duke into the midst of the Fraga campaign be explained. The death occurred while the campaign was in progress. A revision then would be what we have in the actual text of the *Historia*, and it is this revision, and not the original story, which first received the epic flavoring. Orderic had conceived quite another idea of Alphonso and his purpose from the one held by the monk of Leon. To the author of the *Cronica*, the king of Aragon was the enterprising ruler of a rival kingdom, whose sword had been quite as dangerous to Christians as it might be to infidels. His army was an aggregation of hardy freebooters. To Orderic, however, remote from the jealousies and internecine feuds of Christian Spain, Alphonso was nothing less than a worthy soldier of the Cross. His followers, subjects or foreigners, were genuine Crusaders—*Christi cruce signatos*, in his own words. And this conception, firmly implanted in Orderic's mind and profiting by the memories of other combats between believers and unbelievers which it found there, was the leaven, we believe, which leavened the entire record of the *Historia*.

Two especial models of legendary wars between Christians and Pagans offered themselves to Orderic at the time of his final revision of the Fraga campaign. The one, which does not receive direct mention anywhere in his work, was the *Chanson de Roland*. The other, to which he refers at least twice elsewhere, was the story of Larchamp. Now Orderic's Fraga, we think, was constructed after the pattern of the *Roland*, though it incorporated into its narrative, beyond a doubt, important sections of Larchamp. For Orderic divides his account of the struggle around Fraga into three distinct battles: a Christian victory, a Christian defeat, a Christian revenge. This division, we recall, is the division made by *Roland*, and in the

same order. At Larchamp, if we follow the *Chanson de Guillaume*, three Christian defeats preceded the Christian triumph. In the *Cronica*, presumably accurate from the point of view of history, two Christian victories—tersely told—were more than counterbalanced by the final rout.<sup>1</sup>

In harmonizing his division of the Fraga battles with the facts as he must have known them, Orderic shows unsuspected skill. The two defeats of the Moslems, in the *Cronica*, are fused into one long struggle of three days and three nights, in the *Historia*. Orderic's second battle and the annihilation of Alphonso's army, together with the escape of its leader, parallels, even in its accessories, the record of the *Cronica*. The cause of the defeat, Alphonso's oath on relics, his *demesure*, to borrow an epic term, is stressed in both narratives. In the pagan ambush which storms the Christian camp in the *Cronica* we see the original of the ambush which overwhelmed Alphonso's men, when they rushed to spoil the division of camels. And here also may be a beginning of epic, the *demesure* of the oath suggesting to Orderic the *demesure* of the taunt of cowardice flung by the king at Bertran's wise caution.

Perhaps in this second battle of Orderic there is a direct reminiscence of a detail of *Roland*. We do not mean the death of a bishop on the field. A bishop had perished in the *Cronica* also. Still this likeness to *Roland* may have occurred to Orderic, as it does to us, and opened the way for a direct citation. Alphonso, we remember, when ordered to escape by the bishop (an incident of the *Historia* which is not mentioned by the *Cronica*), charged at the head of sixty men, of whom only ten survived the onset. Ten fugitives from Fraga figure in the *Cronica*. That number, therefore, may be regarded as historical. But whence the idea of the sixty who made the attempt? May we not suppose that at this moment, aroused by the striking resemblance between history and epic, there was running through Orderic's mind the familiar lines:

Tuit sunt ocis cist Franceis chevalier,  
Ne mais seisante que Deus ad espargniez.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Christian victory in *Roland* comes after a prolonged contest in which Marsilies' army is driven from the field; cf. *Roland*, ll. 1910-13.

<sup>2</sup> *Roland*, ll. 1688, 1689. Earlier in the *Historia*, another line of *Roland*, "Male cancum n'en deit estre cantée" (l. 1466), seems to be paraphrased in Orderic's "Ne turpis cantilena de vobis cantetur in orbe" (*Historia*, XI, c. 26 [edition cited, IV, 255]). See *Modern Language Notes*, XXVIII (November, 1913), 205, n.6.

But the *Roland's* influence on Orderic's Fraga should not be exaggerated at the expense of Larchamp. It may indeed be indebted to *Roland* for its general plan, and for this particular number of sixty. To Larchamp it surely owes the whole third battle, and one or two of the incidents which accompany the other two. For instance, the first battle is said to last three days and three nights. Where did Orderic get this precise notion of the battle's length, unless from William's resistance to the Pagans from early on Monday until Thursday before prime?<sup>1</sup> Alphonso's vow, which provoked the fight, would have suggested Vivien's, and have thus led up to this loan from the epic. Again would not the battlefield of the second encounter, the *campus* of the *Cronica*, be qualified as "Campus Dolens" because of the Larchamp disaster? Certainly Alphonso's dearly bought escape with but ten comrades must have reminded Orderic of William's lonely flight. And in these correspondences between history and legend, so constantly recurring, would there not lie the genesis of the impulse which made Orderic pattern the Christian revenge, the culmination of his tragedy, on the victory won at last by the Christian champion at Larchamp? For with this victory Orderic cuts loose from all ties of fact, to give vent to his great longing to celebrate the triumph of the Cross. With history he also sacrifices topography. He crosses with a bound river and mountain, and, assembling his hostile forces once more on the shore, pictures the utter ruin of the Pagans after the manner of a *Guillaume* or an *Aliscans*—not, however, without a lingering trace of the real Fraga perhaps. Seven hundred is the number of Christian prisoners who leap from the ship to join in the fray. Seven hundred was the number of the king's bodyguard that the *Cronica* tells us fell in one place. Is it history or legend which is guiding Orderic's pen? Or is the coincidence merely accidental?<sup>2</sup> But the boatload of Christian heads is neither authenticated by history nor furnished, to my knowledge, by legend, although it possesses a genuine epic flavor.

And so Orderic dramatizes an event which in its own actual episodes was already highly dramatic. He has availed himself of the resources of history and legend to construct, according to the desire

<sup>1</sup> *Chanson de Guillaume*, II. 1119-22.

<sup>2</sup> We should also cite the passage of *Guillaume* (I. 3023), where Rainouart kills seven hundred Pagans in one boat.



of his own heart, the story of the conflict of Crusader and infidel. That conflict absorbed in his day the engrossing interest of the civilized world, an interest which excuses Orderic for his mingling fiction with fact. Yet had we no other record of Alphonso's campaign than the narrative of Orderic's *Historia*, or were the illuminating pages of the *Cronica* written in France of Philip Augustus rather than in Spain by a contemporaneous chronicler, how could we determine, in Orderic's account, what was fact and what was fiction? Without this veracious guide, how should we know that the oath which occasioned the Campus Dolens disaster was not as legendary as the story of Alphonso's revenge, that the bishop who ordered the flight of the king and who, like Turpin, fell on the field, was not a character of fiction, quite as much as the seven hundred who broke their chains to share in the final triumph? Alphonso escaped with ten companions. Who could have thought this statement at all allied with fact? The figure sixty is found in *Roland* and not in the *Cronica*. Is this negative evidence enough to warrant our assumption that Orderic got that number from *Roland* and not from his source? For the latter gave him the seven hundred, which he reserved for another and poetic use. Was the taunt which provoked Bertran's fatal charge on the camel train an invention? And why should a battle which lasted three days and three nights belong to the realm of romance rather than to the annals of history?

An answer to each or all of these queries brings a lesson home to all lovers of epic poetry. For in the light of these concrete examples, furnished by the two accounts of the Fraga campaign, the vital relation of epic legend to historical fact stands revealed. And we realize that the epic poetry of mediaeval France reflects, by no means unfaithfully, the history of mediaeval France, history not in its general trend alone but, even where we are least suspicious of it, history in its minor details.

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## THE ROMANIC VOWEL-SYSTEM

The early history of Romanic speech was divided into three periods, characterized by the treatment of stressed vowels other than *a*. In the first period there were only slight differences of quality between the long and the short sounds of *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*. Sardinian reflects this primitive condition. In the second period the palatal vowels developed greater qualitative differences, dependent on quantity; from this basis are derived Rumanian *ie* < *e*, *e* < *ē*, *e* < *ī*, *i* < *ī*, beside *o* < *ō*, *o* < *ō*, *u* < *ū*, *u* < *ū*. In the third period the velar vowels underwent changes parallel with the second-period development of palatal vowels: thus Italian generally treats *ō* and *ū* alike.

It is commonly but wrongly held that Italian and western Romanic represent the third-period vowel-system alone. They show many traces of earlier conditions, and their history cannot be understood if we ignore this fact. The evidence of Sardinian is not isolated: in the other languages palatal-influence often formed close *i* directly from *ī*, and close *u* directly from *ū*. Close *e* and close *o* were not subject to such influence in western Romanic, so that we usually have a means of testing the formation of *i* and *u*. In order to explain the consonant-developments involved, a few special symbols must be used: *η* = English final *ng*; *ñ* as in Spanish; *g* = Bohemian *d'*; *κ* = Bohemian *t'*; *λ* = Portuguese *lh*; *δ* = English voiced *th*.

### PORTUGUESE EVIDENCE

In Portuguese, as in the other western Romanic tongues, we must distinguish between palatal-influence and harmonic change. The law of harmony, with regard to stressed vowels, is this: in the third period, after the general change of *ū* to *o*, palatal vowels became *i* and velar vowels became *u*, if they were followed by (but not in contact with) close *i* or close *u*. The vowel *a* was neutral, neither palatal nor velar, and was therefore free from harmonic influence. Stressless hiatus-*i* and hiatus-*u* regularly became close, without regard to the original quality. Examples are *fiz* < *fēcī*, *vendima* < *\*vendimia*

< *uindēmia*, *cubro* < \**cubrio* < \**cōprio* (for *cooperio*); *pude* < *pudi* < \**podi* < \**poudi* < *potuā*, besides *pôde* < \**poudet* < *potuit*, with contraction of *ou* to close *o* before *au* became *ou*. From *tibio* < \**tebio* < \**tebeo* < \**tebeðo* < *tepidu* it is clear that the harmonic principle was active at a rather late time, after the loss of *ð* between vowels. We may therefore assume \**dovio* < *dubiu*, \**rovio* < *rubeu* (or *rubidu*), \**vedrio* < *uitreu*, \**veduau* < *uidua*, parallel with *gota* < *gutta*, *verde* < *viride*. Afterward, when *u* was developed in \**cubrio* and *i* in \**uendimia*, similar changes took place in \**dovio* > \**duvio* (whence *duvidar* instead of \**dovedar* < *dubitāre*), \**rovio* > \**ruvio* > *ruivo*, \**vedrio* > \**vidrio* > *vidro*, \**vedua* > \**viðua* > \**viuða* > *viuva*.

The foregoing theory of *i* < *e* < *i* and *u* < *o* < *u* is helped out by various words that have kept *e* or *o*. In *atrevo* < *attribuo*, *coso* < *consuo*, *poço* < *puteu*, *vezo* < *uitiu*, the hiatus-vowels were lost too early to affect the stressed vowels. In *nédio* < *nitidu*, the influence of *neto* < *nitidu* seems to have protected the *e*; Galician has normal *nidio*. If *lenga-lenga*, "long speech," is connected with *lingua* < \**lengua* < *lingua*, its *e* can be explained by an early loss of *u*. The *e* of *équa* < *equa* may be due to normal *e* in a lost \**ego* < *equu*. In *dei* < *dedi*, *agoiro* < *auguriu*, *goiva* < *gubia*, *marroio* < *marrubiu*, *e* and *o* were kept because they were in contact with *i* before the principle of harmony was active. Such words show the need of distinguishing contact-change from harmonic change. By contact the palatals made open vowels close, but left close *e* and close *o* unmodified. By harmonic influence, after open *i* and open *u* were lost, close *i* was developed from close *e* (representing *ae*, *ě*, *ē*, *ï*), and close *u* from close *o* (representing *ō*, *ō*, *ũ*). Harmony could cause double changes, from open *e* and *o* through close *e* and *o* to *i* and *u*, whereas palatal-influence caused only single vowel-changes.

In the first period of Portuguese, *ŋg* became *ñg* before a palatal vowel; by assimilation *ŋl* was changed to *ñl*, and *ny* to *ññ*. These *ñ*-formations produced *i* < *ï* and *u* < *ũ*. Examples are *cinge* < *cingit*, *tinge* < *tingit*, *junge* < *iungit*, *cilha* < *cin(gu)la*, *tinha* < *tinea*, *cunha* < \**cunea*. In *cilha* < \**kiñla* < \**kiŋla*, the nasal was assimilated as in Italian *porre* < *pōnere*. The normal development of *ŋgl* was through *ñgλ* (in the second period) to *ññ*, but by an early dissimilation, before *k* became an affricate, \**kiŋla* changed to \**kiŋla*. Similar elimina-



tions are seen in *boi* for *\*bove* < *boue*, *falar* for *\*fawlar* < *fābulāre*, *proa* < *prōra*.

The *o* of *cegonha* < *cicōnia* shows that *u* in *cunha* was developed directly from *ũ*, not by way of *o*. The apparently discordant *testemunho* is an early book-word, with *-unho* < *\*-unio* < *-onio* corresponding to *ruivo* < *\*ruvio* < *\*rovio*. In *cegonha* and *vergonha* < *uerecundia* (a later development explained below), weak *i* did not affect the stressed vowels; evidently it was lost before *\*rovio* became *\*ruvio*. The sound *ñ* was formed in *cegonha* at the same time as in *tinha* and *cunha*. Therefore these two words lost weak *i* before the harmonic law was active, and their close vowels must be considered contact-developments. Thus the formation of *tinha* < *tinea* was direct, and entirely different from that of *vidro* < *\*vedrio* < *uitreu*.

In the first period *g* changed to *ɣ* before a palatal vowel. In the second period, after close *i* was established in the derivatives of *cingit* and *tinea*, and after open *i* had become close *e*, the nasal-group *ɣn* (*gn* in Latin spelling) was changed to *ññ* by assimilation, likewise *ɣl* to *ñɣl* (whence later *ññ* and *ñ*); intervocalic *ɣ* and *ɣy* became *y* or *yy*. Before these palatals *ũ* made close *u*, as before *ñ* in the first period; but *ĩ* made *e* in accord with *e* < *ē* under the same conditions. Examples are *lenho* < *lignu*, *senha* < *signa*, *punho* < *pugnu*, *cenho* < *cingulu*, *senhos* < *singulos*, *unha* < *ungula*, *correia* < *corrigia*, *dedo* < *digitu*, *fuja* < *fugiat*. The *o* of *foge*, for *\*fuge* or *\*fui* < *fugit* (compare *rei* < *rēge*), is presumably analogic, like open *o* in *córre* beside normal close *o* in *córra* < *currat*.

We must assign to the third period palatal-developments that accompany *o* < *u*. In cases differing from those already mentioned, we find a late formation of *ñ*, which left close *e* and close *o* unchanged: *vence* < *\*veñket* < *uincit*, *onça* < *\*oñkya* < *uncia*, *troncho* < *\*troñklo* < *trunculu*, *conha*<sup>1</sup> < *calumnia*, *vergonha* < *uerecundia*. From *cinge* beside *vence* and *unha* beside *troncho*, it is clear that *κ* < *k* was later than *ɣ* < *g* under similar conditions. The other words lost *i* before the harmonic law was active. The group *mñ* kept *m* until after *gutta* became *gota* (or *\*gotta*); then *m* was assimilated, in accord with *sono* < *somnu*. Another development was dissimilative, like *alma* < *anima*: *mñ* changed to *my*, after *\*rovio* had become *\*ruvio*, giving the variant *coomia* < *coima*.

<sup>1</sup> *Revista Lusitana*, III, 265.

## SPANISH EVIDENCE

Spanish and Portuguese seem to have shared the harmonic law at first; compare Span. *hice*, *vendimia*, *ubro*, *pude*, *tibio*, *dudar*, *rubio*, *vidrio*, *viuda*. But its action was weaker in Spanish, which has *lengua* and *recio* beside Port. *língua* and *rijo* < \**rezio* < \**ricidu* (*rigidu* modified by *flaccidu*). These *e*-forms corroborate the theory of *i* < *e* < *i* explained above; so too does *vebda*, a variant of *viuda*. Evidently *viuda* corresponds to Port. *viuva*, with *δ* kept as in *nido* beside Port. *ninho* < \**nio* < *nīdu*; the other form represents \**veḍva*, with *v* added as in Italian *vedova*. Apparently *di* is a contraction of *diey*, which has been preserved dialectally,<sup>1</sup> and which shows that vowel-harmony was a late development, not active until after the fracturing of *e*. We may assume *u* < *o* < *u* in *gubia* and *marrubio*; on account of the Portuguese forms, it is not likely that the Spanish words are bookish. *Agüero* stands for earlier \**agoiro* = Port. *agoiro*, and *yegua* corresponds to Port. *égua*.

The Portuguese first-period formations of *i* and *u* agree with *ciñe*, *tiñe*, *uñe*, *cija*, *tiña*, *cuña*. The word *uñe* can be explained in two ways: \**quñge* may have become \**uñge* by dissimilation, in accord with \**kiñla* < \**kiñgla*, *proa* < *prōra*, or the initial consonant may have been mistaken for the derivative of *illā* found in *gelo* < \**gelo* < *illā* *illu*.

The evidence furnished by Port. *cegonha* and *vergonha* is valid for the Spanish equivalents, as *cigüeña* and *vergüeña* have replaced older forms ending in \**-oiña* < \**-oña* with close *o*. The idea of assuming *ō* beside *ō* in *cicōnia*, as some writers have done, is not only groundless but useless: the ending *-ōnia*, found in various geographic names, made Span. \**-oña*, the *o* becoming close on account of palatal-contact. Close *o* changed to *oi* before *ñ*, and *oi* became *ue* as in *agüero*. Thus early Spanish has *Catalueña*<sup>2</sup> = Catalan *Catalunya*; the Catalan *u* (< *uo*) requires a primitive open *o*, in accordance with *ull* < \**uoλλo* < *oculu* beside *genoll* < \**genuculu*.

Vowels of the second period are seen in *leño*, *seña*, *puño*, *ceño*, *seños*, *uña*, *correa*, *dedo*, *huya*, *huye*, and those of the third period in *vence*, *onza*, *troncho*, *caloña*, \**vergoña* < \**vergoiña* < *vergüeña*. The

<sup>1</sup> Menéndez Pidal, *Gramática histórica española*, Madrid, 1905, p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> Menéndez Pidal, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

group *mñ* lost *m* too late for *o* to become *oi*. The developments of *fugiat* and *uerecundia* show that *ʒy* < *gy* was formed earlier than *ʒy* < *dy*.

## FRENCH EVIDENCE

The formation of *ñ* was comparatively late in French, so that we find third-period vowels in *ceindre*, *joindre*, *teigne*, *coin*, *poin*, as in *veintre*, *once*, *chalonge*, *vergogne*. But the second-period Spanish vowels followed by *y* agree with French *correie*, *deit*, *fuie*, *fuit*.

French has *-oir* < *\*-oiro* (=Port.-*oiro*) < *-ōriu*, but *eür* < *augūriu* against Port. *agoiro*. This shows that Portuguese had *\*agurio* in the second period, and formed *agoiro* < *\*agorio* in the third, whereas the French displacement occurred in the second (or first) period and caused open *u* to become close by palatal-influence. The diphthong then contracted to a simple vowel, before the development of a similar diphthong in *cuir* < *coriu*.

It is customary to call *puiz* < *puteu* irregular, because it seems to disagree with *croiz* < *cruce*. The reason for the difference is to be found in the history of the palatals: *k* had to travel a long distance to reach palatalized *dz* (or *ts* as a final), while *ty* produced this affricate after undergoing only a slight change. Thus *puiz*, instead of being irregular, proves that for French, as for the other Romanic tongues, we must admit a sound-system earlier than the "vulgar" one that confused *ũ* with *ō*. *Croiz* shows a third-period development, like *once*; *puiz* is earlier, just as Span. *puño* is earlier than *onça*.

## PROVENÇAL EVIDENCE

The dialects of southern France generally have vowels corresponding in chronology to those of the north; a notable case is *aur* < *augūriu*. But we also find variants that indicate an approach to the speech of Italy or Spain. Thus in addition to *jonher*, *conh*, and *ponh*, with third-period vowels as in *vergonha*, there are the forms *junher*, *cunh*, and *punh*, implying earlier *ñ*. Likewise *det* has the variant *dit* < *digitu*, with an earlier formation of *y*, so that *u* in the derivatives of *fugit* may represent the second period for some regions and the first for others.



## ITALIAN EVIDENCE

The western Romanic tongues share the principle of vowel-harmony: Port. *fiz*, Span. *hice*, French *fis*, Catalan *fiu* (< \**fiu* < \**fiδ* < \**fidz*) < \**fidzi* < *fēcī*. French *vendenge* and Catalan *venema* are not really exceptions; they show that harmony was a late development, and that in these languages \**vendemia* lost *i* at an early time. But Italian lacks harmonic change: *feci*, *nocqui*, *vendemmia*, *venti*. We may therefore expect to find other peculiar features in Italian. One of these is the closing effect of *η*: *lingua* < *lingua*, *tinca* < *tinca*, but *tronco* < *truncu*. The date of *η*-influence is dependent on the history of *g*.

Simple *y* was developed earlier than *yy*: thus we find a first-period *i* < *ĭ* in *dito* < *digitu*, but second-period vowels in *correggia*, *fuggia* (whence by analogy *fugga*). The doubling in *fugge* seems to be normal, as in *gregge* < *grege*, *legge* < *lēge*, *legge* < *legit*; apparently *re* comes from *rēx*, not from *rēge*. That is, in the first period *digitu*, *fugit*, *grege*, *lēge*, and *legit* formed *y* < *ȳ* < *g*, while *corrigia* and *fugiat* had *ȳy* < *gy*; in the second period *yy* replaced *ȳy* and the intervocalic *y* of paroxytones. Thus the *u* of *fugge* may be considered a first-period development, historically different from that of *fuggia*.

A first-period formation of *ñ* explains the vowels of *cinge* (*cigne*), *giunge* (*giugne*), *tigna*; the discordant *cogno* seems to be borrowed from some dialect that has *giongere* (a form mentioned by Petròcchi) for *giungere*. Vowels of the second period are seen in *legno*, *segno*, *pugno*, and those of the third period in *oncia*, *calogna*, *vergogna*. The difference between *vince* and *oncia* is parallel with that between *tinca* and *tronco*. In the second period the derivative of *lignu* developed *e* and changed *ηn* to *ññ*, while the derivatives of *tinca* and *uincit* had *e* and *ηk*; the *ηk* of \**venket* is attested by *oncia* < *uncia*, which (on account of the second period *u* in *pugno*) must have been \**onkya* until the third period. In the second period \**tenka* changed to *tiŋka*, and \**venket* to \**viŋket*, repeating a development found in Latin.<sup>1</sup> In the third period \**oŋkya* and \**viŋket* were formed; thus the *i* of *vince* is historically different from that of *cinge*. We cannot assume *ñ*-influence in \**viŋket*, for *e* is kept in *legno*. And we cannot assume an indirect *i* < *e* (with a second-period *ηg*) in *cinge*, for the

<sup>1</sup> Stolz-Schmalz, *Lateinische Grammatik*, München, 1910, p. 40.

early alteration of *digitu* requires a first-period development of  $\tilde{n}g < \eta g$  in *cingit*. This chronologic difference in the treatment of *k* and *g* agrees with the distinction made in Portuguese (and in Spanish), as stated above; Port. *cinge:tenca:vence* = Span. *ciñe:tenca:vence* = Ital. *cinge:tinca:vince*. The apparent disagreement is due to a secondary formation of  $i < e$  before  $\eta$  in Italian, unknown in the West.

It is not clear whether  $i < \tilde{i}$  was a direct development in *ciglia* < *cilia*. If *Corniglia* < *Cornēlia* is Tuscan, the *i* of *ciglia* could have been an indirect development. But *Corniglia* may be borrowed from one of the southern dialects in which every  $\bar{e}$  makes *i*. In either case *ciglia* (= Span. *ceja*) might be a direct first-period formation, like *dito* beside Span. *dedo*.

#### GENERAL EVIDENCE

In the first period, stressed hiatus-*i* became close; likewise stressed hiatus-*u* before a non-labial vowel. These facts, which are commonly admitted, and the foregoing evidence, which is usually ignored or misinterpreted, show that the Romanic vowels are in general based on those of classic Latin.

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## THE MOONCALF

No creature has had more undeserved greatness thrust upon it than had a poor misshapen calf born at Freiberg in Saxony on December 8, 1522. Its hind legs were straight like a man's; one foreleg was curled close to its body and the other extended in front of it. Its skin hung in loose wrinkles and what particularly distinguished it was a large fold over the head and shoulders resembling a monk's cowl. So remarkable a monster must certainly portend something awful; its fame spread with incredible rapidity. Almost instantly an artist was secured to take its picture, though, to judge by the result, in doing so he forgot to ask it to "look pleasant." The likeness, together with a note of the time of its birth, was sent forthwith to the best local expert on monsters, an astrologer living at Prague. This gentleman in his professional capacity doubtless had one eye fixed on the heavenly bodies, but the other was cocked on a body of quite a different nature, the Inquisition, which was particularly strong and vigilant in Bohemia. After casting the creature's horoscope, and after due consideration of the conjunction (near Prague) of the bodies heavenly and infernal, the learned scientist discovered that the monster did indeed signify something terrible, indeed the most awful thing possible—Martin Luther. This important addition to human knowledge was communicated to the world in a broadside published in less than a month after the calf's birth, dedicated to Margrave George of Brandenburg. Strange to say, that nobleman was not as pleased as he should have been to have his name appear in connection with those of the astrologer, the abortion, and the heretic, for on January 5, 1523, he wrote Luther a long and labored letter protesting that he had been ignorant of the intentions of the stargazer and disapproved of his zeal. Whether he also apologized to the calf, history does not relate. He called the astrologer a fool.

The Margrave's ungracious attitude was not shared in most Catholic circles, where the glad tidings of the pointed and personal rebuke thus delicately administered by heaven to Martin Luther

were received as the highest possible vindication of the noble science of astrology. The brochure of the savant of Prague was appropriately phrased in technical language incomprehensible to the ordinary layman, but like all great messages it was soon taken up and popularized. Among the several literateurs who undertook this task, the most eminent was perhaps Rev. John Dobneck, commonly called Cochlaeus, who with incredible rapidity published two works on the subject, one in Latin, *Against the Cowled Minotaur of Wittenberg*, and one in German, *A Christian Warning of the City of Rome to Germany*. His *haute vulgarisation* sometimes became very vulgar indeed. Coming from a man who had seen Luther only two years previously his personal assurance that in appearance the "half-monkish calf" closely resembled the heretic is worth much.

Luther's enemies were at no pains to conceal their conclusions from him; rather they felt it their duty to call his attention to the crushing snub he had received from the higher powers. Among his many admirable qualities that of treating attacks with silent contempt was conspicuous by its absence. One day a student at Wittenberg, Lemnius by name, published a set of indecent and cutting verses lampooning his teacher. Such ebullitions of youthful spirits are not unknown nowadays, but we should hardly expect a leading professor of Harvard or Oxford to retaliate in the way chosen by the theologian of Saxony. Not content with expelling Lemnius, as he very well deserved, Luther wrote a counter set of satiric verses against him, in which the candid reader must recognize that the scurrility of the original offender was well over-trumped.

So in the present case Luther was not to be outdone. If interpreting monsters was the rage, he would give the very best interpretation—from the polemic standpoint—possible. In the previous year his attention had been arrested by a description of a truly horrific creature said to have been found in the Tiber in 1496. Monsters were apparently as common then in the flesh as they are now in art, and perhaps they fulfilled much the same function of stimulating a jaded curiosity. In this case, the animal was a bit extreme, perhaps of the post-impressionist or cubist variety; it had an ass's head, a woman's body, an elephant's foot, a fish's fin, a dragon's head in place of a tail—this face probably had a *stern* expression—and

other attractions to match. In the good old times it was as plain as day to the meanest intellect—and unfortunately to some others—that such a nondescript must be a portent of divine wrath. Luther and Melanchthon accordingly held a consultation over these two creatures, and did not take long in discovering that they were unmistakable warnings sent by heaven to the Catholics, practical satires, as it were, published by the Creator against his particular enemies, the pope and the monks. Why not? They were precisely in the taste of most sixteenth-century polemics. Being interpreted they were, in short, the “pope-ass” and the “monk-calf.” The first of these words was built on the analogy of the second, which was, in turn, a pun of the kind Luther loved, on the earlier German word “mooncalf.” *Mondkalb* was already in good usage to signify a false conception, or a mass of dead flesh, which Pliny calls *mola*. Prior to Luther’s time it had not been used in the sense of monster, but only in the technical anatomical way. The German Reformer was not free from the besetting sin of many great writers in letting the sound not only echo the sense but predetermine it, and under his powerful pen the term *Mönchkalb*, already half suggested by Cochlaeus, sprang into the literary language of the Fatherland.

In order to present their views to the public, the Wittenberg professors collaborated in a work published with all possible speed under the title: *Deutung der zwo gewlichen Figuren, Bapstesels zu Rom und Munchkalbs zu freyberg jn Meyssen funden. Philippus Melanchthon. Doct. Martinus Luther. Wittenberg. M.D. xxij.* Melanchthon took the first monster and set forth with great lucidity the opinion that the ass’s head signified the mental capacity of the popes, the woman’s body their sensuality, the elephant’s foot their tyranny, and so on. Luther’s interpretation of the second creature is more to our present purpose. The Reformer, having sometimes been called by his followers a prophet, begins by denying the soft impeachment, but says that though he cannot foretell the future with certainty he hopes that the calf is a presage of the day of judgment. At any rate it is plain that by this animal God has symbolized the nature of the monks, just as in Dan. 8:21 he represented Alexander the Great by a he-goat. “That God has put the clerical dress and the holy cowl on a calf is an undoubted and plain sign that the whole of monkery and



nunnery is nothing else than a false, lying appearance and an outward pretense of a spiritual and godly life." Furthermore, the wrinkles and divisions of the skin point to the division of the monks into various orders; the posture of the forelegs suggests the attitude of a preacher, a blind leader of the blind. All the supposed vices of the monastic life, but particularly hypocrisy, are traced in the malformation of this creature. The author closes with the most sensible remark in the whole essay, namely, that he does not ground his rejection of monastic vows on such signs, clear warnings as they are, but only on the Bible.

This little pamphlet of eight pages enjoyed much popularity. It was reprinted seven times in the same year. In an edition of 1535 Luther wrote a postscript which he called an "Amen," underscoring the invective of Melancthon. In 1545 he returned to the same idea in a polemic against the Papacy. The original work did not go long without an answer, this time by the learned divine Jerome Emser, who in a pamphlet published in 1524 asserted: "Although the contumacious monk [Luther] well knows that the said calf signifies nothing but himself and his followers the apostate clergy, yet in his farce published at the last carnival he tries to interpret it against the other good and pious monks."

In about a generation the monk-calf attained an international reputation, marked by the translation into French of the essays of the Wittenberg professors, under the title: *De Deux monstres prodigieux, à savoir, D'un Asne-Pape, qui fut trouué à Rome en la riuere du Tibre, l'an M. CCCC.XCVI, et D'un Veau-moine nay a Friberg en Misne, l'an M.D.XXVIII* [sic]. *Qui sont vrais presages de l'ire de Dieu: attestez & declarez, l'un par P. Melancthon, & l'autre par M. Luther. Avec Quelques exemples des iugemens de Dieu en la morte espouuantable, & desespoir de plusieurs, pour auoir abandonné la verité de l'Euangile. Chez Jean Crespin. M.D.LVII.* The translator, whoever he was, succumbed to the temptation to improve upon the original, for he retouched the Ass-pope drastically and the Monk-calf lightly. As the printer, Jean Crespin, was a capable writer, apparently familiar with German, it is possible that he made the version himself. His press was at Geneva, devoted chiefly to publishing the works of his friend John Calvin. In October, 1557, Crespin was buying books at

the Frankfort fair, and it is possible that he got the German work then, though it is also quite likely that he or the translator got it elsewhere earlier. It is perhaps allowable to see in the political situation of the Calvinists a stimulus to the translation of the work at this time. Not only were Protestants being burned in England, France, and large parts of Germany, but the strained relations of the Lutherans and Calvinists rendered their position doubly precarious. In 1557 they were almost at swords' points; it was feared at Geneva that the Lutherans would unite with the Catholics, as they had done once before, to crush the more radical branch of the Reformed church. Calvin was so exasperated that he called his fellow-Protestants "ministers of Satan" and "professed enemies of Christ." It is quite possible then, indeed quite probable, that the French version of the pamphlet in question may have been intended to widen the breach between Catholics and Lutherans. Without positive information on this subject, however, this can remain only a conjecture.

From France the two monsters made their way into England, a confirmation in detail of the general fact established by Sir Sidney Lee that in the sixteenth century England was more open to French than to German literary influences. The title of the version runs as follows: *Of two Wonderful Popish Monsters, to wyt, Of a Popish Asse which was found in Rome in the riuer Tyber (1496) and of a Moonkish Calfe, calued at Friberge in Misnie (1528). Which are the very shewings and tokens of God's wrath against the blind, obstinate and monstrous Papists. Witnessed and declared, the one by P. Melanchthon, the other by M. Luther. Translated out of French into English by John Brooke of Assh. London. Th. East. 1579.* John Brooke, of Ash-next-Sandwich, was a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, chiefly known for his translations of six French tracts between 1577 and his death in 1582. East was a well-known printer, probably a scion of the Italian house of Este, who made a specialty of music, though he also published other things.

Thus introduced to the British public, the "moonkish calfe" seems to have had a greater success than has hitherto been recognized. There are the best of reasons for believing that this little tract gave a new meaning, and thus a new lease of life, to the word "mooncalf,"

which had previously been used only in an anatomical or pathological sense, but now began to signify "monster," and, derivatively, "fool." Thus in Cooper's Latin *Thesaurus* (1565), "moonecalfe" is given as the translation of the Latin word *mola* (literally "mole"), a growth of dead flesh. Similar instances of this use might be cited, but according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, an extremely reliable guide in these matters, no example of the word in the sense of "monster" can be found in any author earlier than Shakespeare. I do not think that Shakespeare borrowed the word directly from the pamphlet; the great dramatist did not care for "the spleeny Lutherans," as he called them, and probably read as little of them as possible. My contention is that the word in the new sense was *mis à la mode* by the tract, and that, after having attained popular currency, it was taken from the mouths of the people into formal literature about a generation after the translation of the Lutheran pamphlet. Consider the data. "Mooncalf" is unknown in the signification of "monster" and is rare in any sense prior to the first years of the seventeenth century. Then, all of a sudden, in Shakespeare, Jonson, Drayton, Chapman, and others it becomes almost common. Something must have occurred to produce this change. The springs of language lie deep, but its laws are as exact as are any other natural laws. It is the universally observed rule that words come into popular use before they are taken into literature. The noun we are considering must have come into general currency in the last part of the sixteenth century. To those familiar with the appetite for the marvelous displayed by Englishmen at this time, and also with the great success that popular religious tracts then often attained, there is nothing paradoxical in the contention that the tract in question actually gave rise to the linguistic phenomenon here described. Note the spelling of the word, "moonkish calf," probably an intentional alteration of the normal "monkish." Thus what had been a pun with Luther in German was just reversed in English, and for the same reason, to play upon an already existing, though hitherto rare and technical, word.

Examples will reinforce the argument better than anything else could do. First of all in *The Tempest* (1610) Caliban is repeatedly called a "mooncalf" (Act II, Scene ii). The *Variorum* refers to Pliny, but how anyone can read the passages indicated and suppose



that Shakespeare really had Pliny in mind, or anything derivable from this author, passes my comprehension. Pliny's *mola* was, as we have seen, translated by "mooncalf," but the word had so totally alien a sense that reference to this source is not the solution of a riddle but the propounding of one. Again Chapman, in his *Bussy d'Amboise* (1607), speaks ungallantly of women as "the most perfect images of the Moone (Or still-unweand sweet Mooncalves with white faces)." This is of course an intentional pun, but the use of the word in a popular way is none the less significant. By 1620 even Jonson's learned sock did not disdain to employ a term apparently by that time thoroughly established. In his *News from the New World Discovered in the Moon*, the following dialogue takes place between a Factor, a Printer, and two Heralds:

FACTOR: Are there no self-lovers there? . . . .

SECOND HERALD: I think some two or three of them live yet, but they are turned to mooncalves by this.

PRINTER: O, ay, mooncalves! What monster is that I pray you?

SECOND HERALD: Monster! none at all, a very familiar thing, like our fool here on earth.

FIRST HERALD: The ladies there play with them instead of little dogs.

In similar fashion Michael Drayton wrote a whole poem on "The Moone-Calfe," first published in his collection of verses, called after the first of them, *The Battle of Agincourt* (1627). This is a rank satire of the conventional stamp. The mooncalf is a bastard son of the Devil and the World, an ignorant sot and roué, but one who, nevertheless, gets on famously, and finds himself as prosperous as he ought to be detested:

Rags, running horses, dogs, drabs, drinks and dice,  
The only things that he doth hold in price.

It is beyond the scope of the present paper to trace the further use of the word, as might easily be done, from Dryden to Carlyle, with whom, as might be expected, so outlandish a term was a prime favorite. It may not be uninteresting, however, to add that Luther's pamphlet was once again anglicized, as: *Interpretation of two horrible monsters, an ass-pope, . . . and a calf-monk. Translated by the Reverend H. Cole, London. Eedes. 1823.*

PRESERVED SMITH

AMHERST, MASS.



## STUDIES IN THE FORNALDARSQUR NORÐRLANDA

[Continued]

### II. THE HERVARAR SAGA

1. *The Manuscripts.*—The only MSS of value for the text of this saga are the following: (1) AM 544 4to perg., from the beginning of the fourteenth century (*Hauksbók* = *H*); (2) Gl. kgl. sml. 2845 4to perg. of the Royal Library in Copenhagen, from the fifteenth century (= *R*); (3) AM 281 4to pap., from the close of the seventeenth century (= *h*<sup>1</sup>); (4) AM 597b 4to pap., from the latter half of the seventeenth century (= *h*<sup>2</sup>); (5) AM 203 fol. pap., from the seventeenth century (= *b*); (6) Salanska saml. 80 8vo papp. of the University Library in Upsala, from the middle of the seventeenth century (= *u*). Besides these there are a great number of paper MSS of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries whose complete worthlessness has only recently been demonstrated, many of which will have to be mentioned in the course of our investigation.

That *H* and *R* represent two mutually independent versions of the saga was recognized by Bugge,<sup>1</sup> who published a good edition of these two MSS.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately both MSS are defective, *H* in its present condition concluding shortly after the second riddle (Bugge, p. 236), while *R* contains all the riddles and a portion of the following, but also lacks a considerable part of the saga's conclusion. Now various paper MSS contain a satisfactory conclusion of the saga. The question how these paper MSS are related to each other and to the two parchments has never been satisfactorily answered.

That *h*<sup>1</sup> and *h*<sup>2</sup>, which contain only the riddle-episode, i.e., lack the beginning as well as the end of the saga, are derived from *H* at a time when this MS extended at least as far as the end of the riddles was assumed by Bugge. In this he was undoubtedly right, so far as one can conclude from his edition (this selection is preceded and followed in both *h*<sup>1</sup> and *h*<sup>2</sup> by other matter from *H*), though an interpolation of additional riddles in a copy of *H* used for *h*<sup>1</sup> and *h*<sup>2</sup> is of course not absolutely inconceivable. For the conclusion of the saga also Bugge (pp. 268 ff) was inclined to believe that the paper MSS

<sup>1</sup> In fact still earlier by Rafn, *Fas.*, I, p. xxviii, 1829.

<sup>2</sup> *Norrøne Skrifter af sagnhistorisk Indhold*, 203 ff., 1873.



which he used went back to *H*, but in support of this opinion neither he nor anyone subsequently has brought forward any valid evidence. Bugge was not at all clear about the relationship of these paper MSS to each other, the weak point of his edition and since then the most urgent problem connected with the study of this saga. This problem has since been attacked by Heinzel<sup>1</sup> and by Heusler and Ranisch.<sup>2</sup> In spite of both these considerable contributions to a solution of the problem a thoroughgoing study and comparison of all the paper MSS of the saga was still desirable, as Heusler and Ranisch acknowledged (pp. iv f.). This difficult piece of work has been accomplished with painstaking thoroughness by a Russian investigator, Professor I. Sharovolski. The results of his investigations are accessible in the introduction of a new edition of the saga published at the University Press in Kiev.<sup>3</sup> The main result is the definitive proof that the MSS *i* (AM 192 fol. pap.), *k* (AM 202k fol. pap.), *l* (AM 582 4to pap.), *a* (AM 345 4to pap.) used by Bugge, as well as all the other paper MSS containing the conclusion of the saga with the exception of *u*,<sup>4</sup> go back to *b* and are accordingly worthless. For the details I must refer to Sharovolski's work, where ample tables and lists of variants illustrate the sound method of research pursued. I have further tested the manuscript-material and convinced myself of the unassailable correctness of Sharovolski's conclusions (except those pertaining to *s*) on this point.

Sharovolski also recognized that *b* originated as a compilation from three different MSS and determined the character of each of these three.<sup>5</sup> The method of procedure of the writer of *b* (Jón Erlendsson) can as a matter of fact be followed word for word. The value of *b* is so enhanced by Sharovolski's discoveries that all points bearing upon its history become important. Besides the *Hervarar* saga it contains the *Gautreks* saga, the *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*, the *Dórsteins þáttur boejarmagns*, the *Egils saga einhenda*, and the *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*, all from Jón Erlendsson's hand. Jón Erlendsson lived in Iceland 1632–72, was remarkably active as a copyist of Old

<sup>1</sup> "Über die *Hervarar* saga," *Sitz. ber. d. phil. hist. Cl. d. kaiserl. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Wien*, CXIV, 417 ff., 1887.

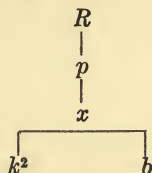
<sup>2</sup> *Eddica minora*, pp. vii ff., 1903.

<sup>3</sup> *Skazanie o mečë Tyurfingë* (*Tale of the Sword Tyrfing*). I. Šarovolskago, Kiev, I, 1906.

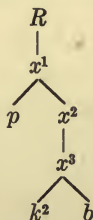
<sup>4</sup> Sharovolski wrongly excepts also *s* (Holm. papp. fol. 120 of the Royal Library in Stockholm).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. his table, p. lxxii.

Icelandic MSS, and is generally regarded as a good scribe.<sup>1</sup> In writing *b* he had three MSS of the *Hervarar* saga before him: the parchment *H*, a (not direct) copy of *R*, and a third MS, presumably a paper one, closely related to *u*. That he used the parchment *H* itself is clear, not only from the very exact reproduction of its text, but also through marginal glosses in his own hand which attest its use.<sup>2</sup> This parchment he did not, however, make the basis of his compilation, but used instead his paper MS of the *R*-class. That he did not use *R* itself is clear not only through variations from *R* and the interpolation of Björn Jónsson's commentary on the riddles, but more especially through the fact that an intermediate member is attested by a MS, Holm. papp. 4to 15 ( $=p$ ) of the Royal Library in Stockholm, with which *b* has common mistakes plus additional new ones. This Stockholm MS agrees in extent of text and in the gap resulting from the loss of a leaf in *R* exactly with *R* itself, but lacks Björn Jónsson's commentary. That this commentary was contained already in the original of *b* is demonstrable through the second defective copy of the *Hervarar* saga in AM 202*k* fol. ( $=k^2$ ), where it is also present without its writer having contaminated the *R*-version with any other. Sharovolski illustrates the relationship of these MSS thus:



This agrees essentially with my own results except that I find unimportant variations in *p* compared with  $k^2$  and *b* and further conditions in the last two MSS which suggest the following emendation:



<sup>1</sup> Cf. F. Jónsson in Salmonsens's *Konversationsleksikon* and in *Hauksbók*, p. lix.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. F. Jónsson in *Hauksbók*, p. vii.

However, as this is of no importance for the text I shall not develop it further. Björn Jónsson died in 1655; the close of his commentary bears the date: "*14 Juny Anno 1641.*" *P* and *k*<sup>2</sup> are defective, i.e., they extend no farther than *R*, and where a leaf was lacking in this MS they have merely left a gap. Jón Erlendsson left a corresponding gap in *b*, then oddly enough the gap was filled in later in an unknown hand. The filling is obviously from *H*. The writer who inserted this has also left glosses on the margins of the preceding pages: corrections from *H* and also two additional strophes from *H*.<sup>1</sup> Besides these there are two other kinds of glosses: those already mentioned of Jón Erlendsson himself, giving in a few places divergent readings taken from *H*, not as corrections, but only as variants, and finally from page 110<sup>r</sup> on a few scattered glosses in the hand of Bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson (†1675), which prove to be entirely arbitrary emendations. In this way some of the variants in the paper MSS used by Bugge receive their explanation, for in *i* (written also by Jón Erlendsson) the glosses, except those originating with Jón Erlendsson himself, were taken into the text, while the writers of the other copies proceeded differently, none of them for example including the emendations of Brynjólfur Sveinsson.<sup>2</sup>

That the paper MSS in question represent a compilation of the *H*- and *R*-versions of the saga has really long been known; about the third MS used by the writer of *b* Sharóvolski is the first to give us any information. This third MS belonged to a third version of the saga, the *U*-version. If the conclusion of the saga in *b* did not in itself demonstrate the use of a third MS, such use is amply attested by the fact that Jón Erlendsson began to copy this MS as the basis of his text. Before the beginning of the present text in *b* there is a short portion of the beginning of the saga entitled *Hervarar þattur hinn gamle*, which has also been copied in various MSS. If one compare this with the beginning of the other two versions, it is immediately apparent that in content and word it is entirely different from *R*, agrees somewhat more closely with *H*, but quite closely with *u*, i.e., its variations from *u* are at most such as represent mistakes or slight changes of copyists on the one side or the other, while those

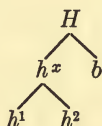
<sup>1</sup> This hand appears only on pp. 93<sup>v</sup>, 94<sup>v-v</sup>, 95<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Jón Erlendsson, as is well known, did much copying for Bishop Brynjólfur.



from *R* and *H* are of the sort indicating independent or at least considerably revised version. The concluding part of *b* agrees in the same way with *u*; not, however, the other parts, where its agreement with *R* or *H* is attended by great variation from *u*. That is to say, Jón Erlendsson began to copy a MS of the U-class, but after a short introductory portion left it and made a new beginning with new title and *x* (or *x*<sup>3</sup>) as his original. *H* extended at that time to the conclusion of the riddles (and death of Heiðrekr), but no farther. After this point Jón Erlendsson followed *x* (or *x*<sup>3</sup>) entirely as far as it went, in fact not quite to the end of *R*, then he continued from his MS of the U-class with which he had originally started. Most of the facts outlined above are elaborated by Sharovolski, though I have included nothing not confirmed by my own observations.

Of the three versions of the Hervarar saga recognized the R-redaction is critically represented by *R* alone, in which one leaf and the conclusion of the saga are irretrievably lost. The H-version is similarly represented by *H* alone, as far as it goes; for the remaining riddles the text must be constituted from *h*<sup>1</sup> and *h*<sup>2</sup> with the help of occasional readings from *b*. *H*<sup>1</sup> and *h*<sup>2</sup> do not go back directly to *H*, but to a copy of it, as Sharovolski has clearly proven.<sup>1</sup> The three MSS are then to be used according to the relationship:



Sharovolski has again raised the question whether *H* ever extended farther than to the end of the riddles and has, as I believe, answered it wrongly. On this point I would first refer to Jónsson's discussion in the introduction to the *Hauksbók* (p. xi). According to him a sheet of 8 leaves is probably lost, upon which were written the conclusion of the Hervarar saga and the beginning of the Fóstbrœðra saga. Jónsson reckons that the lost beginning of the latter saga may have filled 6 leaves, the conclusion of the former the other 2. With that everything would be accounted for, the Hervarar saga concluding then in this MS after the riddles with the statement of Heiðrek's

<sup>1</sup> I, pp. xi-xiv.

death. So far as the conclusion of the *Hervarar* saga is concerned, Heinzel had already in another way arrived at the same result.<sup>1</sup> This view has also been accepted by Mogk.<sup>2</sup> Now Sharovolski contends (pp. xv-xviii) that about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  of the 8 lost leaves are not accounted for in this way. When he asserts that the lacking conclusion of the *Hervarar* saga (according to Heinzel, i.e., up to *Heiðrekr's* death) would have filled only  $1\frac{1}{2}$  instead of 2 leaves, he appears to be right. But how much of the beginning of the *Fóstrbrœðra* saga is lost cannot be reckoned with the same degree of exactness, as the H-version of this saga is too independent of the others preserved. We do not even know with certainty whether the lost sheet consisted of 8 leaves, whether all its pages were written upon, or in fact whether more than one sheet may not have been lost and even something else have intervened between the two sagas.<sup>3</sup> Under these circumstances such reckoning can lead to no positive results, though it is of course worthy of all consideration. In fact Sharovolski cannot find place for the whole conclusion of the *Hervarar* saga in this way, but conjectures that *H* contained the death of *Heiðrekr* and the battle of the Goths with the Huns, but not the genealogical list of the descendants of *Angantýr*. There is, however, no valid reason for this separation of parts, certainly no proof whatever that it was represented in any MS. There is, on the other hand, much that argues for the contrary conclusion, viz., that *H* never extended farther than *h*<sup>1</sup> and *h*<sup>2</sup> now do: (1) the probability emphasized by Jónsson that only so much of the saga in *H* is lost; (2) the title occurring in *H*: *Heiðreks saga ens vitra*, which accords with the fact that the *Hauksbók*-version also otherwise lays its emphasis on *Heiðrekr* and the riddle-contest, as is shown by the facts that: (a) this version contains more riddles than the other two; (b) it has arranged the riddles according to a more definite scheme; (c) it has passed briefly over a whole episode of the first part of the saga (in which *Heiðrekr* played no rôle) with a reference to the *Qrvar-Odds* saga. Sharovolski's attitude on this point is apparently determined by his conception of the secondary relation of the U-version of the saga to

<sup>1</sup> *Ueber die Hervarar saga*, 418 f., 1887.

<sup>2</sup> *Paul's Grundriss*, II<sup>2</sup>, 839, 1904.

<sup>3</sup> For the condition of the rest of the *Hauksbók* in these respects cf. Jónsson, *Hauksbók*, pp. ix ff.

the other two, the point which remains to be considered, upon which I cannot agree with him and upon which I have laid the main emphasis of my own studies.

As Sharovolski conceives of the U-version of the saga it is represented in its entirety by *u*, in parts by *b* and furthermore by *s*. Now *s* is a specimen of the *editio princeps* of the Hervarar saga (edited by Olof Verelius, Upsalæ, 1672) with marginal emendations written in by Guðmundur Ólafsson.<sup>1</sup> The view championed by Gödel<sup>2</sup> that these variants originated from a now lost parchment MS goes back to a note (in *s*) of G. E. Klemming,<sup>3</sup> but is by no means confirmed by the internal evidence of the MS itself. Sharovolski had evidently not seen the *Eddica minora* of Heusler and Ranisch, whose editors had placed an entirely correct estimate upon *s* and were on the point of recognizing the independent position of *u*.<sup>4</sup> They had clearly enough established the fact that the marginal emendations in *s* came for the most part, if not exclusively, from a MS of the *b*-class. Sharovolski, by the way, noted the same fact, but was misled by it into taking *s* and *u* together as representatives of a version contaminated from *R* and *H*, a relationship which could apply at most to *s*, but not at all, as we shall show, to *u*. That the variants in *s* cannot possibly have come from a MS of the same version as that of the text they are intended to supplement, i.e., of the U-version, is clear enough from the nature of the variants themselves, for they often form plus-passages of considerable extent or differ otherwise in such ways as only different versions can, the last part of the saga where *H* and *R* have left no representatives being of course exceptional in this particular. There is no evidence whatever that Guðmundur Ólafsson was in any way concerned about producing a more original text, but on the other hand, considerable that he was seeking to supplement the text of the Verelius edition.<sup>5</sup> What changes he has made (other than additions) were apparently dictated by the desire to produce a text showing at least a fair degree of consistency. The additions had accordingly to be so adapted at beginning and end that they

<sup>1</sup> Translator vid Antikvitetskollegiet i Stockholm, 1681-95.

<sup>2</sup> *Fornnorsk-isl. litt. i Sverige*, 166; *Katalog*, 252.

<sup>3</sup> Librarian in the Royal Library in Stockholm till 1890.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. their table, p. viii.

<sup>5</sup> An interesting light is cast upon his method of work by the first edition of the *Vilkina saga*; cf. Bertelsen, *Þiðriks saga af Bern*, pp. lvii f., 1911.



fitted. Otherwise these glosses (*s*) show everywhere the mistakes of *b* and everywhere the same relation to *R* or *H* as *b*, so that there is no justification of the slightest doubt that Guðmundur used a MS belonging to the *b*-class. The proof of this fact offered by Heusler and Ranisch<sup>1</sup> rests entirely upon the stanzas devoted to the battle of the Goths and the Huns. These occur in the concluding part of the saga, i.e., that lacking in both *H* and (except the first few stanzas) *R* and accordingly originating in all MSS from the *U*-version. The nature of *s* is shown much more clearly by a comparison of passages from other parts of the saga with *u* (or even with Verelius' edition of the saga), at the same time taking into consideration *b* and its copies. The good tables of Sharovolski are admirably adapted to make clear this relationship. For example his Table I (pp. liv ff.) gives (Nos. 5-97) common variants of the *b*-group of paper MSS from *b*'s chief source, *R* (these variants go back in part to *H*, but are in part copyists' mistakes or alterations taken over from *x*, as already noted). In the following cases where Verelius does not agree with *b*, *s* has the reading of *b* inserted on the margin: Nos. 8, 10, 16, 21, 26, 27, 28, 31 (the reading of *s* shows here a further corruption of that of *b*), 49, 51, 53, 55, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 85, 95 (with further change), 97. From Sharovolski's Table V (pp. lxii f.) this source can be still more closely determined. In the latter table are given common variants (Nos. 1-31) of *k*<sup>1</sup>, *l*, AM 359b 4to pap. and *a* from *b* and *i* (the first four go back to a somewhat elaborated version of *b*). Here the following cases bear witness to the insertion of readings from this secondary group of the *b*-version on the margin of *s*: Nos. 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 16, 19, 23, 24, 25. The result of this test agrees then exactly with the conclusion of Heusler and Ranisch, that *s* is to be referred not only to the *b*-group of paper MSS, but also definitively to the subgroup represented by *k*<sup>1</sup> and *l*. To illustrate the matter clearly I add a comparison of the different readings of the first riddle and the answer to it, where the relationship is shown so clearly as to render further comment superfluous (see table on p. 85).

The relationship so clearly illustrated in the table is apparent throughout the saga and the glosses of *s* are thereby divested of any

Cf. *Eddica minora*, p. ix, and the table, p. viii.

value. Of course the possibility of some of the glosses having come from other sources is not excluded by the recognition of this fact, as Guðmundur Ólafsson might have drawn upon various sources of information, but I can find no indication that such was the case. Hardest to explain is the one case that is responsible for the overvaluation of *s*. Peringskiöld cited in his edition of the *Vita Theodorici* of Cochlaeus (Stockholm, 1699, p. 352) a passage from a parchment MS of the *Hervarar saga* in the Stockholm "Antikvitetsarkiv,"

<i>R</i> (Sharov., p. 50)	<i>H</i> (Sharov., p. 19)	<i>b</i> (Variants Compared with <i>R</i> )	Verelius, p. 143	
Hafa uilldag	Hafa ek þat villda	<i>mundag</i>	Hafa vil eg i* dag	<i>mundak for vil eg</i>
þat i giær hafda;	er ek hafða i giær;		það i giær†;	<i>hafþak after giær</i>
uittu, huat þat uar:	konvngv, gettv hvat þat var:		viter† huad það var?	<i>vittu for viter</i>
lyða lemill,	lyða lemill	<i>semill</i>	lyða levill¶	<i>semill for levill</i>
orda tefill	ok orða tefill		oc orða tefill	<i>oc crossed out</i>
ok orða upphefill.	ok orða vpphefill.		oc orða upphefill.	
færi honum	fai hanvm		Færit   honum	
mungat; þat lemnr	mngat, þat lemnr	<i>semr</i>	mungat: pui—**	<i>það semur for —</i>
margra uit, ok	margra manna	<i>margra manna vit</i>	margra vit; oc	
margir eru þa	vit: svmir		marger mæla þa	<i>eru þa malgare, er mungat ferist a</i>
margmalgari, er	verða marg-	<i>mālgare</i>	mart: enn sumer	<i>for mæla þa mart</i>
mungat ferr aa,	mælltir þar af,		suefast i mali.	
eN sumum uefst	en svmyvm vefz			<i>sumum vefst tunga, ad ecke verdur ad orde</i>
tungaN suo, at	tvngv bragð.	<i>tungu (suo lacking)††</i>		<i>for sumer suefast i mali</i>
ecki uedr at ordi.				

\* The ; is lacking in the MS *u*.

† The MS *u* has *hafdag* after *giær*.

‡ In *u* reads *vittu*.

¶ For *lemill* in a

|| For *færi* in *u*.

\*\* The word omitted is in *u* very difficult to make out; it looks like *lemi*, but was very likely intended for *lemr*.

†† Of these seven variants in *b* Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5 are found also in *k*<sup>2</sup>, i.e., Jón Erlandsson took them from *x*(*x*<sup>3</sup>). Nos. 4, 6, 7 he took from *H* as may be noted.

which agrees with a gloss in *s*, but is not found elsewhere in the MSS of the *Hervarar saga*. With reference to this MS Peringskiöld said: "De priorum istorum migrationibus redituque ad suos luculenta atque insignia exstant Testimonia in Historia Hervarae, quae in pergameno scripta inter codices Regii Archivi Antiquitatum exstat, plurimis sane in locis auctior prae exemplari illo, quo usus fuerat Cl. Verelius in editione ejusdem operis." The citation follows, its language not strongly suggesting an old MS, as Heusler and Ranisch note, while citations supposedly from the same MS in Rudbeck's *Atländ* agreeing with *s* do not differ from *b* or *H* (only cannot have originated with *R*). We do not know with absolute certainty that the MS used by Rudbeck was the same as the one mentioned by Peringskiöld. Rudbeck speaks only of an old "Codex" loaned him by Peringskiöld; he does not say how old it was, nor even that it was a parchment. Peringskiöld does appear to speak of a parchment from the Royal "Antikvitetsarkiv." It may well be that both used the same MS as Klemming supposed, but if that is the case Heusler and Ranisch are certainly right in their assertion that, if a parchment, it could at most have been only a late parchment of the seventeenth century. The citation in the orthography of Peringskiöld is as follows:

Thessu samtiida komu austan Asiæmenn oc Tirkjar oc bigdu Nordurlaund. Foringjar theirrar ferdar voru brædur tveir het annar Odin en annar Alfur. Their bygdu sidan badir mestann luta Nordur Halfunnar: bygde Alfur hinn Eystra part og kalladi epter sinu nafne Alfheima. Thad Folk sem thar fæddest var fidara (for *fríðara*) adrum Folke. Hin vestra lut Nordur halfunnar bygde Odin og kallade Mannheima eda Mannheim. Bader their Brædur voru Kongar. Odin formadr theirra atti marga Sonu urdu their aller mikler menn och riker.

Of this the first and last sentences are those of Verelius' text; the rest corresponds with the gloss of Guðmundur Ólafsson. As the source of this gloss cannot be demonstrated from any MSS of the *Hervarar saga* preserved, so it cannot be traced to any other Old Norse literary work.<sup>1</sup> With reference to its source I can add nothing definite, but would call attention to the following facts as supporting

<sup>1</sup> For Old Norse material of this nature I can refer to Heusler, "Die gelehrte Urgeschichte im altisländischen Schrifttum," *Abh. d. kgl. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1908, *phil. hist. Kl.*, III.



the contention that it emanates from a source other than the U-version of the *Hervarar saga*. If the first and last sentences of the above citation be taken together, with the omission of all intervening, as they occur in Verelius' text (i.e., in the U-version of the *saga*), we have a consistent expression of a current Old Icelandic conception.<sup>1</sup> But that inserted agrees neither with this conception nor with the last sentence, before which it is inserted, in that after the assignment of two brothers as leaders Odin is spoken of as sole leader. Furthermore Álfir and Álfheimar have already been mentioned in the first chapter of Verelius' text without any such relationship to Odin. This with the other facts brought forth establishes pretty definitely two things: (1) the extraneousness of Ólafsson's source for this gloss; (2) the fact that Peringskiöld's source here was either *s* itself or a copy of it of some sort.<sup>2</sup>

Having freed *u* from the incumbrance of *s*, the independence of *u* over against *R* and *H* should next be established. The details of the interrelationship of the three versions I reserve for the next chapter. I will content myself here with the statement of a few facts leaving this independence of *u*, as it seems, beyond dispute. For one thing, the riddles differ in number and order of arrangement, not only in *R* and *H* ( $h^1$ ,  $h^2$ ), but Verelius differs decidedly from both, as follows:<sup>3</sup>

<i>R</i>	<i>H</i> ( $h^1$ , $h^2$ )	Ver.	<i>R</i>	<i>H</i> ( $h^1$ , $h^2$ )	Ver.	<i>R</i>	<i>H</i> ( $h^1$ , $h^2$ )	Ver.
1	1	1	14	29	16	27	28	.....
2	2	2	15	5	17	28	34	.....
3	3	3	16	25	14	29	35	27
4	4	4	17	26	24	30	36	23
5	9	20	18	20	8	.....	7	.....
6	14	9	19	21-22	7-5	.....	10	.....
7	8	10	20	22-21	5-7	.....	11	.....
8	16	15	21	21 (1 line only)	6	.....	13	.....
9	17	21	22	27	23	.....	15	.....
10	18	11	23	6	19	.....	30	.....
11	24	22	24	23	18	.....	33	.....
12	31	12	25	32	25	.....	.....	.....
13	19	13	26	12	26	.....	.....	.....

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Heusler, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> On the reliability of Peringskiöld's statements cf. *Svenskt biografiskt lexicon*, xi, 143, 1845.

<sup>3</sup> The numbers are those of Bugge's and Verelius' editions; corresponding horizontal position shows agreement of content.

The *H*-version, which had laid its emphasis on *Heiðrekr* and the riddle-contest, has some seven riddles and a concluding stanza (37) not found in the other versions, the *U*-version lacks two riddles of *R* and has an arrangement (after 1-4) entirely independent of either of the others.

Bugge (pp. 269 f.) noted in the paper MSS of the *b*-group a sudden improvement beginning slightly before the close of *R* and independent of *R*, which he wrongly ascribed to *H*. These better readings come from the *U*-version which, as already noted, was used by the writer of *b* beginning slightly before the end of *R*, whose last page is not easily legible.

One other point I would mention in this place which seems to me absolutely conclusive as to the independence of the *U*-version: the episode common to the *Hervarar* saga and the *Qrvar-Odds* saga. This is passed over briefly in *H*, as already noted, without verses and with a reference to the *Qrvar-Odds* saga. The version of it found in *u* cannot possibly then go back to *H*; it must either have originated from *R* or be independent. If it shows better readings than *R*, how are these to be explained? As a criterion we have, apart from the usual considerations, the possibility of comparison with the text of the *Qrvar-Odds* saga. The episode in question is related in *R* in chap. ii and part of iii (Bugge's edition, pp. 300-310). In *H* the few details given are found in chap. iii (Bugge's edition, pp. 207-9). Verelius' edition based upon *u* contains the episode with verses in chaps. iv, v. The *Qrvar-Odds* saga (ed. Boer, Leiden, 1888) contains the same episode in chaps. 26-29 of the *M*-version. If we confine our attention to the stanzas, which present the clearest testimony, we find them preserved as follows:

Q-O ( <i>M</i> )	Herv ( <i>R</i> )	Herv ( <i>V</i> )	Q-O ( <i>M</i> )	Herv ( <i>R</i> )	Herv ( <i>V</i> )	Q-O ( <i>M</i> )	Herv ( <i>R</i> )	Herv ( <i>V</i> )
1	.....	.....	8	1 <sup>3</sup> , (2 <sup>2</sup> ), 4	1 <sup>3</sup> , (2 <sup>2</sup> ), 5	15	.....	.....
2	.....	.....	9	5	6	16	7	8
3	.....	.....	10	6	7	17	10	12
4	1 <sup>1-2</sup>	1 <sup>1-2</sup>	11	.....	.....	18	.....	.....
5	2 <sup>3-4</sup>	2 <sup>3-4</sup>	12	11	11	19	8	9
6	3	3	13	9	10	20	12	13
7	.....	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	2 <sup>1</sup>	2 <sup>1</sup>
						.....	.....	4

As can be seen from the foregoing, Ver. has essentially the same verses as *R* and in nearly the same order, except for an inferior fragment (4) found in neither *R* nor Q-O. If one were to assume that the writer of the U-version of the *Hervarar saga* had himself employed the Qrvar-Odds saga, which is practically inconceivable, he might certainly have been expected to take more of the stanzas. That the U-version does, however, by comparison with Q-O actually contain many better readings than *R* is abundantly shown in the following table, where Verelius and Bugge are used respectively for the U- and the R-version and Boer's Leyden edition of *M* for the Qrvar-Odds saga:

<i>R</i>	Ver.	Q-O ( <i>M</i> )
4. Einn skal uid einn eiga, nema se deigr, huastra drengia, eda hugr bili.	5. Eirn skal vid eirn Orosto heya Hraustra Dreingia Nema hugur bili.	8:3-4. einn skal vip einn eiga orrostu hvatra drengia, nema hugr bile.
5:2b. margar undir	6:2b. Miklar undir	9:2b. miklar under
5:3b. ok in sida brynja*	6:3b. En a hlid brinia	9:3b. en á hlip brynja
7:1-2. Aktag at fullu fim tun saman, enn ek þui allðri unda radi;	8:1-2. Att' eg a folldu Fim bu saman, Enn eg unda þo Alldrey a ladi;†	16:1-2. Átta ek á foldo fimm bú saman, en þui unda ek allvel láði;
8:1-2. Drecka i haullu huskarlar miod meniom gófger at mins faudr;	9:1-2. Dreckur med Iofri Iarla meingi Ol gladliga Ad Uppsaulum;‡	19:1-2. Drekr mep jofre jarla menge ol glaplega at Uppsölom;
9:1. Huarf ek fra huitri hlads bedgungi	10:1. Leiddi mig hin ¶ hvita Hilmers dotter	13:1. Leidi    en hvíta hilmes dótter
10:4. er ek eigi kem til Uppsala.	12:4. Er** hun sidan Sier mig†† aldrej.	17:4. er uid sidan siaumst alldregi.††

\* Alliteration lacking.

† As line 2 *u* had originally *enn eg þui allðr dollda a ladi*.

‡ For these lines *u* seems to have read originally *Drecka I hollu huskallar med meya giædder ad myns fodr*. This was crossed out and the reading given by Verelius written over it in a different hand.

¶ For *hin* the MS *u* has *en*.

|| The *mik* lost in this MS is preserved in others of Q-O.

\*\*The MS *u* has *ef* instead of *er*.

†† The MS *u* has *mig sier* instead of *Sier mig*.

†† Other MSS of Q-O read at (*ef*) *hún sidan mik sér alldregi*.



That in many of these cases Q-O (and therefore also Ver. and *u*) has the better reading as compared with *R* was admitted by Bugge;<sup>1</sup> in other cases Ver. agrees with *R* against Q-O and in still others is manifestly corrupt as compared with both. This leaves *u* independent of *R* and *H* and disposes entirely, as it seems to me, of Sharovolski's idea that the U-version was one contaminated from *R* and *H* at an earlier period than the compiled MS *b*, his error resting, as we have already intimated, upon the assumption that the U-version was best represented by *s*, which we have seen does represent a contamination, not, however, an earlier one, but *b* itself. So in the next stanzas of *R* (Nos. 13-17 of Bugge), which are preserved neither in *H* nor in Qrvar-Odds saga, but only in *R* and *u*, in 13:16 Bugge finds *uegsemd* of *u* preferable to *uegsems* of *R*, and in 17:3a *satt* of *u* to *fatt* of *R*, while it is by no means impossible that other of the considerably divergent readings of *u* may deserve the preference over those of *R*. So also in the other parts where stanzas are preserved in both *H* and *R* we have in *u* a decided possibility of control over corrupt readings, in that it often agrees with the one or the other but may differ from both. In its critical use for the verses, for which it has never been employed, not even by Heusler and Ranisch,<sup>2</sup> it may certainly be expected to vindicate itself as of independent value.

The U-version of the saga is represented then by but two MSS, both paper ones of the seventeenth century, by *u* throughout its length, by *b* for a short portion of the beginning, stopping abruptly in the first lines of Verelius' fourth chapter (p. 50) with *Arngrimz sýner ect.* and for the conclusion beginning in Verelius' chap. xvii (p. 162, l. 15; Bugge, p. 269, l. 12, p. 348, l. 20) and being used to the end of the saga. From the great care exercised by the writer of *b* as already described we must infer that its original of the U-version is accurately copied, but there is unfortunately no reason to suppose this original was other than a slightly older paper MS which has otherwise disappeared. The MS *u* is described in Gödel's catalogue of the Uppsala MSS.<sup>3</sup> It is a small octavo book with parchment

<sup>1</sup> *Norrøne Skrifter*, 302 ff. in footnotes; cf. also Heusler and Ranisch, *Eddica minora*, pp. xxxvii ff., 49 ff.

<sup>2</sup> That they used it for the "Lied von der Hunnenschlacht" was inevitable, as most of this is preserved only through the U-version.

<sup>3</sup> *Katalog öfver Upsala Universitets Biblioteks fornisländska och fornorska handskriffter*, 65 l., 1892.

binding and contains at the beginning the *Hervarar saga*, following it the *Háttalykill Lopts ríka Gúttormssonar*, the *Herrauðs saga ok Bósa*, the *Vinavísur*, and the *Úlfs saga Uggasonar*. It is poorly written and shows copious entries on the margins in different hands — of proverbs and matter largely foreign to the text, though the text has itself been “repaired” by various persons, readings being crossed out and others substituted, sometimes in the hand of the original writer, sometimes in other hand or hands, so that it is not always easy to make out what the original contained. The latest reading was usually taken by Verelius, but that he allowed himself considerable freedom in his use of the MS can be noted from the passages cited above. Under these circumstances the conditions for the restoration of the U-version of the saga are not wholly favorable. The MSS of the “*Salanska Samlingen*” were turned over to the University Library in Upsala in 1717. The MS *u* bears the record of having been given to Petrus Salan by Jacob Reenhielm. The latter received it from the Icelander Jónas Rugman in 1666, who had brought it with him from Iceland in 1658.<sup>1</sup> The copyist of the *Hervarar saga* in this MS was according to Rugman “Páll Hallson ad Nupufelli.” If this is correct, the Páll Hallsson referred to must be the one who spent the latter part of his life as librarian and preacher in Denmark († 1663).<sup>2</sup> His father was Hallr í Möðrufelli, but he had a half-brother Halldór (Hallsson) í Núpufelli.<sup>3</sup>

As to the exact relation of *b* and *u* to each other it is clear enough from the poor quality of *u* and its occasionally corrupt readings as compared with *b* that *b* is not a copy direct or indirect of *u*. As *b* contains only part of the U-version *u* cannot of course go back to *b*; it has furthermore correct readings in places where *b* is corrupt. The two MSS are then to be used in the relation:



and the age of *U* can best be discussed in the next chapter. That they go back to a copy of *U* (*u*<sup>x</sup>) rather than the original would be

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gödel, *Fornnorsk-isl. litt. i. Sverige*, 80 ff., on Rugman.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. J. Worm, *Forsøg til et Lexicon over danske, norske og islandske lærde Mænd*, III, 286, 1784; Finni Johannæi *Historia ecclesiastica Islandiae*, III, 585 f., 1775; Gödel, *Fornnorsk-isl. litt. i Sverige*, 108, 1897; Sharovolski, *op. cit.*, XLI, 1906.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Jón Espolin, *Íslands Arbækur*, VI, 99, 1827.

shown by common mistakes of a sort referable only to a scribe. For this comparison Sharovolski's edition is best employed, as it alone has properly appreciated *b*. I note the following cases.

P. 65, No. 28: *u* gunj, *b* gunne; for *gumi*.<sup>1</sup>

P. 66, No. 7: *u* fagrar vigar, *b* fagrar veigar; both lacking alliteration with the preceding half-line *Eg mun biða þier*.

P. 66, No. 9: both *b* and *u* meidna for *meiðma*.

P. 67, No. 10: *u* þia, *b* þya; for *þyjar* (Bugge).

P. 67, No. 31: both *b* and *u* diarfliga; gives no alliteration; Bugge suggested *fræknliga*.

P. 68, No. 3: *u* fromlega, *b* franliga; no alliteration; Sharovolski suggests *hvatliga*.

P. 69, No. 16: both *b* and *u* gauta; for *Gota*.

P. 73, No. 13: both *b* and *u* dingiu; for *Dylgju*; the latter form occurs correctly in other places in the same MSS.

P. 75, No. 1: both *b* and *u* meidna; for *meiðma*.

P. 75, Nos. 9, 10, etc.: *u* vydfarna, *b* Widfarna; for *viðfaðma*.

P. 76, Nos. 7, etc.: both *b* and *u* Gotlandi; for *Gautlandi*.

P. 76, No. 8: *u* framar, *b* framan; for *fýrr* (Bugge).

P. 77, Nos. 21, etc.: *u* Eivindur, *b* Eyvindur; for *Eymundr*.

P. 77, No. 24: both *b* and *u* Astrudur; for *Ástríðr*.

P. 78, No. 24: both *b* and *u* þreingdu; for *þrøngðu*.

These cases are, whatever objection might be made to a few of them individually, qualitatively and quantitatively sufficient to demonstrate the relationship in question:



That *u<sup>x</sup>* was a late paper MS showing modern Icelandic forms has been asserted by Heusler and Ranisch and developed at length by Sharovolski in connection with another point. While it is conceivable enough that two modern Icelandic scribes may have introduced the same features of modern Icelandic orthography independently of each other, the correspondences are so general and in some cases of such a sort that one is inclined to agree that *u<sup>x</sup>* must have been a paper MS rather than a parchment.

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<sup>1</sup> The *gumi* of Bugge's *i* originated in an emendation of Brynjólfur Sveinsson found on the margin of *b*.



A NEW STAGE-DIRECTION FOR *MUCH ADO*,  
ACT I, SCENE i

It is perilous to tamper with long-established usage, but in the point at issue usage has been self-confessedly at fault or in doubt almost from the beginning. Theobald gave up in despair, while modern editors dismiss the problem unsolved as "one of those instances of the poet's carelessness in the minor parts of his plot" (H. H. Furness, *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare, Much Adoe about Nothing*, p. 43, note on line 312<sup>1</sup>). But in 1850 and again in 1877 James Spedding brought forward a solution of the difficulty in a suggestion which was accepted by Halliwell (p. 44) and in 1909 emphatically approved of by the late Mr. Horace Howard Furness (p. 45). The hazardous undertaking herein embarked upon attempts nothing less than the refutation of Spedding's doubly ratified suggestion<sup>2</sup> and the substitution of a new stage-direction for the one which editors for two centuries have printed at the opening of *Much Ado*, Act I, scene i.

Where shall the scene be laid, at the opening of the play (pp. 43-45, 363-67)? The difficulty lies in Antonio's statement, I, ii, 8 ff., that "the Prince and Count Claudio" were "walking in a thick pleached alley in my orchard" and "were thus overheard by a man of mine:" whereas, according to all the editors, this conversation has just taken place "Before Leonato's house" (p. 5)—on stage, in the presence of the audience, at the close of the immediately preceding scene, I, i, 280-320. The only satisfactory way of removing this inconsistency has seemed to be Spedding's; he suggested that Act II should begin with I, ii, and then in the interval between acts sufficient time might be supposed to elapse to permit the Prince and Claudio to go to Antonio's orchard, hold a second conversation there, and return to Leonato's in time for supper.

<sup>1</sup> Throughout this article, references to page and line otherwise unidentified are to be understood as applying to this edition of the play.

<sup>2</sup> This suggestion has actually been adopted, and the text altered accordingly, in the *Old Spelling Shakespeare*, general editor I. Gollancz; cf. *Much Adoe*, ed. W. G. Boswell-Stone, 1908, vol. XIX, pp. x, xl.

Upon examination, however, it will be found that this suggestion creates more difficulties or raises more objections than it removes. Spedding supports it by a twofold argument, which will be met and answered in kind; i.e., the first five points below are urged against the specific data as to the time and place of certain minor occurrences which he adduces in favor of his suggestion, while the sixth and last contention below is urged against his argument based on the aesthetic effect of the dramatic construction.

1. This supposed conversation would be, not the second but the third, between the Prince and Claudio on this same subject; for Borachio has overheard them in a room in Leonato's house (I, iii, 54-59). Surely a third such conversation, twice at least open to overhearing and misunderstanding, is a needless multiplication of improbability, where the undertaking was so delicate as to make secrecy essential to propriety as well as to success.

2. No mention of this excursion is made in the play, nor can any possible motive be assigned for it. If the Prince and Claudio were willing to discuss the affair in Leonato's courtyard and again in his house, why in the world should they seek out a retired alley in Antonio's orchard merely to go over the same ground again?

3. It seems difficult to find time for such an excursion, inasmuch as the action is apparently continuous, save for intervals fully accounted for, from the opening of the play to the end of Act II, scene i. For the Prince arrives late in the day ("comes this *night*," I, i, 7); then the supper (I, iii, 39; II, i, 4) cannot but be served shortly afterward; and the mask follows immediately (II, i, 78 ff.); and both supper and mask evidently take place on the evening of the Prince's arrival (I, i, 267, 312). Moreover, Shakespeare can hardly have contemplated this excursion, for the last words he puts into the Prince's mouth, in the last line of the scene, are these (I, i, 320): "In practice let us put it *presently*" (i.e., of course, *immediately*).<sup>1</sup>

4. As Furness admits (p. 45), "the chiefest objection to Spedding's division would be . . . the shortness of the first act," which would

<sup>1</sup> Some time does elapse, of course, between the Prince's arrival in Messina and the supper: but this time is brief, at best, and the various events occurring in the interval leave little time for the superfluous excursion. Note further that the Prince's walk (toward Leonato's and back to Claudio, during the latter's conversation with Benedick) has taken place *before* the hatching of the plot: all the less time, therefore, will remain for this needless excursion before they put their plan into execution.

have 320 lines as against 515, 668, 574, and 611, for the other acts, respectively. "As a general rule, Shakespeare, like the careful and infinitely painstaking workman that he was, makes his first acts somewhat longer proportionately than the others" (*ibid.*). Furness and Spedding have not pointed out that only two plays of Shakespeare, in their present standard published form, have a first act consisting of but a single scene; viz., *Titus Andronicus*, where Shakespeare is usually credited with little more responsibility than the "retouching" of an older play; and *King John*, a play of Shakespeare's earlier period and one in which the second act also consists of but a single long scene.<sup>1</sup>

5. The natural and legitimate pause between acts occurs after Act I, iii, not after I, i. Spedding says (p. 365), in speaking of Act III: "Precisely at this juncture it is . . . that the pause between the acts takes place—that indefinite interval during which the only thing almost which one can *not* imagine is that nothing has happened and no time passed. When the curtain rises again, the least we expect to hear is that some considerable event has occurred since it fell." Yet he expects us to be satisfied with this statement (p. 366) about his proposed entr'acte after I, i: "Claudio and the Prince, we find, have been walking about, since we last saw them, in orchards and galleries, still talking<sup>2</sup> upon the one subject which Claudio can talk upon with interest." In other words, "nothing has happened"—"the only thing almost which one can *not* imagine"! To quote his own strong disapproval of the opening of Act IV: "We find everything exactly where it was. . . . The action has not advanced a step"! Plainly then, using Spedding's own principles, which he himself unhappily fails to apply in Act I, we must confess that there is no proper ground for inserting an entr'acte after I, i. But how is it in the case of I, iii? What "considerable event" has occurred since the curtain fell at the close of I, iii? No less a ceremony has occurred than the "great supper" (I, iii, 39, 40, 66; II, i, 4), of whose magnitude we are thus twice assured, after having had our expectations aroused in scene i

<sup>1</sup> F. G. Fleay has demonstrated that Act I of *King John* must have been intended to be, and should be, divided into two scenes; cf. *Troublesome Reign of King John*, ed. J. Munro, 1913, p. 155. Thus Spedding's arrangement would give *Much Ado* a unique peculiarity, aside from the pre-Shakespearean *Titus*.

<sup>2</sup> All this in direct contradiction of I, i, 320, the Prince's eager resolution: "In practice let us put it presently!"



by the Prince (I, i, 266-69) and in scene ii by Leonato's strenuous urgency "this busie time."<sup>1</sup> The supper is evidently going on during scene iii, but quite as evidently most of it remains for the entr'acte; otherwise, Don John's remark (I, iii, 66) is absurd. Spedding is strangely in error on this point; he says (p. 367): "Between the first and second [acts], the stage had to be prepared for the great supper and mask in Leonato's house." The mask requires considerable scenic preparation nowadays, doubtless (and is thus far a further objection to his suggestion, as he admits), though in Elizabethan times apparently nothing more was needed than a clear stage; but the supper obviously takes place behind the scenes as is proved by the four references last cited, and by II, i, 78, at which point the "revellers" enter the dancing hall (i.e., the stage) from the dining-hall (i.e., behind the scenes). Nor can this blunder be excused under cover of Don John's remark (II, i, 164), "Come, let us to the banquet," for this is another collation (cf. Furness' *Variorum Romeo and Juliet*, p. 83, note on I, v, 120), and it too takes place off stage. Furthermore there was no need to present this supper upon the stage; a more brilliant and lively spectacle was to be afforded immediately by the dance or mask. So the stage does not have to be prepared for the supper, but time *must* elapse while this ceremonial festivity takes place (off-stage), and this is the natural and legitimate pause, big with conjectural possibilities, that is so artistic and pleasing a feature of the present standard arrangement of scenes and acts.

6. So much for the mere letter and detail of textual argument, necessary in order to overthrow Spedding's textual support of his suggestion; there remains the higher question of the aesthetic gain or loss resulting from his rearrangement. After his proposed first act (i.e., I, i), Spedding says (p. 366): "Now shut the book. Let 'the curtain fall upon the fancied stage'; consider what is past, and wonder what is coming." We may indeed "wonder"; but nothing but prophetic inspiration (or familiarity with the rest of the play) can make this first scene, taken by itself alone, an adequate major premise or presentation of all necessary data. Spedding continues (*ibid*): "We have been introduced to all the principal persons." Not so, in

<sup>1</sup> And perhaps in scene iii, 67-68, by Don John's melodramatic threat, "Would the Cooke were of my minde!"

any satisfactory sense of the word "introduced," for we have had but one line from Hero and Don John and not even a glimpse of Antonio; the other two scenes are necessary parts of the introduction. Surely the present arrangement is the natural one, if the object be to arouse expectation and interest, build up a climax, and then keep the audience in suspense during the entr'acte; for scene i lays before us the main situation, which becomes pregnant with meaning only when scenes ii and iii rapidly complicate the affair with their totally unforeseen misapprehension. During the pause after scene iii, before Act II, scene i opens, the audience is left in a state of exquisite uncertainty, charmed by the daring absurdity of the surprising complication and prepared to speculate intelligently as to the possibilities involved. Now it is to be noticed that this misapprehension (by Antonio, Borachio, and later Benedick) of the purpose of the Prince leads to nothing at all, so far as the main action of the play is concerned; all is over, by II, i, 284, and the state of affairs is then just what it would have been if no one had ever overheard and misapprehended the Prince and Claudio. Why then is this distinct little episode, this first misunderstanding, this preliminary "ado about nothing," introduced into the play at all? Partly because of the purpose of this play, to present a series of just such mistakes over "not(h)ing"; but chiefly because of its preparation of the audience for the main improbability of the play. Just as in *Romeo and Juliet*, the parallel Rosaline episode (similarly pointless, otherwise) prepares the audience through its exposition of Romeo's character to accept his falling in love with Juliet "at first sight" (so unconvincing, necessarily, on the stage), so also this preliminary misapprehension prepares the audience through its exposition of Claudio's character to accept his later gross shortcomings in judgment and deportment. This is undeniably a most important thing for the dramatist to accomplish; anything that will lessen the improbability of Claudio's later outrageous conduct is vital. Therefore the present arrangement is not only natural and artistic, as above suggested, but also dramatically essential, in that it greatly heightens the value and effectiveness of this all-important episode, in this way: where Spedding would dismiss this episode in three brief scenes of the same act (Act II), played in rapid and unbroken succession, and thus

sacrifice the substance to the shadow in his misguided effort to gain time and emphasis for a conversation for which there is no dramatic or human necessity or opportunity, the present arrangement of scenes and acts gives the utmost possible effectiveness to this episode by making it figure in two acts and by prolonging the audience's consideration of it through the interposition of the natural and legitimate pause between acts just at the point where surmise and suspense have been most keenly aroused and stimulated. Certainly on aesthetic grounds then, also, the verdict must be that there would be much loss and no gain in adopting Spedding's proposed rearrangement of acts and scenes.

Spedding's suggestion having been thus disposed of, it remains to attack the original problem which he was attempting to solve. His statement of the difficulty may be taken as starting-point (p. 365):

At the end of the first scene of the first act, the Prince and Claudio leave the stage (*which represents the open space before Leonato's house*), the Prince having that moment conceived and disclosed his project of making love to Hero in Claudio's name. Then the scene shifts to a room in Leonato's house, where the first thing we hear is that, *in a thick pleached alley in Antonio's orchard*, the Prince has been overheard telling Claudio that he loved Hero and meant to acknowledge it that night in a dance, etc. All this is told to us, while the Prince's last words are still ringing in our ears; and it is told, not by the person who overheard the conversation, but by Antonio, to whom he has reported it. We are called on, therefore, to imagine that, while the scene was merely shifting the Prince and Claudio have had time for a second conversation in Antonio's orchard, and that one of Antonio's men, overhearing it, has had time to tell him of it. Now this is one of the things which it is *impossible* to imagine. I do not mean merely that the thing is *physically* impossible, for art is not tied to physical impossibilities. I mean that the impossibility is presented so strongly to the imagination that it cannot be overlooked or forgotten. The imagination refuses to be so imposed upon.

Now, evidently, this impossibility insurmountable to the imagination exists only if we accept what has hitherto apparently been unquestioned, namely the correctness of the assumption italicized above—the assumption that the stage-direction for Act I, scene i should be *an open space before Leonato's house*. According to Furness (p. 5), the authority on which this assumption rests is Pope's or Capell's;



they and all subsequent editors have simply drawn this inference from the internal evidence afforded by the text of the scene itself, for of course an examination of the Quarto and Four Folios<sup>1</sup> reveals no trace of any stage-direction concerning the location of the scene. All that needs to be done, therefore, is to draw the correct inference from the data in the text, and thus to supplant Pope's erroneous stage-direction by the true one, which will, incidentally, obviate Spedding's difficulty at the same time.

Pope's assumption was seemingly based on the general probability that a gentleman would be at his own door to receive a distinguished guest, here his feudal superior; but on the other hand it may be urged that this general probability is here overborne by the particular likelihood that Leonato was taken unawares by the imminence of the Prince's approach (p. 5; I, ii, *passim*), and so was found away from home by the messenger (who has, perhaps, been about Messina in search of him; for otherwise the messenger would hardly have delivered other letters before the Prince's to Leonato: cf. I, i, 24). Pope's assumption is further supported by three passages, apparently; yet all three are open to another interpretation. Don Pedro says (I, i, 145-47): "My deere friend Leonato hath invited you all. I tell him we shall stay here at the least a moneth." While this word "here" may refer to Leonato's house, it may also refer to Messina in general. Secondly, Leonato says to Don John (I, i, 151): "Let mee bid you welcome, my Lord"; again, while he may be welcoming guests to his own house, he may also—as governor of the city—be welcoming prominent foreigners to the freedom of the city. Thirdly, Leonato says to Don Pedro (I, i, 97-100): "Never came trouble to my house in the likenes of your Grace: for trouble being gone, comfort should remaine: but when you depart from me, sorrow abides, and happinesse takes his leave." Here the words "my house" seem to indicate that the Prince is indeed at Leonato's very door; but, in the first place, Leonato may well mean here no more than "my family" (cf. Mercutio's "A plague o' both your houses," *Romeo and Juliet*, III, i, 85, 93, 99, 101) and "myself, as head of the family,"<sup>2</sup> an interpretation borne out by the phrase "from me,"

<sup>1</sup> In the library of the Elizabethan Club of Yale University.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lear's precisely similar phrase, II, iv, 149: "Do you but mark how this becomes the house."

below; and, in the second place, the statement is obviously intended as an assertion of a general truth, and not at all as a particular description of the special case then conducting. So, on the whole, the evidence supporting Pope's assumption is far from conclusive, and negatively the argument for a new assumption or inference is thus far sustained.

Positively, four other passages may be adduced as reasonably conclusive evidence that this scene cannot be laid in the "open space before Leonato's house" but must be more remote. First, Leonato says, after his invitation has been accepted and his guests are prepared to adjourn to his house (I, i, 156): "Please it your grace leade on?" and Don Pedro replies: "Your hand, Leonato, we will goe together." Notice: "lead on," not "lead in"; "goe," not "goe in." Where the scene is certainly laid just outside Leonato's house, and the characters really have nothing to do but just step indoors, we find these expressions: "My Lord, will you walke? dinner is ready" (II, iii, 202; here "walke" = "withdraw, retire," walk in, according to the note, p. 127); "I am sent to bid you come in to dinner" (II, iii, 236); "Come, goe in" (III, i, 106). Secondly, Don Pedro says: "What secret hath held you here, that you followed not to Leonatoes?" Notice: "Leonato's," not "into the house"; surely "Leonato's" is contradistinguished from "here," their present location, which is somebody else's (namely, *Antonio's*). Thirdly, again but more emphatically, Don Pedro says (I, i, 266-69): "Good Signior Benedicke, repaire to Leonatoes, commend me to him, and tell him I will not faile him at supper, for indeede he hath made great preparation."<sup>1</sup> Now, even granting that this is merely an excuse for getting rid of Benedick, still, we may ask, why all this cumbrous elaboration? If the three are standing just outside of Leonato's house and Don Pedro has just left his host inside, in order to step out and bring his friends back in again with him, would not the natural phrasing here be something like this: "Go in and tell Leonato that I'm coming right in again, with Claudio"? How can they "faile

<sup>1</sup> This might seem to show that the Prince here contemplated making some sort of excursion with Claudio, covered by Benedick's apology to Leonato. But the other evidence adduced proves that Benedick was merely sent on before post-haste, to reassure Leonato, while the Prince and Claudio followed directly, but more deliberately, "in sad conference." The Prince simply wished to be alone with Claudio during the walk to Leonato's, after a brief tête-à-tête.

him at supper," if they are on his own grounds, at his very door? Fourthly, Don Pedro's first speech upon entering (I, i, 94-96) really settles the point; he says there: "Good Signior Leonato, you are come to meet your trouble: the fashion of the world is to avoid cost, and you encounter it." If Leonato had simply stepped over his threshold into his courtyard, this emphasis upon his *coming to meet* his trouble, reiterated five lines below, in line 101, would seem absurdly disproportionate; surely this meeting has taken place at some considerable distance from Leonato's house, and the liege lord assumes (rightly or wrongly) that his vassal has come thus far to do him special honor or show him special devotion and congratulates and thanks Leonato accordingly. Therefore, since there appears to be no satisfactory reason for accepting Pope's assumption that this scene is laid in "A Court before Leonato's House," while there is fairly conclusive evidence that the action must have taken place at some other locality in Messina, it is here contended that the correct inference to be drawn from the data before us establishes the following as the true stage-direction for Act I, scene i of *Much Ado: Antonio's Orchard*.

Let us consider the situation at the opening of the play from this new standpoint, and see how simply, naturally, and fittingly this new stage-direction provides the scenic setting for the opening events. On their way to the seat of the war, Don Pedro, Claudio, and Benedick spent some time in Messina, a city familiar to them all for various reasons, and were the guests of Leonato, for part of the time, at least. Antonio's villa in Messina lies somewhat closer to the walls than does Leonato's, is perhaps very near to the city-gate itself; and hither Leonato repairs on the day on which the play opens, either by way of friendly visit to his brother, or because he wishes to be at the city-gate to receive his Prince whenever the latter may return from the war; in either case, Leonato is somewhat surprised by the early arrival of the Prince (for, contrary to expectation, success has been won very speedily and bloodlessly), but is complimented by Don Pedro for his readiness and courtesy in coming so far to welcome him. After the brief exchange of greetings, for it is late and they have some distance to go, the noble company set out on their walk to Leonato's, excepting Claudio, who detains Benedick in order to



to seek from his brother-in-arms some help or sympathy in his dawning love. But lover and confidant are soon interrupted by the Prince, who has missed his favorite on the way to Leonato's and retraced his steps to find him; this mark of princely favor elicits Benedick's comment: "Looke, Don Pedro is returned to seeke you" (I, i, 196-97). (Notice: "returned," not "come out"; i.e., the Prince has walked back some distance, and not simply stepped out of the adjoining house.) After some badinage, Benedick is sent on ahead to Leonato's to notify their host that the Prince will surely arrive in time for the sumptuous supper that has long been planned in his honor, while Don Pedro and Claudio pace to and fro in the thick pleached alley of Antonio's orchard (i.e., between hedges, or rows of climbing plants such as sweet-peas or rambler roses, in the gardens before Antonio's house where Leonato had been found by the messenger and the Prince; for here, as usual, "orchard" means "garden"). One of Antonio's gardeners, perhaps a trusted family servant, or perhaps merely a garrulous gossip, while gathering flowers for the great supper, overhears fragments of the Prince's conversation with Claudio.<sup>1</sup> His work done, he leaves the noble pair in the midst of their consultation, hastens to Leonato's, delivers his flowers, and (perhaps even before his victims reach the house) reports to his master the garbled version of what he has overheard, which is instantly transmitted to Leonato (I, ii, 8-15). Meanwhile, the Prince and Claudio set out from Antonio's house, after resolving to put their plan into execution immediately, reach and enter Leonato's house just in time for supper but still deep in their project ("hand in hand in sad [i.e., serious, earnest] conference," I, iii, 56), and are there for the second and last time overheard and misapprehended (I, iii, 54-59).<sup>2</sup> There need be no break between scenes i and ii; we have simply to allow time for the Prince and Claudio to walk briskly from Antonio's garden to Leonato's house, and no lengthy

<sup>1</sup> Professor C. M. Lewis suggests to me a detail which would insure the audience's comprehension of the situation and incidentally lend much humor to the scene: let the "gardener" be shown behind the hedge during this dialogue (though unseen by the Prince and Claudio, of course), and after he has listened a while with appropriate dumb-play, let him hurry off in surprise to tell Antonio. Such a feature would certainly be effective on the modern stage, and may well have been part of the original stage "business" of the scene as acted in Shakespeare's time.

<sup>2</sup> What Borachio overhears would therefore be simply the uninterrupted continuation of the original conversation; so the improbability objected to above, in argument 1, is removed.

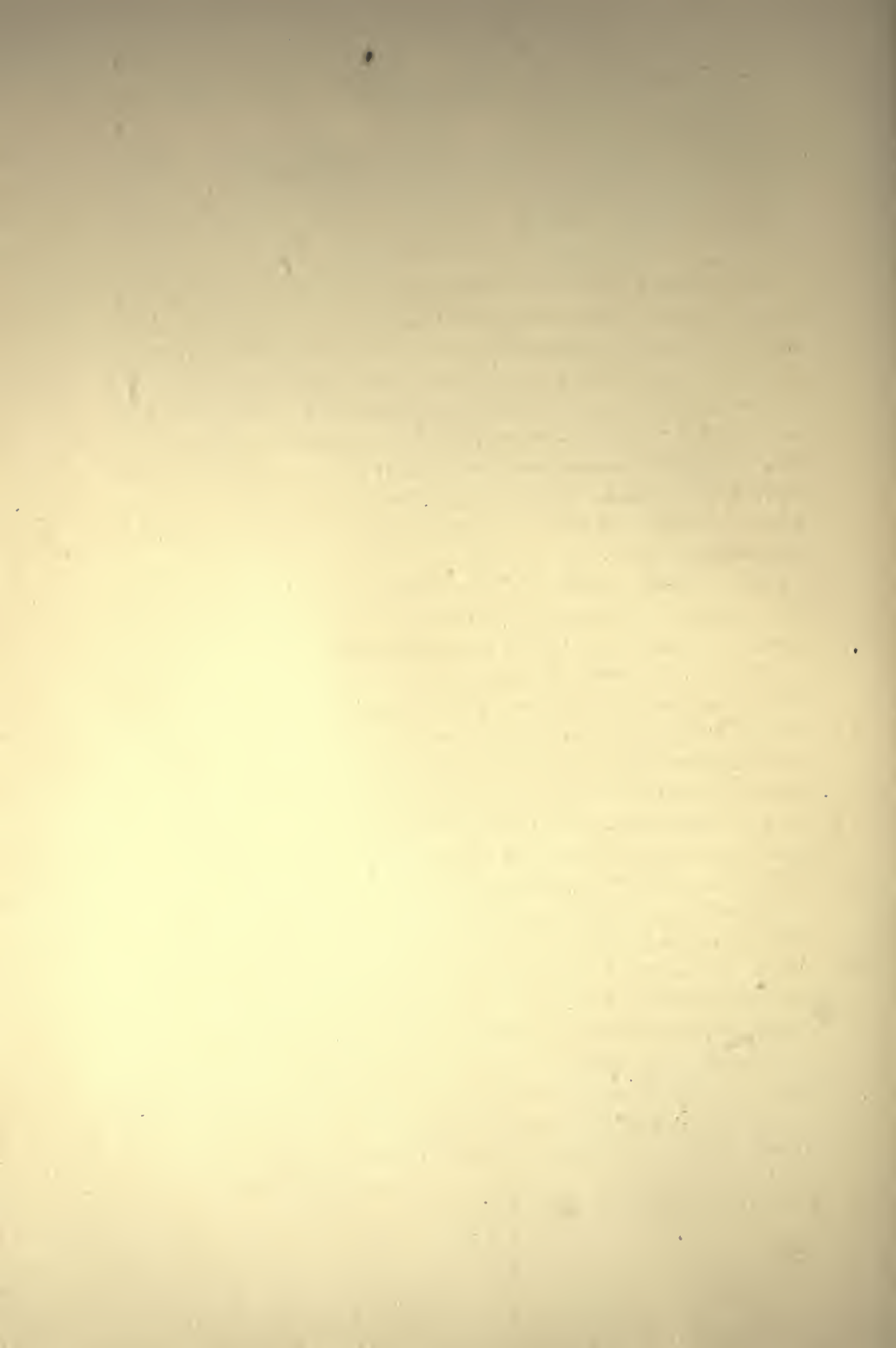
intermission like that between acts is necessary for this. So the adoption of the stage-direction "Antonio's Orchard" for Act I, scene i, obviates all difficulties in the opening of the play and for the first time renders possible a coherent, simple, and natural account of the sequence of events in these troublesome scenes.

Furthermore, upon turning back to the six objections above urged against Spedding's suggestion, it will be found that they are all (especially the first four) strong arguments in support of the adoption of this new stage-direction. Spedding's other suggestion, relative to the position of the intermission between Acts III and IV (pp. 365-67), is not in any way invalidated by the demonstrated fallacy of his first suggestion, of course, so that his improvements in those acts may be retained while his weak first act is strengthened by nearly 100 lines and becomes almost two-thirds as long as the longest act instead of less than one-half as long.

W. A. Wright has dismissed the whole question of stage-directions here with this slighting remark (perhaps because no solution of the difficulty occurred to him): "Probably Shakespeare was careless about the matter, which is of no importance" (p. 44). It seems more just to say that Shakespeare, without being "careless" (for the word implies a fault, however slight), merely wrote for his own stage and not for ours: "the matter" *was* "of no importance" in a production without scenery or program. For the Elizabethan stage, as well as for any consideration of the play purely as poetry, the simple stage-direction of the Quarto, the Folios, and the "first modern" is all-sufficient: "Enter Leonato Governour of Messina," etc. But "the matter" decidedly *is* "of importance" for a modern production wherein a definite scenic setting must be presented upon the stage, for a modern printed program, and perhaps above all for a modern published version, especially a critical edition. So Wright is not quite justifiable in cavalierly treating the whole matter as much ado about nothing. The new stage-direction here argued for is, therefore, offered as a suggestion for modern performances and editions, or for the ideal or "imaginary theater" (p. 367) with which alone Spedding professed to concern himself.

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## OMISSION OF THE CENTRAL ACTION IN ENGLISH BALLADS

In order to treat of the central action, which involves what is perhaps most vital in the method of the ballads, a theory of ballad origins is necessary; for unless we have some notion as to who wrote the ballads, we cannot be sure why they were written just as they are.

Let us confess at the outset that the distinction between "true" ballads and "made" ones seems to us misleading; that all ballads seem to be made, some well and some badly, some in conformity with the principles which underlie the type to which they belong and others in imitation of these original ballads. Setting aside the riddle ballads, and one or two survivals of a very early choral dance, we may say that ballads are the products of individuals, and that these individuals belong to schools—not the schools whose names appear in literary history, but anonymous schools of expression.

When we have an anonymous poem in literature, it can usually be associated with the writings which characterize some well-known school, and may be classed as an "anonymous Elizabethan sonnet," an "anonymous Cavalier song," or the like. But in the case of the ballads, not only the author is unknown, but the school itself is, and in most cases always has been, an anonymous one. The literary historians have somehow overlooked it, and we find, virtually, its only record in the stanzas which it has left us.

We see something of the same sort today, even now that the personal element is everywhere so pronounced. Who writes the articles in a metropolitan newspaper? How many people know or care about the composer when they whistle an air from the music-halls? Who makes the jokes of the day which are passed from mouth to mouth? Of course, the parallel should not be carried too far; the newspaper, at least, is conscious and purposive, the ballads were unconscious and without definite purpose. Just what is meant by this distinction? I cannot illustrate better than by recalling the familiar story of Sheridan, the playwright-orator, and the countryman. While passing along an English road, Sheridan met the

countryman and asked what he thought of the new peace with France. The latter replied, in substance: "It is a peace of which we may all be glad, but of which no one can be proud." Sheridan used the epigram at a critical time in Parliament, and electrified that assembly and through it the whole nation. In this case, the countryman spoke unconsciously and without definite purpose the same words which Sheridan, consciously and purposively, used to express the feelings of his fellow-citizens.

It is quite natural for distinct types of art to observe canons of their own. Who desires or expects to find in the newspaper the personal style of Macaulay? I once had pointed out to me an article by one of the most brilliant of the younger newspaper men in America, and was told that it was his masterpiece. It seemed childishly simple, but I could perceive in it a quality which gave it significance. There was no personality in it, little of what we often call style; but its effectiveness was due to an anonymous, unindividualized appeal to the sympathies of men. In this sense, the editorial "we" becomes really significant: and some American newspapers lack the subjective point of view as completely as the ballads.

But as the ballads were made at a comparatively early period, when an education in letters was the rare exception, and when the restraint of literary canons did not bind the anonymous muse, it was natural that very great differences existed between the respective literatures of the coffee-house and the farmhouse. Though a false rhyme is now almost intolerable in English poetry, rhyme is such an incidental feature of the ballads that we soon become used to irregularities, and are jarred only when the words are coupled in an especially harsh fashion, or when the words which are singled out for emphasis are incapable of sustaining it. Though imagery is a prime consideration in modern poetry, we soon learn not to expect much of it in the ballads. The customary quatrain stanza, which would be a fetter to Shelley, is accepted here as the natural thing, and we feel, in many cases, that its very simplicity gives it tremendous force.

This existence of a considerable body of anonymous poetry may be understood better by a comparison. Suppose all the work of the Romantic school were to be lost to literary history (a large suppo-

sition, but one which may serve for illustration), and then were to be rediscovered some centuries hence, surviving anonymously in a somewhat mutilated condition in the mouths of the people. In that case, as in this, new canons of criticism would have to be formulated; and, in order to arrive at a fair evaluation of the poems and a discriminating judgment of them, we should have to select the most vigorous of the versions, discarding as far as possible the dross which a few centuries of forgetfulness, imitation, and bad taste would have given birth to. As before, however, the parallel doesn't extend far; we are reminded that the ballads have not drifted into the mouths of the commoners by accident, and that they are anonymous by nature. We have not merely an anonymous school of poetry; it is a school of anonymous poetry.

Furthermore, the case of the ballads is more complex. We have not one school of narrative poetry, but four. There is also a group, that of flyting, in which the theme is not even of a narrative nature. Why have these different ballad schools become confused? Do they represent different and successive stages of artistic development, as Professor W. M. Hart<sup>1</sup> concludes; or have they been thrown together rather indiscriminately, merely because they were found mostly in oral currency, and are they generally independent of any recognized literary school? The first position I shall undertake to prove untenable, somewhat hereafter; and the second position, which I maintain, will have to be modified somewhat before it will be worthy of acceptance.

There are some ballads in the Child collection<sup>2</sup> which are not of anonymous origin, or which are anonymous only in part,<sup>3</sup> most of them being broadsides, the work of public hack-writers. As for this problem, two solutions offer themselves. Perhaps Professor Child made a slip in admitting them into the collection; or perhaps, because they deal with kindred subjects, they have been drawn in by the attraction of the undoubted anonymous ones. In any case, they belong to a different school, anonymous only in part, a school which should be kept distinct from the purely anonymous one.

<sup>1</sup> *Ballad and Epic; a Study in the Development of the Narrative Art*, Boston, 1907.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. No. 154, in *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*. So in all cases where numbers are cited.

<sup>3</sup> Buchan's version of No. 94.



Except in cases where a broadside imitates an existing ballad or where a ballad springs from a broadside, there is always a marked difference in the productions of the two schools. In general I shall slight the broadsides, and shall make but glancing reference to them in this discussion; for they do not illustrate any of my points except by contrast.

It is apparent, even to the listless reader of English and Scottish ballads, that they fall into several well-defined groups. Professor Hart classifies<sup>1</sup> them into four main divisions: (1) Simple Ballads; (2) Border and Outlaw Ballads, including (a) Border Ballads, (b) the Robin Hood Cycle, and (c) "Adam Bell"; (3) the "Gest"; and (4) Heroic Ballads, more common in the literature of some other countries. The classification is good as far as it goes; but I wish to provide for a few exceptions. The Riddle Ballads, such as Nos. 1, 2, and 3, and probable survivals of the dance-dialogues, such as No. 95, are not essentially narrative; the story, as far as any exists, serves merely to furnish a background for the dialogue. Perhaps also the comic tendencies of some of the later ballads justify putting them in a separate class; for the earlier ballads are mostly tragic, and deal not with a mere anecdote but with a story of real significance. Even after limiting ourselves to the simple ballads, we have still something like four rather distinct types to deal with: the perfect simple ballads, the fragmentary simple ballads, the Buchan versions, and the broadsides.

In many of the fragments, the story has been lost so completely that only a name or two serves to associate these fragments with the complete ballads. In such cases, there is a marked tendency for these chips to lose the chief characteristics of the old block, and to become lyrical in character. It is the story which seems to drop out first; it is the situation, with the lyrical comment upon it, which remains. This is a point which directly controverts the theory of Professor Hart, and one which he seems to have overlooked.

The narrative qualities of the broadside have been mentioned before. Let me repeat here that except in those cases where they were but reworkings of existing poetry of the anonymous school, the broadsides were innocent of every one of the artistic devices

<sup>1</sup> *Ballad and Epic*, p. 4.

which characterized the best ballads. There is an almost invariable tendency to subordinate the story to an ulterior consideration by appending a sort of moral. If the morals were good, such supplements would still detract from the narrative power of the poems; but in almost every case the conclusion is either irrelevant or is so feebly and insincerely phrased that it is painful.

But the worst productions of the broadside school are not to be compared with the offerings of Buchan. Sometimes Motherwell is just as bad an offender, but in many of these cases he seems to have been led astray by bad company.<sup>1</sup> I have collected statistics (omitted here for brevity's sake) which show that Buchan's ballads are the longest, the fullest, and seemingly the most carefully padded of any; and a little reading should also convince anyone that they are also the worst. Is there a fundamental connection between this fulness and the coexistent badness of these productions? Professor Child seems to imply<sup>2</sup> that there is, when he states that "the silliness and fulsome vulgarity of Buchan's ballads often enough make one wince or sicken, and many of them came through bad mouths and bad hands: we have even positive proof in one instance of imposture." In another place<sup>3</sup> his opinion is even more unmistakable: "Buchan, who may be relied upon to produce a longer ballad than anybody else, has 'Young Waters' in thirty-nine stanzas, 'the only complete version he had ever met with.' Of the copy I will only say that everything which is not in the edition of 1755 (itself a little the worse for editing) is a counterfeit of the lowest description. Nevertheless it is given in the appendix; for much the same reason that thieves are photographed."

Returning to Professor Hart's classification,<sup>4</sup> it is noticeable that there is here not only a difference of technique but also a difference of subject-matter. The simple ballads are concerned almost solely with the relations between men and women; in the vast majority of cases the story deals with the domestic relation. Even in "Sir Patrick Spens,"<sup>5</sup> where it would seem that women could be excluded entirely, we find the mention of them more persistent than any other part of the ballad. The skipper may be Sir Patrick

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 96, C; 110, E.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 110.

<sup>3</sup> II, 342.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra*, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> No. 58.

or Sir Andrew, but the ladies remain. This is in sharp contrast with the border and outlaw ballads, where some one vigorous action is the center of interest; or the "Gest," where the life-history of a hero is to be considered; or the heroic ballads, which treat of the heroic exploit, or a series of exploits. This difference of subject-matter alone is so complete as to serve in itself to distinguish the school of the simple ballads from the other three. We have here our single school of romantic anonymous poetry, and our threefold school of the poetry of heroic adventure.<sup>1</sup>

There are equally striking differences of technique, among which may be mentioned those of diction, of characterization (as far as any exists), and, in many cases, of the movement of the verse; but it is with the differences of the narrative method that we are primarily concerned. In many of the best and most characteristic of the simple ballads, the central action or central motive is omitted entirely, or else is withheld to furnish a climax at the end. Sometimes this suspense exists only for the characters in the story, but more often and more effectively it exists for readers and actors alike. There is also little effort on the part of the balladist to attribute speeches to the characters who utter them, or to supply transitions in the story.<sup>2</sup> Leaping, broken narration is characteristic, rather than exceptional. In each of the other types the contrary is true. The story proceeds smoothly, especially in the "Gest"; there is no omission of the central action; and suspense, when it does exist, is incidental rather than fundamental. There is no effort to select a striking situation and linger upon it, but rather the action begins at the beginning of things and proceeds in an orderly fashion to the end.

Professor Hart concludes, for these and similar reasons, that the simple ballads, which were last to receive public notice, nevertheless represent an earlier stage in the process of development; and that the longer and more developed forms (i.e., the border and outlaw ballads, the "Gest," and the heroic ballads) represent a higher form of narrative art, and a later period of ballad evolution.

<sup>1</sup> The ballads of Christian and knightly legend are not classified here, because it seems to me that they do not belong within the scope of this discussion.

<sup>2</sup> *The Popular Ballad*, pp. 91, 117.



This view is acknowledged to be startling, and it seems to me to be equally false.

I shall quote from his own conclusion:

As a result, now, of the poet's increasingly exclusive possession of the material, of his disinclination to limit himself to matters of common knowledge, with his increasingly rational method, elaboration comes more and more to take the place of the peculiar omission and suggestion of the simple ballad . . . this elaboration, combined with the tendency to unite two or more stories into a single whole, necessitates a greater length, and greater and greater demands are made upon the poet's architectural power. It is easy for the simple ballad, with its love of symmetry and repetition, to achieve, within its narrow limits, a remarkable perfection of structure; the compiler of the *Gest*, striving to unite a series of independent incidents, solves a more difficult problem.<sup>1</sup>

Is it not an evidence of bad art, rather than of advanced development, that the compiler of the "Gest" undertakes to put together so much unrelated material? If the smooth linking of unrelated facts were the supreme test, then the chronicles and historical plays would be among the most artistic productions in the language. Some of our elder poets attempted to write histories of the world in verse, "striving to unite a series of independent incidents," and certainly contending with a "difficult problem"; but do we rank these writings as high art? Is there any underlying unity in these rambling narratives which would justify one in calling them epics, in the sense that the *Iliad* is an epic? Or even granting the use of the term, is not the epic, historically, a rather primitive form of literature, giving way in later times to shorter and more perfect forms? With slight modification, we may read Macaulay's words: "As civilization advances, *epic* poetry almost necessarily declines." On the contrary, the simple ballad, with its selection of details, with its deliberately chosen situation, with its antecedent action implied or but slightly expressed, with its resultant action in many cases merely foreshadowed, with its powerful suspense, is in close conformity with the principles which underlie the modern short-story, the most highly developed form of the narrative art. It is strange that Professor Hart, who has made a special study of the short-story, should have overlooked the resemblance. If the principles

<sup>1</sup> *Ballad and Epic*, p. 310.

which he lays down for the ballads be brought over and applied to prose narration, then we must conclude that greater demands were made upon the authors in the rambling narratives of former times than in a story like *The Necklace* of De Maupassant. For in the first instance, we have Professor Hart's series of "independent incidents"; in the second, we have a few carefully chosen and closely related ones. In the first case, there is a commendable effort to tell everything that happened; in the second, there is a deliberate and exclusive choice of two situations for emphatic treatment. In the first instance, we have the story told in chronological order; in the second, we have complete suspense of the central point of interest, which fact is not even hinted at until the last sentence. There is another striking resemblance between the simple ballad and the short-story. In both cases the central action is not only suspended to the close, but is often projected on beyond it.

The simple ballads show another tendency, mentioned previously in another connection,<sup>1</sup> which indicates that they are of a late period of development. They have a marked tendency to dwell on the mood of the principal actor, and upon the situation, in many cases to the detriment or loss of the narrative aspect. The second part of "Fair Helen," which is in Scott's *Minstrelsy*, though not in Professor Child's collection, is so intent upon the lyrical phase of the situation, regardless of past and future action, that it ceases to be a narrative and passes over into the realm of lyric poetry; and even "Sir Patrick Spens," perhaps the most perfect and at the same time the most typical of the best simple ballads, is not far removed from *The Three Fishers* of Charles Kingsley. It is a well-known fact, attested by the literary history of every nation, that the intense lyric is one of the latest poetic forms to develop, as more purely narrative types are among the earliest of all. It might be argued that the more direct narration of the *Odyssey* is a later development than the leaping and seemingly unrelated narration of Pindar; but history speaks louder than speculation. It seems, then, that though the "Gest" may represent a relatively high development of its type in narrative art, the kind itself is an early one historically and a crude one artistically; whereas, when we make due allowances

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 5.

for the peculiarities of style which now seem strange to us because they are characteristic of a lost school, the simple ballads are found to be in conformity with the principles which underlie the most highly developed form of the narrative art, and show in addition that leaning toward the lyric which is characteristic of the most intense poetry which deals with a single situation.

Having now outlined our general theory of the ballad, let us come to a consideration of the particular instances in which this suppression of the central action occurs. Restricting ourselves to the better ones of the simple ballads—for it is only here that the device is employed to any considerable extent—we find that, as in the case of all schools, some of the poets used the approved methods with effect, others bungled them, and still others failed to make any use of the most powerful of all ballad devices—the omission of the central action, including the kindred device of suspense.

There are four main divisions of the examples of omission and suspense: minor omissions, suspense, omission of the central motive, and omission of the central action. The term “minor omissions” includes not only the leaving-out of connecting passages of various sorts—natural enough in narration of a leaping type—but also the omission of details which are subordinated for artistic purpose. In “Brown Adam” (No. 98, A) we are told simply that—

He's gard him leave his bow, his bow,  
He's gard him leave his bran;  
He's gard him leave a better pledge,  
Four fingers o' his right han.

The fight has been passed over here, because we are concerned only with the results of it. This is in sharp contrast with the border and outlaw ballads, where the fight's the thing, and with less artistic examples of the simple ballads, where the details of a fight are allowed to assume undue prominence in the story. There is also a tendency to pass over the act of death, and even when the death is over, to make only glancing reference to it. This is in direct opposition to the love of detail of Buchan's versions and the broad-sides, but it is nevertheless very common. Sometimes this description seems to have been lost<sup>1</sup>, but in other cases<sup>2</sup> the omission is

<sup>1</sup> No. 92, C, D, E, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 64, A; 67, A; 69, B.



intentional. The clerk of Owsenford, instead of telling his wife that the two sons are dead, says:

I've putten them to a deeper lair,  
An to a higher school.

Not only is the news of the death withheld, but in many cases the death itself is left to be inferred. In "Fair Janet" (64, A) Willie gives parting instructions and then is buried. In "Glasgerion" (67, A) the hero prepares to slay himself, and then we leap to a reflection on the whole tragedy. In "Lady Alice" (85, B) the lady predicts her death, and then is buried. In "Lamkin" (93) some of the versions are so fragmentary as to omit all account of the killing, which is here the central action. Is this omission a stronger device than detailed narration would afford? Obviously it is. The only objection to the method is that it may make the story too vague and obscure if carried to an excess.

Our second division, suspense, covers a much greater field, including four principal varieties. These are as follows: suspense for one or more of the characters, but not for the reader; suspense of a single detail of the story; suspense of the general significance of the story; and suspense of the identity of the principal character. The last two divisions overlap, but they may be considered separately to advantage. In "The Bailiff's Daughter of Islington" (105) it is quite clear to us that the girl is in disguise, but the apprentice is made to think she is dead. It is well to note that the only version of this is a broadside, and that the conclusion is spoiled by the unnecessary stanza:

O farewel grief, and welcome joy,  
Ten thousand times and more!  
For now I have seen my own true-love,  
That I thought I should have seen no more.

In "The Gay Goshawk" (96, A) the suspense for the father and brothers is pretty effective: and the disillusionment of the lady in "Old Robin of Portingale" (80) is really powerful:

Upp then went that ladie light,  
With torches burning bright;  
She thought to have brought Sir Gyles a drinke,  
But she found her own wedd knight.

And the first thing that this ladye stumbled upon  
 Was of Sir Gyles his ffoote;  
 Sayes, "Euer alacke, and woe is me,  
 Here lies my sweete heart-roote!"

But perhaps the most successful suspense for one or more of the characters is to be found in "Clerk Saunders" (69, A), where, after a definite statement for the reader that Saunders is slain, the poem continues in this fashion, lingering not upon the mere details but upon the poetic quality of the tragedy:

And they lay still, and slepted sound,  
 Untill the day began to daw;  
 And kindly till him did she say  
 "It's time, trew-love, ye were awa."

Suspense of a single detail is generally employed for the purpose of adornment, or what seems to have been considered ornamental. In one form or another, it is found almost universally in the simple ballads. It is generally of a conventional type of elaboration, which Professor Gummere calls incremental repetition.<sup>1</sup> In this sort of suspense, the balladist, or one of the characters, mentions two or more rather irrelevant things, and then comes suddenly to the point with a swoop like that with which a hawk descends upon chickens. The device is frequently used for padding, especially in the hands of Buchan; but sometimes it is really effective, as in the famous stanza from "Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard" (81, A):

Methinks I hear the thresel-cock,  
 Methinks I hear the jaye;  
 Methinks I hear my Lord Barnard,  
 And I would I were away.

Suspense of identity is used for a variety of purposes. In "The Knight and the Shepherd's Daughter" (110) and "The Beggar Laddie" (280) it serves to give piquancy to rather scurrilous tales which are not entirely redeemed by attempts at romantic conclusions. In "Willie and Earl Richard's Daughter" (102, A) the secret that the child is Robin Hood is withheld until the end; but in the Buchan version (102, B) the principal point of interest is exposed in the first stanza, with the infallible instinct of a peddler. In "Fair

<sup>1</sup> *The Popular Ballad*, p. 42.

Annie" (62) and "The Lass of Roch Royal" (76) the whole story hangs upon the concealment of the identity of Fair Annie, in the first case, and of the mother in the second; and yet we observe that in most versions the identity of Annie is hinted at as soon as the bride arrives, and in the latter case the imposture is detected long before the story closes. In "Child Maurice" (83, A) we find perhaps the most effective use of suspense which occurs anywhere in the ballads; here the relationship of mother and son is not only the keynote of everything in the whole ballad, but it is withheld perfectly until near the end, to be uttered in a marvelous stanza:

But when shee looked on Child Maurice head,  
 Shee neuer spake words but three:  
 "I neuer beare no child but one,  
 And you haue slaine him trulye."

In the next two stanzas we are told that she is dead. Could a more perfect bit of narrative art be imagined? In some of the poorer versions of this ballad (83, B, C, F) the secret is given away by Child Maurice before the climax. By comparing these versions with that of the Percy MS, we are made to realize that the narrative of suspense surpasses straight narration in the "architectural power" mentioned by Professor Hart.

It will be noticed that in the preceding instances, the significance of the whole story rested upon the suspense of identity; but there are other cases in which suspense of the former exists independently. In one version of "Young Benjie" (86, B) the story is not begun until the brothers are searching for the drowned body of Maisry, and considerable antecedent action makes more or less suspense necessary. In "Lord Randal" (12) the suspense is an integral part of the ballad; and in "Edward" (13, B) this is coupled with unusual felicity of phrase, and dramatic interest of situation.

Omission of the central motive is rare, except in fragments, and it is safe to suppose that it is due in any case either to loss of explanatory stanzas or to artistic suppression. In some versions of "Lamkin" (93, D, E, G) the first stanzas, telling of the original quarrel, have almost certainly been lost by accident. In some cases the result of this is to make a sort of bugbear of Lamkin, to frighten children, and the tragedy of the lord's injustice to the mason and the terrible



revenge which followed is quite gone. There can be no doubt that in this instance, and in many similar ones, where the character of the story is changed, the omission of the central motive is a source of weakness. In the case of the seemingly intentional omission of the motive, such as that in "Young Johnstone" (86), the device is an element of strength. Though it confuses us to some extent, the mystery of the unexplained killing gives an added emotional appeal. The lady's dying question is made more pathetic by Johnstone's evasion of it.

We come now to the last of our four divisions, omission of the central action. In this, as in the preceding, we find instances due to accidental and others to artistic suppression. In one version of "Lamkin" (93, Q) we have all the important action lost; in one version of "Johnie Scot" (99, M) the same is true. In the last version of "Glasgerion" (67, C) the poem does not become a fragment, but instead the omission serves in a way to increase the effectiveness of the whole. In "The Wife of Usher's Well" (79, A) there is a suggestion in the last stanza that may be taken to indicate that either the central action or the central motive for action has been omitted, though it may mean nothing more than a pathetic farewell to the recollections of childhood:

Fare ye weel, my mother dear!  
 Fareweel to barn and byre!  
 And fare ye weel, the bonny lass  
 That kindles my mother's fire!

This omission, if omission it is, throws the whole story in doubt, but it makes a better poem of the ballad. But the best illustration of artistic omission occurs in "Sir Patrick Spens" (56, A, a). This is perhaps the shortest of all the very great ballads, only eleven stanzas; and the swiftness of its catastrophe, its certainty, its power—this is no less notable than the method by which it is obtained. It takes us but two lines to get well into the scene of action; in the last line of the stanza we have an indication of the drift of the story; in the following stanza the hero is introduced; and by the seventh, we finish with the forebodings, and are ready for the four final stanzas of regretful contemplation. Of action expressed there is little; this is scarcely a narrative at all, but rather it is one of those

ballads that are so intense as to become fused into a lyrical quality. This is the sort of thing that Professor Hart seems to consider inferior, more primitive, a lower form of art than the jog-trot doggerel of the Robin Hood cycle. The full force of the method employed in the A version can best be appreciated by comparing it with that of the *Minstrelsy* (56, H). The latter is much longer, is told in straight narrative order, and is vigorous to a high degree; but we miss the irresistible imaginative suggestiveness of the A version. However, if this lyrical quality be allowed to predominate too far; if, as in "The Twa Corbies" (26) or "Fair Helen,"<sup>1</sup> we leave out the normal beginning which clings to "Sir Patrick Spens" and serves to give it a semi-narrative character; and if we begin frankly at the end, as both of the former poems do, then we have a lyrical poem pure and simple. It is notable that Palgrave includes "The Twa Corbies" and "Fair Helen" in his matchless little anthology of English lyrics but does not take in "Sir Patrick Spens."

Let us pause now to recapitulate and summarize:

1. Ballads may be told in straight narrative fashion and yet be very effective, as "Child Waters" (62, A). Here the intrinsic strength of the plot, the simple majesty of the diction, and the climactic arrangement of the details serve to make the ballad effective. But if the plot were less significant, or if the tone of the whole were not so well maintained, there would be nothing in it to make for strength.

2. Minor omissions occur in almost all of the ballads, and are used for euphemism in mentioning unpleasant occurrences or for subordination in dealing with matters of varying degrees of importance. Such omissions not only economize time, but they also make a greater or less appeal to the imagination of the reader, or hearer, perhaps I should say.

3. Suspense is of several degrees and varieties. To some extent it is found in almost all of the ballads; for in any narrative a limited degree of it is almost unavoidable. But the artistic use of suspense is a means of securing unusual power, and it occurs for the most part only in the best ballads. It is found chiefly in one of two phases: suspense of a single detail, suspense which exists for one or more of

<sup>1</sup> *Supra.*, p. 8.

the characters but not for the reader, and suspense of the general significance of the story, which frequently appears in the special phase of the suspense of the identity of the principal character. The finest example is that of "Child Maurice,"<sup>1</sup> where by the sudden revelation of the key fact of the story, we are obliged to reconstruct our conception of the whole, at the moment of greatest intensity. In this connection it will be noted that those of the versions that fail to employ suspense or omission are infinitely weaker than those that make use of them.

4. Suppression of the central motive is rare, and if badly handled it results in obscurity. It exists principally in fragments, and is there apparently accidental; though even in those cases, the fact that the motive drops out may be significant.

5. Complete suppression of the central action, except in fragments, is rare, and is due to consummate art; consequently it is not to be found in the ballads of heroic adventure, nor in the independent broadsides, nor in the worse sort of simple ballads. Most of even the best simple ballads do not omit the central action. Complete omission by its very nature is essential and structural, and determines the character of the ballad; whereas suspense is generally subordinate and decorative. But the examples of complete suspense are much more numerous than those of omission, and fall into three classes: suspense for wit flavored with a low sort of romance, as in "The Beggar Laddie" (280) and "The Knight and the Shepherd's Daughter" (110); suspense for a romantic conclusion, as in "Bonnie Lizie Baillie" (227) and "Glasgow Peggie" (228); and suspense for tragedy, as in "Child Maurice" and "Edward." There is a marked difference between these two last. In "Child Maurice" the suspense of a fact leads to a tragedy; in "Edward," the action has already occurred, and we are simply told of it in the most effective way. Complete suspense, then, is to be considered a more frequently used and more typical device than omission of the central action, and it is more nearly in conformity with the methods of modern narrative art.

6. Omission of the central action requires more or less deviation from the normal path of the simple ballad, and presupposes on the

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 12.



part of its author at least a limited degree of the highest poetic art. It presupposes, also, no small degree of appreciation on the part of those who perpetuate it by oral transmission. The intense suppression of those details on which the unlettered mind loves to linger does not find ready recognition among such people as the milkmaids and female servants and very old men who furnished so many of the ballad versions; and if Buchan's collector had met with such a monstrosity, he would no doubt have hastened to fill in the vacancy. There is more reason than is at first apparent why the best versions of "Edward" and "Sir Patrick Spens" occur only in the *Reliques* of the cultivated Thomas Percy. The suspense of the former would be a little beyond the ordinary mind (though "Lord Randal," with its excess of detail and contagious refrain, has remained very popular despite the suspense employed); and as for the latter, what village gossip would be content to sing the fate of Sir Patrick in eleven stanzas, omitting all mention of the rebellious cabin boy and the floating mattresses, when she might just as easily, and with much greater satisfaction, retain all those delectable details and spin the yarn out to a decent length?

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## BEOWULF AND THE FEAST OF BRICRIU

### I

In an article published in the *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift* for February, 1909, Professor Deutschbein of Leipzig calls attention to what he regards as a number of indications of marked influence exerted by the old Irish saga *Fled Bricrend*, *The Feast of Bricriu*, on the Anglo-Saxon poem *Beowulf*. If he is right, he has made an interesting discovery. His principal statements are examined in the following pages.

The story of *The Feast of Bricriu*, summarized from Dr. George Henderson's translation, London, 1899, is as follows:

Bricriu of the evil tongue held a great feast for Conchobar mac Nessa and all the Ultonians. For the entertainment of the guests a magnificent structure was built, and a year was consumed in making the preparations for the feast.

At a gathering of Ulster men Bricriu issued invitations for the feast; but the Ulster men feared that disaster would overtake them if they accepted the invitation. Bricriu, however, threatened to stir up deadly strife among them if they refused; and they concluded to accept, provided Bricriu would give hostages not to disturb the peace among them. This he consented to do.

Bricriu nevertheless proceeded to fan the flame of rivalry among Loigaire the Triumphant, Conall the Victorious, and Cuchulainn; and the three engaged in a series of contests to determine which should be awarded the championship of Emain.

Not satisfied with stirring up strife among these three men, Bricriu incited their wives to engage in a contest in regard to precedence in entering the feast-hall. In the contest each of the women advanced her claims to the coveted position in verse.

Loigaire and Conall each made an opening in the side of the house to provide an entrance for his wife, but Cuchulainn made an entrance by raising one side of the house so high that the stars of heaven were visible below the wattle. When the side was let down, it entered seven feet into the ground. As a result the house was lop-sided, and

all the Ulster men could not restore it to its former position. Cuchulainn, however, performed the feat alone.

But the supremacy among the three heroes was regarded as still undecided, and they were ordered by Conchobar to "Go to Curoi mac Dairi, the man who will intervene." They started out in their chariots, Loigaire first, Conall next, and Cuchulainn last. Loigaire arrived at a meadow, and, on account of a dense mist, had to halt. A huge ugly giant, owner of the meadow, came bearing a ponderous club. After a struggle with the giant, Loigaire fled. Conall arrived at the same place, struggled with the giant, and fled. Later Cuchulainn arrived, overcame the giant, and regained Loigaire's and Conall's chariots, charioteers, and accouterments and returned them to their owners. Bricriu now wished to award the championship to Cuchulainn; but the other two objected, because, as they said, the giant was a fairy friend of Cuchulainn.

It was then decided that the three heroes should proceed to the abode of Ailill and Mève. At Ailill's they feasted for three days. One night as they sat eating, three huge cats were let loose to attack them. Loigaire and Conall fled. The cats attacked Cuchulainn, who gave one of them a blow on the head with his sword, but the sword glanced off without inflicting a wound. The cats sat down, but Cuchulainn also remained. In the morning the cats were gone.

Loigaire and Conall refused, however, to yield the supremacy to Cuchulainn. They were not contending with beasts, they said, but with men.

Later the three went to the house where the youths were performing the wheel-feat. Loigaire tossed the wheel half-way up the house; Conall tossed it as high as the ridgepole; Cuchulainn tossed it so that it dislodged the ridgepole, passed through the roof, fell outside, and sank a cubit into the ground. Cuchulainn then took one hundred and fifty needles, one from each of as many women, tossed the needles into the air so that each needle passed into the eye of another, and then returned to each woman her own needle.

Mève ordered the three heroes to go to her foster-father and step-mother, Ercol and Garmna. On the way they ran a race at the Cruachan gathering, Cuchulainn gaining the victory.

Arriving at Ercol and Garmna's the men were despatched to



Samera, who sent them to the Amazons of the Glen. The Amazons deprived Loigaire, who arrived first, of his accouterments; Conall, who came next, was deprived of his spear, but retained his sword; Cuchulainn, the last to arrive, though hard pressed at first, defeated them completely.

The contestants returned to the abode of Ercol, who challenged them to a combat with himself and his horse—man against man, and horse against horse. Ercol defeated Loigaire, and his horse killed Loigaire's horse. The same fate befell Conall and his horse. But Cuchulainn's horse killed Ercol's horse, and Cuchulainn defeated Ercol and took him bound behind his chariot to Emain, whither Loigaire and Conall had fled. Still Loigaire and Conall refused to admit that Cuchulainn had proved his superiority.

The three then went to Yellow, son of Fair, who sent them to Terror, son of Great Fear. Terror said, "I have an ax, and the man into whose hands it shall be put is to cut off my head today, I to cut off his tomorrow." Loigaire declined to agree to this. Cuchulainn, however, consented, and surreptitiously substituting his own ax for the enchanted ax of the giant, cut off the head of the giant, who the next day, on account of Cuchulainn's courage, merely touched his ax to Cuchulainn's neck without inflicting a wound.

The giant awarded the championship to Cuchulainn; but Loigaire and Conall again objected, and the three were sent to Curoi. At that time, Curoi was in a distant land, and it was his custom every night to chant a spell over his fort till it revolved so rapidly that no one could find the entrance to it after sunset. The three heroes were to guard the fort, one night each, taking turn according to seniority. It is this portion of the saga that is said to resemble the Grendel-story in *Beowulf*.

Loigaire's turn came first. In the latter part of the night he saw a giant (Scath) approaching the fort from the loch. The giant was exceedingly large and ugly. He seemed to reach to the sky, and the sea was visible between his legs. He came with his hands full of stripped oaks, each felled at a single stroke and large enough to make a load for a team of six. Two or three of these stakes he hurled at Loigaire, but missed him each time. In return Loigaire threw his spear at the giant, but also missed.

The giant then reached across three ridges and seized Loigaire, who, though large and imposing in stature, was but as a year-old child in the giant's clutch. After rolling him around in his hand, the giant threw him over the wall of the fort and he dropped outside into the mire.

Conall kept watch the second night, but he shared the fate of Loigaire.

The third night Cuchulainn kept watch. "That night the three Goblins [Greys] of Sescind Uairbeoil, the three Ox-feeders [?] of Bregia, and the three sons of Big-Fist the Siren met by appointment to plunder the hold. This, too, was the night of which it was foretold, that the Spirit of the Lake by the fort would devour the whole host of the hold, man and beast." Cuchulainn killed all nine. He likewise killed two other nines that came to attack him, and threw them all in a heap.

Late in the night a monster appeared. He seemed to be thirty cubits in height, and sprang toward the fort with mouth opened so wide that one of the palaces could go into his gullet. Cuchulainn leaped into the air, circled swiftly around the monster's head, twined his arms about his neck, and stuck his hand into the monster's gullet and tore out his heart. The monster fell to the ground and bruised his shoulder. Cuchulainn hacked the monster's body to pieces, but took his head with him and threw it on the heap of skulls of those he had slain before.

At dawn he saw another giant (Scath) approaching from the sea. The giant hurled a large branch at him, but it missed its mark. Cuchulainn threw a spear at the giant, but failed to hit him. Then Cuchulainn leaped into the air and circled about the giant's head so swiftly that the giant became giddy. Cuchulainn demanded the fulfilment of three wishes, namely: "The sovranity of Erin's Heroes be henceforth mine; the Champion's Portion without dispute; the precedence of my wife o'er Ultonia's ladies forever." The giant agreed to the demand and vanished.

Cuchulainn thought that Loigaire and Conall, who had been thrown out of the fort by the giant, had leaped over the wall. He also tried to leap over the wall, and, after a number of unsuccessful attempts, finally performed the feat.

The saga closes with a final contest at Emain. This is only another version of the story of the giant who offers to let his head be cut off in exchange for the privilege of cutting off his opponent's head. The giant in this version is Curoi mac Dairi in disguise. He awards the championship to Cuchulainn and the precedence among the ladies to his wife.

This summary is somewhat lengthy, but a brief summary would not give the reader the proper conception of the saga as a whole, and would not be sufficient to enable him to form an opinion as to whether or not the resemblances between *The Feast of Bricriu* and *Beowulf* are worthy of mention.

The features of the story of the fight with the giant in *The Feast of Bricriu* that resemble the Grendel-story are as follows: When Cuchulainn guards the fort, two giants come from a neighboring loch and attack him. Cuchulainn slays the first one, who is thirty cubits in height, and when the giant falls he bruises his shoulder. Later Cuchulainn cuts off the giant's head and takes it with him. Other warriors have been overcome by the second giant (Scath), but Cuchulainn defeats him.

Otherwise there is nothing in the one story to suggest the other. In fact, all other features of the two stories are widely different. There is no resemblance between the proper nouns in the two stories. In *The Feast of Bricriu* the fort is not represented as having suffered from the depredations of a monster, and it is not for the purpose of aiding Curoi that Cuchulainn makes his appearance. Curoi is fully able to defend himself. The men overcome by Scath are not Curoi's men, but rivals of Cuchulainn; nor are they slain. They have engaged in another contest with Cuchulainn and are again defeated. Curoi is a magician and in no way resembles Hrothgar. The fort of Curoi is not like Heorot, nor is it used for similar purposes. Neither in regard to the weapons employed nor in method of warfare does either of the giants resemble Grendel. They are not proof against weapons, nor is either of them defeated in the manner that Grendel is. They are common giants. The head of one is cut off, which is the fate that usually befalls giants who are slain by popular heroes; the other vanishes through the employment of magic. That the abode of the giants who attack Curoi's fort is said to be in the loch is



nothing more than what is said of one of the other giants that the three heroes encounter. Furthermore, it is not Scath, the giant that has overcome Loigaire and Conall, that loses his head and bruises his shoulder, but a giant that has not appeared before the night that Cuchulainn keeps watch. The adventure with the Goblins, Ox-feeders, and sons of Big-Fist is wanting in *Beowulf*, as is also the prophecy that the Spirit of the Lake would devour the whole host of the hold, man and beast.

The story of Grendel's mother has no counterpart in *The Feast of Bricriu*. It cannot be said that Cuchulainn's fight with Scath corresponds to the fight with Grendel's mother, for Scath must then be identified with Grendel in one part of the story and with his mother in another. Furthermore, there seems to be no relationship between Scath and the giant who precedes him, and certainly not that of mother and son.

There is no employment of magic in *Beowulf*, as in *The Feast of Bricriu* (cf. the whirling of the fort). Cuchulainn has none of the characteristics of Beowulf. Of course, both are capable of doing things beyond the power of other men; otherwise they would not be heroes. But the fantastic feats of Cuchulainn are altogether without a counterpart in what is recorded of Beowulf. It might also be noted that Cuchulainn and Scath exchange a number of words and that the giant has the magic power of granting wishes and vanishing in a supernatural manner from human sight. These things have no counterpart in *Beowulf*.

It is said that the first giant is thirty cubits tall and that he bruises his shoulder when he falls. These things remind us of statements made about Grendel and Beowulf. Grendel is said to have killed thirty warriors the first time he attacked the Danes, and Beowulf is said to have the strength of thirty men. Grendel also meets his death by having his arm torn off at the shoulder. But these slight resemblances between the two stories can only be accidental. Furthermore, it is not Scath whose shoulder is bruised, but a giant that has just appeared on the scene for the first time; and the accident occurs after the giant's heart is torn out and he is deprived of life. It cannot be compared with the tearing off of Grendel's arm. Neither can the tearing out of the giant's heart be

compared with the tearing off of Grendel's arm. The one is unnatural and fantastic; the other, though unusual, has quite the air of reality.

It might be said that in essence each of the stories represents a popular hero defending a king and his fort, or palace. But even in this respect the parallel between the Scath-story and the Grendel-story is far from perfect; for Curoi, with his magic power, is able to defend himself.

In view of the many striking differences between the Scath- and Grendel-stories and the impossibility of drawing a consistent parallel between them, it is altogether improbable that one owes its origin to the other or has been influenced by it.

But both *Beowulf* and *The Feast of Bricriu* are of interest to the student of Scandinavian history, the one being practically the earliest source of Scandinavian history in any Germanic tongue and the other showing distinct traces of Scandinavian influence.

In considering *The Feast of Bricriu* from the point of view of possible Scandinavian influence, our attention is first attracted to the fight of the three heroes with Ercol. Ercol challenged the three champions in turn to a combat between himself and them, and between his horse and their horses. Ercol's horse killed the horses of Loigaire and Conall, but was killed by Cuchulainn's horse. The horse-fight feature of the story was probably borrowed from the Norsemen. From the earliest times horse-fighting was a national sport among the Norsemen, and it did not become extinct in Norway till 1820. The fights took place each year in August and ended with races. Horse-fighting is not known as a native sport in Ireland. In Old Norse the meeting for engaging in horse-fights is called *hestaping*, and the fact that early Irish contains the word *est* (horse), borrowed from O.N. *hestr*, is noteworthy. In Uist the word *oda* has been in use as a name for horse-races. *Oda* seems to be from O.N. *at* (horse-fight) (see Henderson's translation of *The Feast of Bricriu*, pp. xxxviii and 191).

That it was possible for Norse elements to enter into the Irish saga is evident. The oldest manuscript of *The Feast of Bricriu* dates from the year 1100; but by the year 800 the Norsemen had appeared in Ireland, where they soon formed settlements; and in 853 a Norse king ascended the throne in Dublin.

That there are Norse elements in Irish literature is, however, not only possible; it is absolutely certain. To illustrate this I can do no better than give a few extracts from Dr. Alexander Bugge's *Contributions to the History of the Norsemen in Ireland: II, Norse Elements in Gaelic Traditions of Modern Times* (pp. 14 ff.). The extracts are as follows:

The sway of the Norsemen in Erin, and in the Hebrides and the Isle of Man, has left its traces in many other ancient and modern tales and sagas. Professor Zimmer, through his works, has thrown a new light upon this subject. Zimmer says in his paper *Ueber die Frühesten Berührungen der Iren mit den Nordgermanen* (p. 34), "The notion of a giant is expressed in all Irish and Gaelic dialects by the same word *fomor*." This word has also another meaning, namely, a *sea-robber*. Even in the oldest Irish sagas, the terror-struck Irish describe the tall, gigantic figures of the Norsemen. From this Zimmer rightly concludes that the conception of a *fomor* originates from the Viking age. This theory is confirmed by Dr. Joyce in his *Old Celtic Romances* (p. 405), where he says: "Fomor, the simple form of this word, means, according to the old etymologists, a sea-robber. The word is also used to denote a giant or gigantic champion. The Fomorian of Irish History were sea-robbers, who infested the coasts, and indeed the interior of Ireland, for a long series of years, and at one time fortified themselves in Tory Island. They are stated to have come from Lochlann in the north of Europe."

But this is not enough to explain the meaning of a *Fomor*. The Fomorian is always of a superhuman size, their figure is always badly proportioned and clumsy, and they are often stupid and easily duped. I am inclined to believe that the Irish have heard from the Norsemen tales of their giants (*jötnar*), and that the idea of Fomorians has been developed through a confusion of giants and Vikings. The memory of the old Berserks has perhaps also contributed to form the picture. What Zimmer also relates from the Book of Leinster about Cuchulainn is namely, that he "in der Wutverrum grösser wurde als ein *fomor na fer mara* (fomor of the sons of the sea)." This word *Wutverrum* is nothing more than the fury of the berserks, who in their rage became big and terrible, like trolls and ogres. . . .

"When the Dedannans held sway in Erin, a prosperous freeborn king ruled over them, whose name was Nuada of the Silver Hand. In the time of this king, the Fomorians from Lochlann, in the north, oppressed the Dedannans, and forced them to pay heavy tributes. . . . The tribute had to be paid every year at the Hill of Urna; and if any one refused or neglected to pay his part, his nose was cut off by the Fomorian tyrants."—Translated by Dr. Joyce, in his *Celtic Romances*, from the Book of Lecan; and quoted by Bugge.



To continue the extracts from Bugge:

In this description we have a vivid picture of the sway of the Norsemen in Erin. . . .

The memory of the sway of the Norsemen seems in the same way, up to the present, to have been preserved by Gaelic popular tales. . . .

Norse elements have passed into Gaelic legend and tradition. The oldest name for Norway in the Irish sagas and traditions is, as Dr. Todd and Zimmer, in his epoch-making studies, have proved, perhaps Hiruath (i.e., Hördeland in Norway). Zimmer also quotes many most interesting passages where this name occurs in the most ancient Irish sagas in existence. . . .

The name *Lochlann* itself has always been used to denote Norway or Scandinavia. . . .

I have hitherto only mentioned the historical reminiscences of the Norsemen in Irish tales and traditions. We must remember that for centuries the Norsemen held sway in Erin, the Hebrides, and the Isle of Man. It is therefore easy to understand that their rule, their wars, their victories and defeats, must still be remembered in many ways. Even many of the mythical conceptions of the Irish have been formed, as I have shown, under the influence of the Norsemen, e.g. the Fomorians. . . .

The great heroic cycles of Cuchulainn and of Finn and Oisín have absorbed all the myth-developing imagination of the Irish. . . . It is therefore not likely that the Irish would borrow new myths and tales from foreign nations. . . .

Some few myths, however, seem to have come from the Norsemen to Ireland and Scotland. Professor Zimmer had proved that there must be a connection between Cuchulainn's voyage to the Kingdom of the Dead (*Scath*), and his combats with its Queen (*Scathach*), and the Scandinavian *Hel* and *Niflheimr*.—Like the hall of Utgardaloke, the capital of *Scathach* is situated in the north of Lochlann (Norway), and Cuchulainn comes to Scath from Lochlann.—Zimmer also believes that the tale of Sigurd, who killed the dragon Fafner, has been known in Ireland, and has influenced the myth of Finn.

In *The Feast of Bricriu* three of the giants mentioned are said to come from the loch. The Irish called Norway *Lochlann*. The fact that the fury of the invading Norsemen gave rise to a mythical race of giants (the Fomorians) in Irish folk-lore suggests the idea that the giants mentioned in *The Feast of Bricriu* have developed from the same origin. As Bugge says (see above): "The Fomorians are always of a superhuman size, their figure is badly proportioned and clumsy, and they are often stupid and easily duped." Compare this with the descriptions of the giants in *The*

*Feast of Bricriu.* The meadow-giant is described thus (Henderson's translation):

. . . . a huge giant. . . . Not beautiful his appearance: broad (of shoulder) and fat of mouth, with sack eyes and a bristly face; ugly, wrinkled, with bushy eyebrows, hideous and horrible and strong; stubborn, violent and haughty; with big sinews and strong forearm, bold and audacious and uncouth. A shorn black patch of hair on him, a dun covering about him, a tunic over the ball of his rump; on his feet old tattered brogues, on his back a ponderous club like unto the wheel-shaft of a mill.

In the first version of the story of the giant with the ax he is described thus: "A big powerful fellow was Terror, son of Great Fear. He was used to shift his form in what shape he pleased, was wont to do tricks of magic and like arts." Scath (the giant that Dr. Deutschbein compares with Grendel) is described thus: "Exceedingly huge and ugly and horrible he thought him, for in height it seemed to him, he reached unto the sky, and the sheen (broad expanse) of the sea was visible between his legs. Thus did he come, his hands full of stripped oaks, each of which would form a burden for a wagon-team of six, at whose root not a stroke had been repeated after the single sword-stroke." In the second version of the story of the giant with the ax he is described thus: "A big uncouth fellow of exceeding ugliness drawing nigh unto them into the hall. To them it seemed as if none of the Ultonians would reach half his height. Horrible and ugly was the carle's guise. . . . Ravenous yellow eyes he had, protruding from his head, each of the twain the size of an ox-vat. Each finger as thick as another man's wrist." Observe also that one giant keeps his mouth open till his heart is torn out, and that Cuchulainn dupes another by substituting his own ax for the enchanted one.

The awe-inspiring Vikings having come to Ireland over the sea, in addition to the tendency in all ages to people the sea with demons, it was but natural that such beings as the giants from the loch in *The Feast of Bricriu* should find a place in Irish popular tales, and that great honor should accrue to heroes who could vanquish them. Hence, it is possible that the giants in *The Feast of Bricriu* are not only due to Scandinavian influence, but are distorted memories (heightened perhaps by notions of the Norse jotnar that entered into the conception) of the Norsemen themselves.

It is worth noticing that Professor Windisch regards the journey to Curoi, which involves the Scath-story, as a late addition to *The Feast of Bricriu* saga. He says (*Irische Texte mit Wörterbuch*, I, 246-47):

Wenn man berechtigt ist, nur diejenigen Stücke in unserem Texte zu erwarten, welche in der Überschrift specializirt sind (s.d. Angabe unter I), so liegt die Vermuthung nahe, dass die Expedition zu Curoi zwar an und für sich eine alte Sage sein kann, aber nicht zum ältesten Bestande der vorliegende Compilation. . . . Dieses Fest und dieser Streit bildeten offenbar einen jener besonders anziehenden Punkte der Sagen-tradition an welche andere Sagen, und zwar hier diese, dort jene angesetzt wurden. Während das Fest und der Streit die unveränderlichen Ausgangspunkte bleiben, wussten verschiedene Erzähler verschiedene Lösungen des Conflicts und verschiedene Abenteuer, die sich an den Conflict anschlossen.

It is also interesting to note that, since the dragon Fafner, according to Zimmer's idea, has influenced the myth of Finn (of which the earliest manuscript dates from the beginning of the twelfth century), he might also, had it so chanced, have influenced *The Feast of Bricriu*. Had this occurred, there is the further possibility that he might have been used to show that also the dragon-story, if not indeed the Sigemund-episode, in *Beowulf* came from *The Feast of Bricriu*.

In view of the foregoing, the fact is that possible similarity between *Beowulf* and *The Feast of Bricriu* would rather be due to Scandinavian influence on the Irish saga than that *The Feast of Bricriu* has influenced *Beowulf*, for a number of stories that have attracted attention as being more or less similar to the Grendel-story have been found in Old Norse (see Dr. Sophus Bugge's article on *Beowulf* in *Paul und Braunes Beiträge*, XII, 55 ff., and Dr. Chester N. Gould's article in *Modern Philology*, VII, 214); and these stories the Norsemen might have brought with them to Ireland. Furthermore, the *Beowulf*-story is a Scandinavian story, i.e., a story with a distinct Scandinavian historical background, with the principal scenes of action laid in Scandinavian countries (Denmark and Sweden), and representing *Beowulf* and the other chief characters as Scandinavians; while the Irish saga, as Dr. Deutschbein has pointed out, lacks the strong historical flavor of the Anglo-Saxon poem, and, as Professor Windisch says, is so constructed as to admit readily of additional adventures. Hence, for this reason also,



if the story of the combat with the giant Scath in *The Feast of Bricriu* were to be identified with the Grendel-story, it would be more probable that in *Beowulf* it is a native Scandinavian product than that it came originally from Ireland to England and was imported into an account of scenes and events otherwise Scandinavian.

Dr. Deutschbein draws a parallel between Unferth in *Beowulf* and Bricriu in the Irish saga. Bricriu is known as the one of the "evil tongue," and it is his successful effort to arouse jealousy and rivalry among the three heroes that gives rise to all that follows, including the fight with Scath. Bricriu's stirring up of strife is therefore an essential feature of the saga. *Unferth* indeed means *strife* (literally, *unpeace*). Unferth has also a jealous disposition; he cannot bear to have anyone surpass him in valor and achievements. But his function in the story is quite different from that of Bricriu. Beowulf's ability is unknown to the Danes. He is a stranger to them. Hrothgar has, indeed, heard that he has the strength of thirty men, and Beowulf himself upon being introduced to Hrothgar speaks in a general way of his prowess and states that he has come to put an end to the depredations of Grendel; but what reason is there to believe that he will succeed? Unferth's sharp tongue gives rise to just what is wanted, namely some proof of Beowulf's prowess. He accuses Beowulf of having been worsted in a swimming-match with Breca, and this enables Beowulf in defense to give an account of the affair that is highly favorable to himself as a magnanimous hero and that affords the Danes an assurance that he will be successful in the forthcoming combat with Grendel. After the recital of Beowulf's version of his swimming-match with Breca, the poet continues:

Then was in joy the giver of treasure,  
Gray-haired and war-fierce, help he expected,  
The ruler of Bright-Danes: in Beowulf heard  
The people's shepherd the firm-set purpose.  
There was laughter of heroes, the harp merry sounded,  
Winsome were words.<sup>1</sup>

Unferth's accusation also enlivens the poem by the introduction of an interesting episode as a sort of prelude to the main event.

<sup>1</sup> Quotations from *Beowulf* are from Garnett's translation.

Bricriu and Unferth both have sharp tongues, but this is not sufficient reason to suppose that the one is the prototype of the other. An evil tongue has ever been a prolific source of suspicion and strife; and literature, reflecting human nature, affords many striking examples of it besides the two under consideration.

Aside from this common possession—a sharp tongue—Bricriu and Unferth are widely different. Bricriu is a king and gives a feast; Unferth is the king's *þyle*. Beowulf accuses Unferth of having slain his brother; nothing like this is told of Bricriu. Later Unferth assumes a friendly attitude toward Beowulf and lends him his sword Hrunting for use in his fight with Grendel's mother. This likewise is altogether foreign to the account of Bricriu.

Dr. Deutschbein conjectures that Unferth's relationship to Hrothgar is that of an Irish court-poet, belonging to a class whose function was, on the one hand, to compose verses in praise of their lords, and, on the other, taunting verses directed against their lords' enemies—a relationship foreign to Germanic custom, but common to, and (in the case of Unferth) adopted from, Irish custom. Furthermore, he suggests that when Hrothgar permits Unferth's rude address to the newly arrived guest, Beowulf, to pass unreprieved, it is because he fears that Unferth may repay reproof with a taunting verse.

It is not likely that the poet would introduce a character so utterly foreign to Germanic custom, when everything else in the poem is in harmony with the customs of the people with which it deals. The explanation of Hrothgar's silence, in view of Unferth's conduct, is much more simple and natural than that offered by Dr. Deutschbein. When Unferth utters his taunting words, he has, in his impolite, accusing way, raised the very question (as has already been stated) that is in the minds of both the king and his thanes, namely: What reason is there to believe that this stranger (Beowulf) will be more successful in a struggle with Grendel than all others have been who have grappled with him? This is a vital question. If Beowulf can answer it satisfactorily, the taunter is sufficiently rebuked for his rudeness; and this, as the sequel shows, is most emphatically the case. If Beowulf cannot give a satisfactory answer, but must admit that he had been ignominiously defeated by an ordinary mortal, he is a vain pretender in undertaking to overcome Grendel and deserves no

sympathy. However, what the king might have said to Unferth had Beowulf shown discomfiture cannot be determined. As it is, Beowulf needs no assistance in Unferth's attempt to embarrass him.

Furthermore, if Unferth, the *þyle*, is a poet, the poem itself ought to contain some indication of it. But there is nothing to suggest that such is the case. Songs are made and sung during the rejoicing that follows Beowulf's victory over Grendel, but Unferth takes no part in making or singing them. The *scop* is the maker and singer of verses, and it is noteworthy that he has just been exercising his function when Unferth utters his disparaging remarks. It is the *scop* who is the court-poet. In the stinging rebuke that Beowulf administers to Unferth, Unferth has every incentive to answer with a taunting verse if he can; but none is forthcoming. Unferth, as the king's *þyle*, is probably his spokesman and otherwise a sort of a royal counselor or minister to whom the king intrusts various matters connected with the discharge of his duties. In l. 1169 it is said of Unferth, "Each of them trusted that he had great wisdom." Otherwise, the poet's statement in ll. 503-5,

For that he granted not that any man else  
Ever more honor of this mid-earth  
Should gain under heaven than he himself;

in l. 1167, "that he had great courage"; in l. 1467, that he was "mighty in strength"; together with Beowulf's statement in ll. 591-95,

I tell thee in truth, son of Ecglafr,  
That never had Grendel wrought so many horrors,  
The terrible monster, to thine own prince,  
Shame in Heorot, if thy mind were,  
Thy temper, so fierce, as thou thyself reckonest,

all give the impression that Unferth is a warrior.

Professor Olrik says (*Danmarks Heltedigtning*, I, 26), "The author of *Beowulf* cannot have invented this stirrer-up of strife [Unferth]; for his jealousy is mentioned only in passing." But Unferth's jealousy is what explains his attitude toward Beowulf. It is necessary to make the situation intelligible, and plays its part in bringing on Beowulf's account of his swimming-match with Breca. As the author has no further use for this jealousy, he heals the breach



between the two men by saying that Unferth was drunk when he made his disparaging remarks and letting Unferth lend Beowulf his sword.

The kinsman of Ecglaƿ remembered not now,  
Mighty in strength, what he before spoke  
Drunken with wine, when the weapon he lent  
To a better sword-bearer.—Ll. 1466-69.

The name *Unferth* is sufficiently explained by the trouble its bearer creates in attacking Beowulf. But in ll. 1163-69 the following statement is made:

Then came Wealhtheow forth,  
Going under her golden crown, where were the good ones two  
Uncle and nephew sitting: then were they still at peace,  
Each one true to the other. There also the orator (*byle*) Unferth  
Sat at the foot of the Scyldings' lord: each of them  
trusted his wisdom  
That great courage he had, tho' to his kinsmen he was not  
Honest in play of the swords.

This needs further explanation. Olrik thinks that the author of *Beowulf* has, or presumes to have, knowledge of Unferth as an evil adviser, who later stirs up strife between Hrothulf and the descendants of Hrothgar. He continues: "This rôle of stirring up strife between the kings corresponds accurately to a series of the oldest Gothic and northern hero-myths, where there is an evil adviser, who incites to strife" (same reference as above).

It is uncommon in Old Norse to find an abstract noun used as a person's name. It is not uncommon in Anglo-Saxon, but the particular name *Unferth* is not found in Anglo-Saxon outside of *Beowulf*. A corresponding name *Unfrid*, as Olrik points out, is, however, found among several *Oberdeutsch* tribes. The author of *Beowulf* has therefore either created the character Unferth or adapted him from another Germanic source, and has skilfully woven him into the poem by using him as the means of introducing the story of the swimming-match and by intimating that he later stirs up strife among the Scyldings.

It may be that, as the king's *byle*, Unferth's duty was, by reciting verses appropriate for the occasion, to incite the king's men to valor as they were about to enter battle, just as the "spear-warrior" was

attempting to incite the Heathobards against the Danes at the wedding of Ingeld and Freawaru (ll. 2048 ff.). If this was the case, there would be nothing un-Scandinavian about his character; for, as Olrik also points out, there are other early examples of men among the Norsemen who performed the same duty.

Dr. Deutschbein suggests, evidently because Unferth is called a *byle*, that the poet has conceived him in imitation of the Irish poets called *fili*. The *fili* were the highest class of poets in Ireland, and for a long time, in addition to their usual function, exercised judicial powers. The function of these poets was to "eulogize or satirize," and in early times they committed to memory verses that were supposed to put them in possession of supernatural power. To attain to the rank of the *fili* a course of study extending through twelve years or more was required, and at its close the *fili* could recite two hundred and fifty prime stories and one hundred secondary ones. The ability of the *fili* to recite poems committed to memory, as well as make new ones, gave them very much the same character as that of the *scop* in *Beowulf*. The *fili* honored their patrons with eulogistic verses, for which they expected and received substantial reward; and if this was not forthcoming, sarcastic verses were the result. They were feared, and used their training to extort money, not only from the upper classes, but from others as well. They became arrogant, "a pest and a nuisance." Stirring up strife or inciting to warlike deeds was not one of their characteristic functions. The *fili* were scholars, and could not have been in the poet's mind as prototypes of Unferth.

Dr. Deutschbein quotes the following words of Zimmer: "Das ist das charakteristische für die alte irische Heldensagen, deren Ursprünge ja vor die Zeit der Berührung mit anderen Völkern fallen, dass die Taten des Helden nicht in Kämpfen um die politischen Geschehnisse der nation bestehen,—solche waren damals durch die insulare Laeg Irlands ausgeschlossen,—sondern in Ueberwindung von furchtbaren Abenteuren." This statement Dr. Deutschbein uses as a basis for assuming that the Grendel-story cannot be originally Germanic; for, as he states earlier in his article: "die epik der Germanen zu der Zeit der Völkerwanderung im wesentlichen aus der Wirklichkeit schöpfte, die tatsächlichen Ereignisse selbst wurden zum Gegenstand der

Dichtung gemacht, und so haben wir mit einer starken Produktion historischer Lieder, die an die Wirklichkeit anknüpfen, zu rechnen."

But Dr. Deutschbein himself says that we need have no hesitation in accepting the dragon-story as Scandinavian. The dragon plays such a conspicuous part in various Scandinavian sagas and other Germanic literature that he cannot be eliminated. But is not the flying, fire-spitting, devastating dragon, that has been guarding a treasure, as fantastic a being as Grendel or his mother? And is not Beowulf's combat with the dragon as fantastic, unhistorical an adventure as the adventure with Grendel and his mother? It is just as possible for the one, as for the other, of the adventures to be of Germanic origin.

Yet, comparing *The Feast of Bricriu* with *Beowulf*, we find that in the main they illustrate the statements above mentioned in regard to the fantastic, unhistorical nature of Irish hero-tales and the historical nature of Germanic poetry. In *The Feast of Bricriu* practically no attempt is made to connect the many strange adventures and exploits with historical events. But in *Beowulf* a very conscious effort is made to give the strange adventures an historical setting, so that Dr. Deutschbein is justified in continuing immediately after the quotation given above:

Auf diese weise kan es geschehen, dass wir das ags. Beowulfepos in vielen Punkten als eine historische Quelle ansehen dürfen; die ganze germanische Welt mit ihren Anschauungen, Idealen, mit ihren Sitten und Gebräuchen lebt in der ags. Dichtung vor uns wieder auf, und es ist reizvoll für den Forscher, den Fäden nachzuspüren, die von dem ältesten Zeugnis über das Germanentum, von Germania des Tacitus, zu unserem Beowulfepos hinüberführen.

Was speciell die historischen Einzelereignisse im Beowulf angeht, so sind die Angaben des Epos besonders für den Erforscher der skandinavischen Geschichte äusserst wertvoll, so dass der Beowulf direkt als Quelle für die älteste skandinavische Geschichte in Betracht kommt, und die Angaben des ags. Gedichtes, soweit sie die skandinavische Geschichte im 5. und 6. Jahrhundert betrifft, sind um so wichtiger, als ja im übrigen gerade die älteste Geschichte des Germanischen Nordens in ein fast undurchdringliches Dunkel gehüllt ist.

Both the Grendel-story and the dragon-story are made to have a strong political bearing. Hrothgar has lost many of his best thanes. His whole court stands in awe of the monster. His warriors are



cowed. Their courage is being sapped. Disastrous results to his reign and kingdom may be the result. The question before him is not one of adventure and heroic exploit. It is a question of ridding his capital of a very real, dangerous foe. In the dragon-story it is still more apparent that the monster must be overcome or the land will be devastated. The dragon is slain; but Beowulf loses his life, and we honor him for the sacrifice that he makes for his people.

The Grendel-story and the dragon-story are, indeed, unhistorical. In a way they are just as fantastic as the stories in *The Feast of Bricriu*. Still, there is no magic art connected with them; such an unreal characteristic as the ability to resume one's head whole and sound after it has been cut off is wanting; nor are the adventures undertaken merely to determine the supremacy among heroes. In spite of their wholly fictional nature, there is an atmosphere of grim reality about both the Grendel- and dragon-stories, even to the extent that the hero (Beowulf) succumbs in his last adventure. The two stories also are on a par. It will not do to say that the Grendel-story is too fantastic to be of Germanic origin, but that the equally fantastic dragon-story must be of Germanic origin.

But Dr. Deutschbein after saying, "Nach alledem brauchen wir kein Bedenken zu haben, den Drachenkampf aus skandinavischer Ueberlieferung abzuleiten," continues, "wie ja diesen Ueberlieferungskreis auch die historischen Elemente des Beowulf angehören." The latter part of this statement is too strong and is, in fact, misleading. Investigation has failed to give Beowulf, the hero, a historical existence, though there can be no doubt that the story of his life is interwoven with historical events among the Geats, Swedes, and Danes. Hygelac's expedition to the mouth of the Rhine is corroborated in the *Historia Francorum* of Gregory of Tours and in the *Gesta Regum Francorum*, but otherwise all is blank with regard to the Geatic personages mentioned in the poem. Dr. Sarrazin says, "Was über die Schweden berichtet wird, scheint mehr auf historischen Tatsachen zu beruhen" (*Beowulf-Studien*, p. 45). This is a more guarded statement than that of Dr. Deutschbein, quoted above; and is more nearly correct.

There can be no doubt that what is told about the Swedish kings in *Beowulf* rests on a substantial historical basis. Neither can there

be any doubt that the genealogy given in *Beowulf* of the Danish kings, Healfdene and his successors, rests on an equally substantial basis; and when those features of the narrative in regard to the Danes that are plainly mythical are left out of account, the remainder of what is told about the Danes is just as well authenticated in other sources as what is told about the Swedes. It is therefore unwarranted to conclude that, on account of the historical setting given the dragon-story in *Beowulf*, it must be of Germanic origin, but the lack of a similar setting for the Grendel-story indicates that it is not of Germanic origin. The fact is that both the dragon- and Grendel-stories are so associated with personages whom we have good reason to believe historical that in this respect no distinction between them can be made.

It is mentioned by Dr. Deutschbein and has been noted by others that there is a gradual increase in the danger involved in the three exploits attributed to Beowulf and in the difficulty of performing them. In his fight with Grendel, Beowulf is never in real danger; he is fully able to cope with the monster. In his fight with Grendel's mother, he is for a time in danger of being overcome. In his fight with the dragon, he loses his life. This feature of *Beowulf* Dr. Deutschbein cites as another indication that the author of *Beowulf* was influenced by *The Feast of Bricriu*.

Climax is a common figure of speech, one that is naturally employed, especially in relating adventures; and where two compositions have nothing else in common than that their contents are arranged with a view to producing a climax no value can be attached to it as an indication that the one has been influenced by the other. Any poet with artistic sense would naturally, if opportunity was afforded, employ it; and the author of *Beowulf* was a literary artist.

In regard to the use of climax *The Feast of Bricriu* is far inferior to *Beowulf*. *The Feast of Bricriu* does not marshal the adventures of Cuchulainn with a view to producing a striking climax. Feats of mere strength and skill are mingled quite promiscuously with adventures of a hazardous nature; for instance, the house-lifting feat coming first, and the wheel-feat and the needle-feat coming after the adventure with the meadow-giant and the invulnerable cats. If these feats were to be arranged with a view to producing a climax, it is

questionable whether the house-lifting feat should precede the wheel-feat and the needle-feat. Again, the adventure with the invulnerable cats, the one instance where Cuchulainn is helpless (though not overpowered or injured), precedes adventures where Cuchulainn's strength and skill are more apparent and where he is more successful. In regard to the adventures with the meadow-giant, the Amazons, and Ercol, it is difficult to say which is the most hazardous and requires the most skill and strength. The adventure with the giant who agrees to allow his head to be cut off provided he be given the privilege of cutting off his opponent's head the next day and the adventure with Scath are properly placed last; but, on the whole, an arrangement of Cuchulainn's adventures with a view to producing an effective climax is apparently not sought and is certainly not attained. Hence, so far as this feature of *Beowulf* and *The Feast of Bricriu* is concerned, the two stories are not related; the author of *Beowulf* has received no suggestion from the Irish saga.

Dr. Deutschbein says:

Besonders eigenartig berührt uns der weiche sentimentale Ton, der nicht von unserem Epos, sondern der gesamten angelsächsischen Literatur eigen ist, ein elegischer Zug, eine Neigung, die Schatten-seite des menschlichen Daseins in der Darstellung zu bevorzugen, ist unverkennbar: wie oft und gern erhebt der Dichter die Klage, dass alle menschliche Pracht und Herrlichkeit nur zum Untergang und zur Vernichtung bestimmt ist.

The elegiac trait in Anglo-Saxon poetry has also been mentioned by Sophus Bugge in *Paul und Braunes Beiträge*, XII, 77, where he suggests the possibility of its being largely due to Celtic influence. But this trait in Anglo-Saxon poetry cannot be due wholly to Celtic influence. It is not an un-Germanic characteristic. The idea that the preordained course of events is immutable, that *wyrd* (fate) rules over all, as is several times expressed in *Beowulf*, for instance, (l. 455) "Gæð ā Wyrd swā hiō scel" (Fate always goes as it must), is found outside the domain of Anglo-Saxon. We are familiar with it from Old Norse literature, as, for instance, in the proverb, "Veltr pangat, sem vera vill, um flesta hluti" (Most things happen as they will). It is probable that, as this sentiment seems to be imbedded in human nature and tends to come to the surface during periods of musing, it is in any literature largely a native product.



For its appearance in Germanic literature Dr. Deutschbein has stated another and more immediate cause than Celtic influence, when he says:

Kein Wunder daher dass jene Zeit, die so reich an tiefgreifenden Geschehnissen war, nicht spurlos an der germanischen Volksseele vorüberging; alles was die Germanen erlebt und erschaut hatten, drängte nach einer äussern Form, und so führt uns die älteste germanische Literatur auf diese grosse Zeit zurück. Dabei ist der *tragische* [italics are Dr. Deutschbein's] Grundton nicht zu verkennen—wie wir soeben gesehen haben, bot das Leben des Einzelnen wie das der Gesamtheit so starke tragische Elemente, dass diese wohl den mächtigsten und wirksamsten Impuls zu poetischer Tätigkeit gaben."

At any rate there is no elegiac influence exerted on *Beowulf* by *The Feast of Bricriu*, for *The Feast of Bricriu* contains no elegiac sentiments whatever.

In view of the various considerations mentioned above, it is almost incredible that Dr. Deutschbein should say:

Zwischen diesen Stück [*Das Fest der Bricriu*] und unserem Beowulfepos sind auffallende und schlagende Ähnlichkeit,—sie beschränken sich nicht nur auf die Partien unseres Epos, wo es sich um die Grendelkämpfe handelt, sondern auch in Zahlreichen anderen Punkten treffen das angelsächsische Epos und die irische Erzählung zusammen, ja man steht unter dem Eindruck, als ob die angelsächsische Dichtung das irische Stück zum Vorbild gehabt hat.

Olrik thinks that the Scyld-episode (*Danmarks Heltedigtning*, I, 223 ff.), which serves as an introduction to *Beowulf*, shows Celtic influence (not, however, directly from Ireland through the author of *Beowulf*, but an older, more general Celtic influence); and investigation may disclose that Celtic literature has exerted considerable influence on Anglo-Saxon literature; but there is nothing to indicate that *The Feast of Bricriu* has exerted any influence on *Beowulf* or was known to its author.

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## "THE GRAVE"

### I

The "singularly impressive and almost appalling"<sup>1</sup> little poem commonly known by the title, "The Grave," is found in a well-preserved Oxford manuscript of hymns and sermons.<sup>2</sup> It covers a half-page of the manuscript, and is immediately preceded and followed by sermons—the first ending a little above the middle of the page, the second beginning at the top of the page following. The handwriting, which is of the twelfth century, is large and clear. The poem is written like prose without verse division, and on account of lack of space the last three lines are written on the margin in letters which are a trifle smaller than those in the rest of the poem. The appearance of the page suggests that the scribe had intended to fill exactly the half-sheet left blank but had miscalculated the space. On the remaining portion of the lower margin three verses have been added in a thirteenth-century hand. In these lines the writing is careless and the letters are not always distinct.

The poem was first edited by Conybeare in the London *Archæologia* as an "inedited fragment of Anglo-Saxon poetry,"<sup>3</sup> and was afterward reprinted in his *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry* under the title, "Norman-Saxon Fragment on Death."<sup>4</sup> In each volume the Middle English text was accompanied by Latin and English translations, the English translation being preceded by the words, "Death speaks." He did not print the thirteenth-century lines nor did he make any reference to them.

Thorpe, the next editor of the poem,<sup>5</sup> printed the thirteenth-century verses as a part of the original text, though he stated in a footnote that they were "in a different and almost illegible hand."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thorpe, *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*, London, 1846, p. xi.

<sup>2</sup> MS Bodleian 343, f. 170.

<sup>3</sup> XVII (1814), 173-75.

<sup>4</sup> London, 1826, pp. 270-73.

<sup>5</sup> *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*, pp. 153-54.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 154.



He gave it the title by which it is best known, "The Grave," and, like Conybeare, classed it as a fragment.

"The Grave" was first brought into connection with the body and soul literature by Max Rieger.<sup>1</sup> He compared it with the first speech in the "Visio Fulberti" on account of its use of the sentences: "Your house is not highly timbered, . . . its roof lies on your breast." "Loathsome is the earth-house where you shall live, and worms shall divide you." "You have no friend who will come to you, that he may see how that house pleases you."<sup>2</sup> And without coming to any positive conclusion he suggested that "The Grave" is a fragment of an early English adaptation of the "Visio." Later Rieger reprinted Thorpe's edition of "The Grave" as a "Bruchstück einer Rede der Seele an den Leichnam."<sup>3</sup>

The next contribution to the criticism of the poem was made by Kleinert,<sup>4</sup> who pointed out the identity of certain lines in "The Grave" and the Worcester "Fragments of the Speeches of a Soul to Its Body." He argued that "The Grave" was the older text, and was therefore the source of the "Fragments."

Arnold Schröer, whose edition of the poem<sup>5</sup> is the most satisfactory yet published, said nothing about its relation to the "Fragments." Accepting Thorpe's title, he edited the poem as "das unter dem titel 'The Grave' oder 'Fragment on Death' bekannte bruchstück eines alliterierenden gedichtes von der gattung der gespräche zwischen seele und leichnam." The three verses added in the thirteenth century he numbered as a continuation of the poem proper but he called attention to the distinction by means of a slight break in the text.

The most recent addition to the literature of the subject is Dr. Buchholz' book, *Die Fragmente der Reden der Seele an den Leichnam in zwei Handschriften zu Worcester und Oxford*.<sup>6</sup> In it Schröer's text is reprinted, the three thirteenth-century lines being accepted

<sup>1</sup> "Zwei Gespräche zwischen Seele und Leib," Pfeiffer's *Germania*, III (1858), 396 ff. His discussion of "The Grave" is on p. 399.

<sup>2</sup> "The Grave," ll. 7, 10, 15-16, 18-19; cf. the "Visio," ed. du Ménil, *Poésies Populaires Latines antérieures au Douzième Siècle*, Paris, 1843, p. 221.

<sup>3</sup> *Alt- und Angelsächsisches Lesebuch*, Giessen, 1861, pp. 124-25.

<sup>4</sup> *Ueber den Streit zwischen Leib und Seele*, Halle dissertation, 1880, pp. 7 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Anglia*, V, 289-90.

<sup>6</sup> *Erlanger Beiträge*, II, Heft VI, 1890.

as an integral part of the poem.<sup>1</sup> Regarding the relation of "The Grave" to the Worcester "Fragments" Buchholz reached no definite conclusion; he admitted two possibilities. The first is that "The Grave" is "a further fragment of the poem preserved in the Worcester 'Fragments.'" The second is that "The Grave" is a fragment of a poem different from the Worcester "Fragments."

As the result of this summary of the criticism of the poem, it is to be observed, (1) that every student of the poem has accepted it as a fragment of a longer poem, and (2) that since the point was first made no one has doubted that "The Grave" belongs to a speech of a soul to its body. Yet neither of these hypotheses, I venture to suggest, has been established.

I shall discuss first Dr. Buchholz' hypothesis that "The Grave" is a fragment of the poem preserved in the Worcester manuscript. Then I shall attempt to show that it does not necessarily belong to the body and soul literature, and that it is not a fragment.

## II

Before bringing forward any evidence against Dr. Buchholz' theory of the relation of "The Grave" and the "Fragments," it may be pointed out that positive evidence in its favor is entirely wanting.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Such I take to be Dr. Buchholz' position. For, though he is careful to explain that these lines were added in a thirteenth-century hand (pp. iii, lxxv, 19), he nowhere differentiates against them either in the text or in the metrical and grammatical investigations of the poem. Curiously enough neither Schröer nor Buchholz considered the relation of the thirteenth-century lines to the remainder of the poem of sufficient importance to deserve comment or explanation.

<sup>2</sup> This theory has not, I think, met with a single favorable criticism. Cf. Kaluza: "Etwas Sicheres lässt sich über letzteres nicht feststellen; aber dass O nur ein weiteres Bruchstück des in den W-Fragmenten enthaltenen Gedichtes sein sollte, ist m. E. doch recht unwahrscheinlich. Die ganze Anlage ist in beiden Gedichten zu sehr verschieden, und da ich O dem Versbau nach für älter halte, so ist die Möglichkeit, dass O von dem Verfasser von W benutzt wurde, trotz Varnhagen keineswegs ausgeschlossen" (*Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, XII [1891], 15); and Bruce: "The relation between these two poems, the 'Fr.' and 'The Grave,' is so close as to have even led to the improbable suggestion that 'The Grave,' itself a fragment, was a part of the 'Fr.'" (*Modern Language Notes*, V [1890], 394); and Zupitza: "Dass einer Ausgabe der Bruchstücke zu Worcester das Oxforde beigegeben wird, ist durch den offenbaren, wenn auch noch nicht erklärten, Zusammenhang der beiden Denkmäler gerechtfertigt" (*Herrig's Archiv*, LXXXV [1890], 78). Wülker agrees with Buchholz that nothing definite can be decided as to the relationship of "The Grave" and the "Fragments," without commenting on his suggestion that "The Grave" is one of the Worcester "Fragments." "Zunächst widerspricht B., und unseres erachtens mit vollem recht, der ansicht, man könne irgend etwas sicheres oder auch nur wahrscheinliches über das verhältniss von dem gedichte in W zu dem in O feststellen" (*Beiblatt zur Anglia*, I [1890], 188). Up to this time, however, Dr. Buchholz' theses have not been discussed in detail.

Dr. Buchholz' own arguments are negative. He prints together the passages from the two poems which are almost identical, and makes the statement that there must be a very close relation between them. "Es ist," he continues, "zunächst die Möglichkeit nicht ausgeschlossen" that "The Grave" is a further fragment of the Worcester poem. The objection that the poet would then have repeated himself in single expressions and in entire verses, he meets with the statement that such repetitions are found within the "Fragments." In conclusion he states that metrical considerations would present no obstacles in the way of such a solution of the problem.<sup>1</sup> I will discuss the last point first.

In meter the two poems are very much alike. Both contain the Old English alliterative verse with a preference for the line having only two alliterating syllables. In each there are lines without alliteration. In the "Fragments," however, there are a number of instances of rhyme,<sup>2</sup> whereas in "The Grave" there is no example of pure end rhyme.<sup>3</sup> Any discussion of meter, then, must turn on this question of rhyme. Buchholz does not have anything to say about the matter, but Varnhagen has discussed it thoroughly in his review of Kleinert's dissertation.<sup>4</sup> He calls attention to the impure rhymes in ll. 9 and 11 of "The Grave,"<sup>5</sup> and suggests that the rhyme in them was intentional. In late Old English and in early Middle English, he says, alliteration and rhyme appear side by side but as a rule both are not found in one and the same verse, and, since the two lines in question are the only ones which do not show alliteration, the possibility that the rhyme was intentional is increased. Here Professor

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Buchholz' concluding statement would seem to indicate that he was not well informed about the manuscripts of the two poems: "Freilich Fragmente einer und derselben Hs. können W und O wegen des teilweise verschiedenen sprachlichen Characters nicht sein" (p. v).

<sup>2</sup> According to Buchholz' count (pp. lxx, lxxii) there are 19 verses that show rhyme, if we count the lines that are repeated each time they appear. Kaluza (*Literaturblatt*, XII, 16) thinks that the lines ending in *lif* and *sip* should be counted as rhyming, thus adding ten verses to our list (A 30, 42, 44; C 15, 37; D 9, 16, 42; F 19; G 6).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Buchholz, p. lxxv.

<sup>4</sup> *Anglia*, III, 573. Buchholz gives a reference to this review as showing that Kleinert's argument with regard to the greater age of "The Grave" is "nicht stichhaltig" (p. v).

<sup>5</sup> "De helewajes beoð laže, sidwajes unheže" (l. 9). "Swa ðu scealt on molde wunien ful calde" (l. 11). There is a third example of impure rhyme in l. 23, but I am not considering the thirteenth-century lines in my discussion of the poem.



Varnhagen has made a mistake. There is no alliteration in l. 15.<sup>1</sup> We may raise the question also whether Professor Varnhagen has not since changed his opinion on this subject, for his pupil, Dr. Buchholz, fails to recognize an impure rhyme in l. 9, and considers it doubtful that the rhyme in l. 11 was intentional.<sup>2</sup>

But, Professor Varnhagen continues, even if the rhyme in "The Grave" was not intentional, the presence of rhyme cannot be taken as an exact indication of age, even though it is found only sporadically in the oldest texts and becomes increasingly more common in the later ones. "Aber ist es denn bewiesen, dass das wachsende eindringen desselben ein so stetiges, nie unterbrochenes gewesen ist, dass man ohne weiteres zu dem schlusse berechtigt ist, dass, wenn ein text denselben öfter zeigt, als ein anderer, der erstere der ältere ist? Ist es nicht vielmehr wahrscheinlich, dass auch hier die action zeitweise durch eine reaction unterbrochen ist?" Then as an example of this reaction he cites two poems from the *Old English Chronicle*. The poem on the death of Alfred, son of Aethelred, is probably some thirty years older than that on the death of Edward, yet rhyme is found in the first poem and not in the second.

In the same review Professor Varnhagen treats Kleinert's argument from the language of the poems with equal scorn, though more briefly. Kleinert had said: "Vergleicht man jedoch in den angeführten Stellen Sprache und Wortbildung, so wird man bei den schwereren, volleren Endungen der Verba und überhaupt dem breiten, vollen Vokalismus im Riegerschen Texte einräumen müssen, dass dieser der ältere sein muss."<sup>3</sup> Varnhagen's comment is as follows: "für Kl. sind entstehungszeit einer hs. und entstehungszeit des betr. denkmals identisch. Auf den sonstigen inhalt dieses passus und mehrere ausdrücke in demselben gehe ich nicht weiter ein."<sup>4</sup>

I have taken up the question of language here in connection with that of meter, because, it seems to me, the same criticism is to be made of both. Professor Varnhagen's position is, in each case, unassailable. The manuscripts are responsible for the differences in language, and the presence of rhyme is not necessarily an

<sup>1</sup> See Buchholz, p. lxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> P. lxxvi and note 1.

<sup>3</sup> P. 8. See Buchholz' analyses of the language of the two poems, pp. vi-lxii.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 573.

indication of age. But when we have granted these points, have we established anything with regard to the relative dates of the two poems? Have we even disproved Kleinert's argument?

The language of a poem is determined by the date of the manuscript in which it appears, but, other data failing, differences in the dates of manuscripts are counted indicative of differences in the dates of composition. And in the present case other data are lacking and the language of "The Grave" is the older. The case of the meter is very similar. In "The Grave" we may have the product of one of the periods of reaction against rhyme. Professor Varnhagen, however, brings forward no evidence to prove that such was the case, and he himself says that as a rule the poem with rhyme is not so old as the one without it. So that while we agree with Varnhagen that the present instances may be exceptions to the rules, we must, nevertheless, admit that we have no reasons for counting them exceptions, and hence we suppose that they conform to the general rules. The evidence of language and meter, then, is not in itself conclusive, but whatever weight it does have is against the theory that "The Grave" is one of the Worcester "Fragments."

Dr. Buchholz' first argument demands more serious consideration. There are repetitions within the "Fragments."<sup>1</sup> Most important is the repetition of the lines:

Al is reowliche þin siþ efter þin wrecche lif.<sup>2</sup>

and

Deo swetnesse is nu al agon, þet bittere þe biþ fornon;  
þet bittere ilaesteþ aeffre, þet swete ne cumeþ þe naeffre.<sup>3</sup>

These lines form two refrains which are repeated at irregular intervals throughout the poem. They are not found in "The Grave." And since they are of the nature of refrains the repetition of them is not comparable to the identity of single phrases and verses in the "Fragments" and "The Grave."

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Buchholz did not note the lines in which the repetitions to which he refers occur. I cannot, therefore, be certain of his data.

<sup>2</sup> C 15. This line is found with variations in A 30, C 37, D 9, D 16, D 42, F 19, and G 6.

<sup>3</sup> B 44-45; cf. also D 40-41 and B 8.

There are also repetitions of single phrases and sentences within the Worcester "Fragments." The list of such repetitions which I have found is as follows:<sup>1</sup>

Liggeþ þe ban stille. A 21.

Liggeþ þe bon stille. E 11.

Ac aefre þu gaedereðest gaersume on þine feonde. C 12.

Opre birefedest rihtes istreones,

Gaedereðest to gaersume. G 12-13.

Him scortep þe tunge. A 19.

Þin tunge is ascorted. G 9.

Eart þu nu loþ ond unwurp alle þine freonden. B 37.

Þu ert forbunden ond loþ alle freonden.<sup>2</sup> F 17.

Do these repetitions within the "Fragments" parallel the identical lines in "The Grave" and the "Fragments" so closely as to make it possible to consider "The Grave" a part of the Worcester poem? The resemblances are not so close, nor are the lines themselves so important. Besides, this list does not explain the repetition of several lines in succession as in "The Grave," ll. 7-11, and Fragment C, 29-32.

Moreover, if we examine the list of repetitions within the "Fragments," we shall find that they are scattered here and there through the poem as is natural when an author is repeating himself. The same is true of the lines in the "Fragments" which are paralleled in "The Grave." But the converse is not true. The lines in question in "The Grave" are consecutive. Turning to the list of identical lines which Buchholz has printed in his preface, we find they are ll. 5, 6, 7-11, 13, 14, 16, 17.

We may grant that a poet might repeat important lines in a single poem. We may even grant, for the sake of argument, that a poet might repeat several such lines together. But can we, at the same time, grant that a poet would collect sentences from various parts of his poem and construct a new paragraph from them? or that he would tear one of his own paragraphs into its component sentences and

<sup>1</sup> Lines B 12, B 38, and C 24 should not be counted among these repetitions.

<sup>2</sup> This is the only one of these lines which is found in "The Grave." The line there is: "Ðus ðu bist illejd and ladaest þine fronden" (l. 17).



scatter them throughout the remainder of his poem?<sup>1</sup> In other words, though such a procedure as the theory of Buchholz involves is possible, it does not seem at all probable. But on the other hand, if the author of the "Fragments" used "The Grave" as one of his sources, and borrowed from it entire verses, he would very naturally scatter them in his poem, even though they were consecutive in the original. All the evidence drawn from this scrutiny of the two poems, therefore, favors the theory that "The Grave" was the source of the "Fragments" and opposes Dr. Buchholz' hypothesis that it is a part of the Worcester poem.

### III

We have now to consider the relation of "The Grave" to the body and soul literature. Is our poem a part of a soul's speech to its body? On what evidence does this, the usual interpretation, rest?<sup>2</sup>

It is not stated in the poem that the soul is speaking, and no *anima dicit* appears in the manuscript. Yet these means of identification are usually found in the body and soul poems. Neither does "The Grave" contain any of the typical body and soul motives. There is no upbraiding of the body, no hint of any past sins, the body is not even identified as that of a righteous man or a sinner. Nor was the poem said to belong to a speech of a soul to its body because it was recognized as especially appropriate to such a speech. "The Grave" was first identified with the body and soul poems because it contained motives found in the "Visio Fulberti," and scholars have continued to count it among those poems because of its obviously close relation to the Worcester "Fragments."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This point tells seriously against the theory of a common source as suggested by Varnhagen (*Anglia*, III, 572).

<sup>2</sup> It may be well to call attention to the fact that in the following discussion the question of importance is the meaning of the poem itself, and not the meaning of the "Fragments" as affected by "The Grave." Dr. Buchholz, for example, considers only the question whether "The Grave" may not be one of the "Fragments." And Professor Bruce asks if the addition of "The Grave" would "do prejudice to its [the "Fragments"] claims to artistic merit" (*op. cit.*, p. 394). No one, I think, has studied "The Grave's" relation to the "Fragments," or to the body and soul literature, from the point of view of the artistic demands of "The Grave" itself.

<sup>3</sup> This point assumes especial significance when it is remembered that Thorpe and Conybeare, who were studying the poem and not the body and soul legend, failed to identify "The Grave" with the legend, though they were well acquainted with it. The same is true of the poet Longfellow.

Such an identification is, however, purely mechanical and argues little as to the general import of the poem.<sup>1</sup> Especially is this true in the case of so popular a legend as that of the body and soul, a legend, moreover, which borrowed motives from all kinds of religious literature, as for example the description of the Last Judgment,<sup>2</sup> or the enumeration of the Fifteen Signs before the Judgment.<sup>3</sup>

And if we examine the motives concerned in the present case, we shall not find any indications that they belong to a speech of a soul to its body. The motive of the loathsomeness of a dead man to his relatives and the worm motive may be dismissed at once since they obviously are not native to body and soul literature.<sup>4</sup> Of the remaining lines of the Oxford text which are repeated in the Worcester poem, one verse does not appear in any of the speeches of the soul, but forms a part of the general introduction to the poem.<sup>5</sup> It could not, therefore, have been recognized as especially appropriate to the speech of a soul to its body. In another the meaning is changed; the half-line which in the Oxford poem refers directly to the grave is, in the "Fragments," introduced so as to refer to the dead body, and is thus made suitable for the soul's speech.<sup>6</sup> Where the lines in the Worcester

<sup>1</sup> The fallacy of such a mode of reasoning may be illustrated from within the body and soul literature itself. In the "Samedi" (ed. Varnhagen, *Erlanger Beiträge*, I, Anhang I, P text, ll. 785 ff. and 919 ff.) the body tells the soul that Beelzebub will not give up one soul for all the treasures of earth, and that the greater one is on earth the more he must suffer in hell. In the "Visio Fulberti" (*op. cit.*, p. 227) the soul uses this argument in addressing the body. In the Old English "Address" (Grein-Wülker, *Bibliothek*, II, 102, ll. 110 ff.) a description of the corruption of the body is introduced by the author after the soul's speech is ended, though short references had been included in the soul's speech. In the "Samedi" (ll. 350 ff.) the detailed description forms a part of the soul's speech. In "Death" (ed. Morris, *Old English Miscellany*, pp. 180-81 ff.) the description of Satan is not unlike that of the demons in the "Visio Fulberti" (p. 227). In the "Visio," however, the demons are introduced as real beings, in "Death" the description forms a part of the soul's speech.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. "Samedi," ll. 459 ff.

<sup>3</sup> MS Harl. 2253, f. 57 ff., ed. by Bøddeker, pp. 235 ff., and by Wright, *Walter Map*, pp. 346 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. "The Grave," ll. 16, 17; and "Fragments," C 28, F 17, and B 37.

<sup>5</sup> "The Grave," l. 6; "Fragments," A 34.

<sup>6</sup> "The Grave":

"Dureleas is þæt hus and dearc hit is wibinnen.  
Ðær þu bist feste bdytt and dæb hefð þa caeje" (ll. 13-14);

"Fragments":

"Noldest þu mid muþe bidden me none miltse.  
Nu þu ert adumbod ond dæb haueþ þe keiþe" (F 15-16).

A similar change has taken place in the case of "The Grave," l. 5, and the "Fragments," B 39.

poem keep the same meaning as in "The Grave," they are introduced with details which make them easily recognizable as belonging to the angry soul's speech of reproach.<sup>1</sup> The same is true of the "Visio Fulberti" when it introduces motives found in "The Grave."<sup>2</sup> In "The Grave" itself, however, these touches are lacking.

In fact, whenever the motives of "The Grave" appear in the body and soul literature—for they are by no means confined to the "Fragments" and the "Visio Fulberti"—they are but importations. They are not intrinsic parts of a soul's speech to its body; they cannot be introduced for themselves. If, for example, the soul is upbraiding the body for its sins on earth, there is no occasion for the introduction of a description of the decayed body. When such a description is introduced, therefore, it is with modifying phrases,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. "The Grave," ll. 7-12:

"Ne bið no þin hus healce itinbred;  
Hit bið unheh and lah, þonne þu list þerinne.  
Ðe helewæzes beoð laze, sidwæzes unheze;  
Ðe rof bið ibyld þire broste ful neh.  
Swa ðu scealt on molde wunien ful calde,  
Dimme and deorcae."

with the corresponding passage in the "Fragments," C 25-36:

"Noldest þu nefre helpen þam orlease wrecchen;  
Ac þu sete on þine benche, underleid mid þine bolstre;  
þu wurpe cneow ofer cneow. Ne icneowe þu þe sullen,  
þet þu scoldest mid wurmen wunien in eorþan.  
Nu þu hauest neowe hus, inne bebrungen;  
Leowe beoþ þe helewowes, unheize beoþ þe sidwowes;  
þin rof liþ on þine breoste ful neh.  
Colde is þe ibedded, cloþes bideled.  
Nulleþ þine hinen cloþes þe senden,  
For heom punchep al to lut, þet þu heom bilefdest;  
þet þu hefdest onhorded, hit wulleþ heldan.  
þus is iwitan þin weole; wendest þet hit þin were."

Cf. in this connection two later Middle English writings which contain almost the exact words of "The Grave," although they do not belong to the body and soul literature. In the first, a poem, "Die Boten des Todes" (ed. by Kaluza, *Englische Studien*, XIV [1890], 184 ff.), the lines are as follows:

"De halle rof is cast ful lowe;  
Der beoþ none chaumbres wyde.  
Me may reche þe helewowe  
And þe wal on vch a syde" (ll. 153-56).

The second reference is found in the Lazarus play of the Towneley cycle. Here the expression is not so nearly kin to that of "The Grave" as in the poem just quoted:

"Vnder the erthe ye shall thus carefully then cowche;  
The roye of youre hall youre nakyd nose shall towche"

(*E.E.T.S.*, *E.S.*, LXXI, 391, 135-36).

Many of the other death and grave motives that have been borrowed by the body and soul poems are also to be found in this play and in the poem cited above.

Cf. also "The Grave," ll. 11-16, with the "Fragments," B 39-43 and E 4-13.

<sup>2</sup> "Tua domus qualiter modo tibi placet,  
Cujus nonne summitas super nasum jacet?  
Nullum membrum superest quod jam lucro vacet,  
jam clauduntur oculi, lingua tua tacet."

—(Ed. du Méril, p. 221).

Cf. also the following stanzas.



as, "although you dressed in fine clothes here, you shall be eaten by worms," or "although you, body, be entirely destroyed, you shall not evade your share of the punishment we must endure at the Judgment." In "The Grave," as I have said, the motives in question are introduced without such application. The grave is described merely because of the horror the description arouses. And in this respect our poem offers marked contrast to the body and soul literature.

Moreover, the whole tone of "The Grave" is different from that of the body and soul poems. The speeches of the soul are expressions of keen remorse and of personal regret. "The Grave," on the other hand, is calmly descriptive and universal, philosophic in tone. In the speeches of the soul the power lies in the recognition of the fact that the miserable plight described could have been avoided, it was the result of sin.<sup>1</sup> The power of "The Grave" lies in the fact that it is describing the fate of everyone, saint as well as sinner. The speeches of the soul are, in effect, sermons calling to repentance; "The Grave" is only a picture, without the application of the moral.

#### IV

It is difficult to know how to prove that our poem is not a fragment. The weight of proof usually rests with the other side, and we consider a poem complete unless there is reason for believing that some part is lacking. But no one has ever given any reason for counting "The Grave" fragmentary. The first editor, Conybeare, merely stated that the poem was a fragment, and that statement has been accepted without question.<sup>2</sup>

There can be but two valid reasons for counting a poem a fragment. If the manuscript is torn or mutilated, or if there is manuscript evidence of any other kind to show that a part of the poem is lacking, it must be considered a fragment. Or, if the sense of the poem is obviously incomplete, it should be counted fragmentary. Neither of these reasons holds true of "The Grave."

<sup>1</sup> Cf., for contrast, the speeches of the good soul in Batiouchkof's homily (*Romania*, XX, 578), and in the Old English "Address" (*op. cit.*, p. 105 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> A good deal of the confusion on this point is undoubtedly due to the use of the words "margin" by Thorpe (*op. cit.*, p. xi) and *rande* by Max Rieger (*Alt- und Angelsächsisches Lesebuch*, p. 124) in describing the half-sheet of the manuscript on which the poem appears.

The three lines added in the thirteenth century form the only bit of manuscript evidence which might indicate that the poem is not complete. Of course, if these lines are to be counted a part of the original poem, it is undoubtedly a fragment. But if we consider the question on its merits, we find no reason for accepting the three lines. From the point of view of content they destroy the unity of the poem, as I shall attempt to show later. And from the point of view of the manuscript, it is much more probable that the thirteenth-century scribe was "completing" or "improving" the twelfth-century poem by the addition of lines of his own, than that he was adding verses of the original poem.<sup>1</sup>

If we count the thirteenth-century lines spurious, there is no manuscript evidence against my theory that we have in "The Grave" a complete poem. The manuscript is in excellent condition, and there is no evidence of careless or interrupted writing in our poem.<sup>2</sup> It was, indeed, written on a half-sheet left between two sermons, but in such a case would not a scribe be more likely to write a complete short poem than a fragment of a long one? In fact, the lettering seems to indicate that he did choose the short poem. As I have said,<sup>3</sup> the last lines of "The Grave" are written on the margin of the page, and in them the letters are slightly smaller than in the remainder of the poem. If the scribe were only filling a half-page with a fragment of a poem, he would have no motive for making the letters on the margin smaller, or for writing on the margin at all, since his poem at best would be but a fragment. If, however, he wished to write a short poem in a given space, he would naturally make his letters smaller when that space was filled, that he might be certain to get in the remaining lines of the poem, and at the same time leave the page as neat and with as wide a margin as possible.

The question rests, then, entirely on a consideration of the contents of "The Grave." If the three thirteenth-century lines are

<sup>1</sup> I do not mean that these three lines were, necessarily, original with the thirteenth-century scribe. Obviously they reflect commonplaces in mediaeval death and grave literature; but they were not a part of the original poem.

<sup>2</sup> A possible exception may be made in the case of l. 21. The first half of it, according to the modern editors, has been omitted. In the manuscript, however, there is no break indicating an omission.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 1.

counted, the poem seems to be fragmentary. In those lines the scribe has reproduced admirably the spirit of the poem, but he has destroyed its unity. For in them he has introduced details about the appearance of the corpse, whereas it is only the general condition of the body with direct reference to the future "house" which is mentioned in the poem itself. They leave one with a sense of incompleteness, too. One expects other details about the eyes, nose, and mouth to follow the reference to the hair.

The poem as written by the twelfth-century writer, however, does not appeal to me as unfinished or fragmentary. It takes a single theme, the description of the grave as the future house of man, and in the twenty-two verses this theme is given a well-rounded development. The second person is used throughout for emphasis.<sup>1</sup> Opening with the statement that there is such a future house for each one, the author follows with a description of that house and of man's condition in it. "It is small, it is cheerless, you will be a prey to worms therein." The poem then concludes with a reference to the man's relation to his friends when in his new home. "Your friends will not care to come to you, to see how that house pleases you, for soon you will be loathsome to look upon."<sup>2</sup>

The last lines have a haunting quality; they are like the last notes of a song written in a minor key. But the poem is not to be called incomplete, or unfinished, on that account. Instead, the ending is a proof of the poet's art. For in it he has not only emphasized the chief point of the poem, man's miserable and hopeless condition in the grave, but he has done so in the most effective way. We are left, not with a vivid picture of the corruption of the grave, but with a haunting sense of its inevitableness, its utter misery, and its entire hopelessness.

In conclusion, if we admit that "The Grave" is not a fragment, my earlier point about its relation to the body and soul literature is greatly strengthened. So long as the poem is considered fragmentary, we must grant that it may be a part of a soul's speech to

<sup>1</sup> Conybeare precedes his English translation with the words, "Death speaks." I do not feel that any definite speaker is intended. The second person is used to mean that every individual is addressed. Cf. the poem on "Signs of Death" in Morris' *Old English Miscellany*, p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> L. 21 should be followed by a comma, and not by a period as in Buchholz' edition.



its body. The references identifying it positively as such may always be in some of the lost fragments. If the poem is complete, however, it is clear that it does not belong to the class of body and soul poems, but to the even more popular class of death and grave literature.

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## EDITORIAL NOTE

The April number of *Modern Philology* will complete the eleventh volume. With Vol. XII a new mode of publication will be adopted. Instead of appearing four times a year in numbers of approximately one hundred and fifty pages, it will appear in ten numbers of approximately sixty-four pages each. The months of publication will be October to July inclusive; but the volume will begin with the May issue, this year and hereafter. The issues of May, October, and January will be devoted to articles in the field of English; those of June, November, and February to articles in the field of German; those of July, December, and March to articles in the field of the Romance languages and literatures; and the April issue to articles on comparative literature, critical theory, and general linguistics. No change will be made in editorial policy or in typographical style.

It is believed that subscribers will find it advantageous to have the articles in each field brought together in separate numbers instead of being scattered indiscriminately through the volume, as has hitherto been the case. And it is thought that persons who wish to secure extra copies of an article will welcome this change, as it reduces the size and price of the separate numbers.

Our main purpose, however, in making the change is to bring out more clearly the fact that *Modern Philology* is not a mere fortuitous miscellany of articles in the field of the modern languages and literatures, but a medium for the publication of the best results of research in each of the great fields to which it is devoted. We hope and believe that the new mode of publication will enable the student in each of these fields to recognize more clearly the importance of *Modern Philology* for his own studies.

An indirect but important result for which we also hope is the enlargement of *Modern Philology*. If the new mode of publication should result, as we believe it will, in the increase of our subscription list, we shall be able to increase the number of pages of *Modern Philology*.

This is a result greatly to be wished. The present channels for the publication of the fruits of research in our field are entirely inadequate. Notwithstanding the increase in the number and size of these channels of publication and the general raising of the standards of scholarship in all of them, editors are often reluctantly obliged, by the demands upon their space, to postpone for as long even as one or two years the publication of articles of great interest and value. This ought not to be the case. The remedy lies in increasing the subscription list of the periodicals. Our business department will begin a campaign for this purpose in a few weeks, and we appeal to our subscribers and other friends for aid in this effort, the ultimate purpose of which is the increase of the means of publication in the field of our work.



# Modern Philology

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## THE ROMANCE OF EREC, SON OF LAC

"Un des meilleurs spécimens de la poésie française du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle."—  
G. Paris.

In Chaucer's *Franklin's Tale* occur the lines:<sup>1</sup>

Of his free wyl he swoor hire as a knyght,  
That never in al his lyf he, day ne nyght,  
Ne sholde upon hym také no maistrie  
Agayn hir wyl, ne kithe hire jalousie;  
But hire obeye and folwe hir wyl in al,  
As any love to his lady shal,  
Save that the name of soveraynètee,  
That wolde he have, for shame of his degree.

If these lines are repeated here at the beginning of an article on the *Erec*, it is because they furnish a "convenient" expression of what I think is the fundamental issue of Crestien de Troyes' poem.

### I

As Chaucer tells us, the Franklin would solve the question of marriage by *gentillesse*.<sup>2</sup> In the ideal type of wedlock love alone will not suffice, there must also be forbearance. In fact, the Franklin thinks: "friends must obey each other if they wish to hold company long." Yet the Franklin's hero would have the name of *soveraynètee*, for this befitted his degree, and accords with the orthodox doctrine that husbands must rule,<sup>3</sup> apparently in any case.

<sup>1</sup> Macmillan ed., vss. 745 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For the most recent discussion see the admirable article of Kittredge, *MP*, IX, 463.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. 3:16: "sub viri potestate eris, et ipse dominabitur tui"; cf. Ephes. 5:22; I Cor. 14:34.

The *Erec*, which Gaston Paris<sup>1</sup> dates about 1168, has no such clear-cut purpose—at least none which the poet states in so many words. Nevertheless, the work is, according to the prologue:

Une mout bele conjointure

which Crestien draws (tret)

d'un conte d'avanture.

This tale, which others (*qui de conter vivre vuelent*) are accustomed to corrupt and botch, Crestien proposes to tell in a worthy manner. To this effort he devotes his *sciance*, so help him God.

While these lines (vss. 1-26) have recently been called in question,<sup>2</sup> their genuineness can hardly be doubted. Crestien's *Cligés*, *Charreté* and *Perceval* have similar prologues. And so have the romances of *Thèbes* and *Troie*, and the *Lais* of Marie de France, with all of which the prologue of the *Erec* has many points in common.<sup>3</sup> Besides, prologue or no prologue, the poem itself amply justifies the view that Crestien was conscious of his art, however defective we may consider his art to be.

The action of the poem, as is well known, centers in Erec's sudden change of attitude toward Enide, expressed in the words:

"Por qu'avez dit que mar i fui ?

Por moi fu dit, non por autrui" [vs. 2522]

—which obviously mean:<sup>4</sup> "Why did you, Enide, say woe is me, Erec; you said this for me, and not for another." About a third of the narrative had been devoted to Erec's courtship and marriage of Enide. Rescued by him from straitened circumstances, she yet has all the qualities of a *courtois* lady of the highest rank. So that all honored her

por sa franchise:

Qui li pooit feire servise,

Plus s'an tenoit chiers et prisoit.

None could speak ill of her, for, says the poet:

n'an pooit rien mesdire [2431].

<sup>1</sup> Foerster [*Cligés*] gives 1160.

<sup>2</sup> By Cohn in *ZfS*, XXVIII (1911), 95 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> Enide's words which Erec had heard were: "Con mar i fus" (2508). The *Geraint* in Loth's translation here reads (II, 142): "Malheur à moi, si c'est à cause de moi," etc., which gives quite a different effect to Enid's regret.

To Enide, then, Erec's devotion is boundless. We learn that, though married, he makes her his *amie* and his *drue* (2439), that he loves her *trop assez* (2445), and that gradually he relinquishes chivalry because of "love," and falls a prey to sloth or inactivity in arms.

At last the murmur of Erec's companions reaches Enide's ears:

Que recreant aloit ses sire  
D'armes et de chevalerie;  
Mout avoit changee sa vie.

But Enide fears to tell her lord what others say:

Car ses sire an mal le preïst  
Assez tost, s'ele li deïst;

and her fear is justified. Awakening one morning to her complaint, Erec rouses himself to action and drives Enide before him, in the position of the humblest squire, upon a series of adventures which test Enide's fidelity (vs. 3812: *leal dame poïst veoir*) and Erec's prowess to the utmost.

Now the question has often been asked:<sup>1</sup> What is Erec's motive for maltreating so loyal a wife? With an artist's instinct, I believe, Crestien has not vouchsafed to tell us. Erec cannot be moved by shame or he would not make Enide share his hardships. Far indeed from being humbled by her reproach, he nevertheless admits the justice of it:

"Dame," fet-il, "droit en eüstes,  
Et cil qui m'an blasment ont droit" [vss. 2576 ff.].

On the other hand, his action is certainly not that of a jealous man. Were Erec jealous he would not constantly expose Enide to the temptation of getting rid of him<sup>2</sup>—a temptation for which Erec's expedition offers every opportunity; cf., especially, vss. 3294 ff. Crestien takes especial care to show that Enide's virtue is above all suspicion, and states categorically in vs. 3304:

Erec ne fu mie jalos;

<sup>1</sup> G. Paris, *Rom.*, XX (1891), 164: "Il ne peut, sous peine d'être absurde, en vouloir à sa femme, s'il ne doute pas de son amour, d'avoir eu le courage de lui conseiller de vivre moins pour elle et plus pour sa gloire"; cf. Foerster, *Erec*, 1909, p. xviii, with whom I agree.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the rôle of the *jalouz* in the romances. See also *Guigemar*, 213.



and this idea recurs<sup>1</sup> in the later *Prose Erec*: "A ces parolles ne dist mot Erec si non qu'il delibera en soi d'esprouuer se Enide sa femme l'amoit bien lealment, mais je ne di pas que souspecon et jallousie fut cause de ceste deliberacion."

Is not the motive, therefore, purely one of *soveraynètee*, to borrow Chaucer's expression? Enide has been the innocent cause of her husband's fall from grace. It is only natural that Erec, wounded in his pride, should turn against the cause of his dishonor, blameless as Enide really is. In such moments of tension the best of men will not be just. We know how general the trait of *desmesure* is in the literature of the time. The Old French epic abounds in instances of it, but so does Celtic romance, and, as we shall see, Ivain and Perceval, when reproached by the fairy-messenger, are likewise *desmesurés*.

In short, there is every reason why Erec should rebel and assert his sovereignty at all costs. The point of the situation, however—and in this I see Crestien's shaping hand—is that Erec's revolt is psychologically true. Unlike Ivain he does not roam the woods as a madman, but he so shapes his course that Enide from the exalted position of *amie* drops inevitably, and with instinctive recognition on her part, into the humble and difficult rôle of wife. Thus, while the *Erec* lacks both the moral elevation of the *Franklin's Tale* and the "mystical" strain of the story of Griselda, the poem is in perfect accord with the biblical ideal that in marriage the wife must submit to the domination of the stronger sex—for herein lies not only her duty but her power, as Crestien proceeds to show.

Having tested Enide's loyalty, and realized her willingness to serve him, Erec now gives her the satisfaction of hearing him say:

"Ma douce suer!

Bien vos ai del tot essaiee!

Ne soiez de rien esmaiee,

Qu'or vos aim plus, qu'ains mes ne fis,

Et je resui certains et fis,

Que vos m'amez parfitement.

<sup>1</sup> Edens (Zenker) to the contrary notwithstanding, who in his *Erec-Geraint* (Rostock, 1910), p. 92, adduces this passage as an argument that the jealousy-motif was present in Crestien's source. See below, p. 28.

Tot a vostre comandement<sup>1</sup>  
 Vuel estre des or an avant,  
 Aussi con j'estoie devant" [vs. 4920].

So that these two passages: "Por qu'avez dit que mar i fui?" and the one just cited, stand in sharp contrast to each other, while between the two lies the main action of the poem.

## II

Now the significance of this situation is increased by its brilliant Arthurian setting and by the fact that Erec is represented as a historical personage of considerable importance.

Wace had written his *Brut* or *Geste des Bretons* in 1155. And the splendor with which Arthur's crowning is there depicted can hardly have failed to impress Crestien.<sup>2</sup> Wace describes the assemblage of knights and ladies on that occasion, as follows:

Ne ja chevalier n'i eüst,  
 De quel parage que il fust,  
 Ja peüst, en tute sa vie  
 Avoir bele dame à amie.  
 Se il n'eüst avant esté  
 De chevalerie pruvé.  
 Li chevalier mielz en valeient,  
 Et en estür mielz en faiseient  
 Et les dames plus le serveient  
 Et plus chastement en viveient [vss. 10791 ff.].<sup>3</sup>

Accordingly, we find the *Erec* beginning with a "custom," which will reward "valor" with "beauty."<sup>4</sup> But Enide's beauty must be beyond all cavil as must *Erec's* valor, for says Gauvain to Arthur:

"Ancore a il ceanz cinc çanz  
 Dameiseles de hauz parages,

<sup>1</sup> Note that Erec returns to Enide's control; cf. *Ivain*, vss. 6780 ff.

<sup>2</sup> On the indebtedness of Crestien to Wace, see now Annette Hopkins, *The Influence of Wace on the Arthurian Romances of Crestien*, University of Chicago dissertation, Menasha, Wis., 1913.

<sup>3</sup> The corresponding passage in Geoffrey, *HRB*, IX, xlii, reads: "Facetae etiam mulieres consimilia indumenta habentes, nullius amorem habere dignabantur, nisi tertio in militia approbatus esset. Efficiebantur ergo castrae mulieres, et milites amore illarum meliores."

In MS *du Roi* 7515<sup>2.1</sup>, *Colbert*, Wace reads:

Se il n'estist iiii fois esté  
 De chevalerie esprové.

Cf. Miss Hopkins, 44.

<sup>4</sup> On the origin of this motif, see below, p. 36.

Filles a rois, jantes et sages,  
 Ne n'i a nule, n'et ami  
 Chevalier vaillant et hardi,  
 Qui chascuns desresnier voudroit,  
 Ou fust a tort ou fust a droit,  
 Que cele qui li atalante  
 Est la plus bele et la plus jante" [*Erec*, vss. 50 ff.].

The Sparrow-hawk Adventure,<sup>1</sup> into which Erec is deflected by an insult done the Queen, brings what is needed to pass. This adventure is a beauty-contest decided by the combat of knights, and

<sup>1</sup> The Sparrow-hawk Adventure is known to us in the following versions:

a) Andreas Capellanus, *De Amore*, ed. Trojel, II, viii, 295. Cf. G. Paris, *Rom.*, XII, 530. [A Breton knight, riding alone, is urged by a damsel to win the Sparrow-hawk at Arthur's court for his *amie*. He must maintain that the *amie* is fairer than all the ladies of the court. He enters Arthur's palace by means of a glove, which he previously wins from giants guarding an abode to which there is no *apparent* entrance. Twelve knights guard the approach to the hawk. The hero wins the hawk by vanquishing the false-claimant.]

b) *Erec*, vss. 28-1844. [Erec goes to Lalut to avenge an insult done Guenievre by Ider, son of Nu. Ider is accompanied by his *dwarf* and his *amie*. Erec is entertained hospitably by an impoverished *vassor* and his fair daughter, niece to Ider. He vanquishes Ider, who has had the hawk for two years, thus avenging the *vassor's* daughter and establishing her right to the hawk. Ider is sent to Arthur's court.]

c) *Gercant* in Loth's *Mabinogion*, II, 116-35. [Essentially the same as b. Edern = Ider, and is described as *de haute taille*, wearing *une armure lourde et brillante*. The locality is not named but the *vassor* who is *uncle* to Edern is called *Ynywl*. The hawk, if won three years in succession, would entitle Edern to the title of "chevalier à l'épervier." As in the *Erec*, Edern is sent to Arthur's court.]

d) *Durmart le Gallois*, ed. Stengel, Vol. 116 of the *Bib. d. litt. Versins*, vss. 2010-2768. [Led by a dog Durmart encounters a dwarf, a huge knight, Nogant, and his *amie*, Fenise of Ireland. The latter induces him to go to Landoc (cf. Crestien's *Ivain*) where Cardroians li ros holds the Sparrow-hawk contest. The hawk will be given to the most beautiful damsel, and up to this time had belonged to Ide de Landoc, whose lover Cardroians is. Durmart accepts in the hope of seeing Ide. But Nogant, who objects to his presence, treats him roughly. Twelve knights guard the hawk (cf. a) and one hundred and twenty girls sing songs around it. Nogant falls through cowardice, but Cardroians is worsted by Durmart, who gives the hawk to Fenise.]

e) *Bel-Inconnu Cycle*; consisting of the *Bel Inconnu*, ed. Hippeau, vss. 1483-1850; *Libeaus Desconnus*, ed. Kaluza, vss. 751-1056; *Wigalois*, ed. Pfeiffer, vss. 64, 5-87, 21. [BI version: BI, the damsel-messenger, Hélié, and her dwarf come to a magnificent castle, where the adventure takes place. On the way thither they meet a beautiful damsel, whose lover has been killed in the attempt to win the hawk. For her, BI subdues the false-claimant, Giflet, the son of Do, whose *amie* is called Rose Espanie and whose armor is adorned with red roses, and sends him to Arthur's court. LD. version: Same induction, but Elene (=Hélié) herself knows that the owner of the castle offers a *gerfalcon*, which will be given to whoever surpasses in beauty the owner's *amie*—if not, a combat will ensue. Since Griffoun, who bears *goules* on his shield, disputes Elene's beauty, LD. vanquishes him and sends the *hawk* to Arthur's court. Wigalois version: Wig., accompanied as above, encounters a damsel riding a horse with a blood-red mane. The false-claimant has dispossessed her of the prize and given it to his *amie*. Wig. becomes her champion, and sends Hojir, the false-claimant, whose pseudonym is the Red Knight, to Arthur's court. Here the prize is a wonderful horse and a parrot in a cage (cf. f).]

f) *The Chevalier du Papegau*, ed. Heuckenkamp, pp. 5 to 12. [Having liberated a fair one from an oppressor, Arthur is led by her to the plain of Causuel, where the annual



justifies Gauvain's remarks to Arthur that "la beauté se prouve et ne se constate pas," to invert the expression of Gaston Paris.<sup>1</sup>

Desliée et desafublee<sup>2</sup> [vs. 739],

Enide calls to mind the *fée* in Marie de France's *Lanval* (vs. 565); and, however distinct the two characters may be, this resemblance of Enide's to a *fée* would harmonize with Erec's submission to her in the end.

The *féé* is

vestue en itel guise  
de chainse blanc e de chemise,  
que tuit li costé li pareient,  
ki de dous parz lacé esteient.  
Le cors ot gent, basse la hanche,  
le col plus blanc que neif sur branche,  
les uiz ot vairs e blanc le vis,  
bele buche, nes bien asis,  
les surcilz bruns e bel le frunt  
e le chief cresp e alkes blunt;  
fils d'or ne gete tel lur  
cum si chevel cuntre le jur.  
Sis mantels fu de purple bis,  
les pans ot entour li mis,  
un espervier sur sūn poin tint.

prize is a parrot, brought by a dwarf. It had been successfully claimed during fifteen years by a knight called the Lion sans Mercy. Arthur braves various indignities in order finally to vanquish the latter and establish the supremacy of la Dame sans Orgueil over the latter's ugly *amie*. He himself keeps the prize and is known as the *Chevalier du Papegaulz* (cf. c).]

g) *Méragis de Portlesgues*, ed. Friedwagner, vss. 340 ff. [Lidoine, the beautiful, of (Es)cavalon, wins the Sparrow-hawk by universal approval (cf. LD.); whereupon Méragis and Gorvain Cadruz dispute as to whether her supremacy is based on merit or on physical charm.]

It is impossible to determine how these versions are related. But the mysterious setting of the tale, the casual induction, the messenger (and dwarf), the contest with a giant (red) knight, etc., which the versions (except *f* and *g*) have in common, predispose one to see in the adventure an obvious otherworld combat in favor of a *fée*. Certainly Baist's hypothesis (cf. Foerster, ed. *Charrete*, p. lxxii) that the *Erec* is based on the *lai* summarized by Andreas (*a*) does not seem convincing. The fact that the *pont evage* of the *Charrete* occurs there does not prove any connection. The other versions, *d* and *e*, are closer to Crestien's form of the adventure. But it would be just as hazardous to insist as Saran, Paul A. Braune's *Beiträge*, XXI, 351, and Heuckenkamp, p. xxxiii, do, that the *Erec* is the ultimate source of all except *a*. See Paris, *op. cit.*, 532. A detailed study of the episode would be of value.

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. litt.*, XXX, 148.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *Charrete*, vs. 2795:

Une pucele l'anbléure  
Venir sur une fauve mure,  
Desafublee e desliée;

also *ibid.*, vss. 4596 ff., the description of Guenievre herself. See also Crestien's "portrait" of Blanche fleur in the *Perceval (Conte del graal)*, Baist's text, vss. 1771 ff., and the parallel pointed out by Patterson, *MLN*, XXVI (1911), 73-74.

Compare the garb of Enide<sup>1</sup> (vs. 402),

vestue  
D'une chemise par panz lee,  
Deliëe, blanche et ridee.  
Un blanc chainse ot vestu dessus;  
N'avoit robe ne mains ne plus.  
Mes tant estoit li chainses viez  
Que as cotes estoit perciez.  
Povre estoit la robe defors,  
Mes dessoz estoit biaux li cors;

<sup>1</sup> The daughters of Adrastus in *Thèbes*, vss. 939 ff., are already described in a similar manner, though the specific details of *chainse*, *chemise*, and *mantel* are lacking:

Totes nuz piez, eschevelées  
En la chambre vindrent les fées,  
Car monstrier voleient lor cors  
As chevaliers qui sont de fors.

See, however, the portrait of Antigone, vss. 3807 ff.,

D'une porpre inde fu vestue  
Tot senglement a sa char nue:  
La blanche char desoz pareit.  
Li bliauz detrenchiez esteit  
Par menue detrencheüre  
Entrésqu'a val vers ceinture.

Sis manteaus fu, ço m'est vis, vairs,  
Et afubla s'en en travers:  
Les panz en ot bien entroverz  
Que li costez fu descovrez;

and *Enéas*, vss. 4009 ff., where similar terms are used of Camille:

Bien fu la dame estreit vestue  
De porpre neire a sa char nue

Ses mantels fu riches et chiërs  
Et fu faiz a eschaquiers

Elle en ot entroverz ies pans  
Que li parut li destre flans.

Cf. E. Langlois, *Bibl. de l'école des Chartes*, LXVI (1905), 107 ff. Here and elsewhere, the author of the *Enéas* is probably influenced by the *Thèbes*. That the *Erec* underwent the same influence is maintained by Wilmotte, "L'évolution du roman français aux environs de 1150" (*Bulletin de l'académie royale de Belgique*, 1903), p. 341, but with reference to another passage; namely, the description of Erec's cloak (vss. 6737 ff.) with which he compares *Thèbes*, vss. 4713 ff.

The general subject of portraiture in the romances, along classical lines, is brought forward by E. Faral in his "Ovide et quelques autres sources du Roman d'Enéas" in *Rom.*, LX (1911), 161-235. On this in turn see the supplementary studies of Ogle, *MLN*, XVII (1912), 239, and *Amer. Jour. Philology*, XXXIV (1913), 125 ff. While agreeing with Ogle that "it is folly to look for the origin of such a catalogue [of female charms] in any one poem or in any one type of poetry," I think it is equally true, as Faral states, that an author of a poem like *Thèbes* [or indeed *Crestien* or *Marie*] "aurait tiré parti, pour embellir sa matière d'une certaine poésie d'école." Although *Crestien* is indebted to classical tradition, the particular resemblance noted above, between the *Erec* and *Lanval*, suggests that Celtic sources may also have played a part, since *Crestien* leaned in that direction.

Compare, for example, the following from the *Imram Curaig Maelduin* (*Revue celtique*, IX [1888], 491): "Beautiful, verily, came she there. She wore a white mantle, with a circlet of gold round her hair. Two sandals of silver on her rosy feet. A brooch of silver with studs of gold in her mantle, and a filmy, silken *smock* next her white skin." Or the following from the *Kulhwch and Olwen* (Loth, I, 233): "Elle était vêtue d'une

and we observe that what in Marie is characteristic is explained by Crestien rationally as the result of poverty.

But Nature—and here we get a typical piece of portraiture—could not reproduce Enide's equal.<sup>1</sup> Her hair is more shining than that of Iseut *la blonde*, and her eyes glisten like stars, while one could mirror himself in her beauty.<sup>2</sup>

*chemise de soie rouge-flamme; elle avait autour du cou un collier d'or rouge, rehaussé de pierres précieuses et de rubis. Plus blonds étaient ses cheveux que la fleur du genêt; plus blanche sa peau que l'écume de la vague, plus éclatants ses mains et ses doigts que le rejeton du trèfle des eaux émergeant avec sa fleur trifoliée du milieu du petit bassin formé par une fontaine jaillissante. . . . Son sein était plus blanc que celui du cygne, ses joues plus rouges que la plus rouge des roses. On ne pouvait la voir sans être entièrement pénétré de son amour."*

My colleague, Professor T. P. Cross, on whose learning I have drawn considerably in this article, calls my attention to the description of Etáin in the *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* (*Revue celtique*, III, 356 ff.; XXII, 14 ff.; cf. also A. H. Leahy, *Heroic Romances of Ireland*, I, pp. 12 ff.): "Once upon a time he [Eochaid] came over the fair green of Bri-Leith, and he saw at the edge of a well a woman with a bright comb of silver adorned with gold, washing in a silver basin wherein were four golden birds and little, bright gems of purple carbuncle in the rims of the basin. A mantle she had, curly and purple, a beautiful cloak, and in the mantle silvery fringes arranged, and a brooch of fairest gold. A kirtle she wore, long-hooded, hard-smooth, of green silk, with red embroidery of gold. Marvelous clasps of gold and silver in the kirtle on her breasts and her shoulders and spaulds on every side. The sun kept shining upon her, so that the glistening of the gold against the sun from the green silk was manifest to men. On her head were two golden-yellow tresses, in each of which was a plait of four locks, with a head at the point of each lock. The hue of that hair seemed to them like the flower of iris in summer, or like red gold after the burnishing thereof.

"There she was, undoing her hair to wash it, with her arms out through the *sleeve holes* of her smock. White as the snow of one night were the two hands, soft and even and red as foxglove were the two clear-beautiful cheeks. Dark as the back of a stag-beetle the two eyebrows. Like a shower of pearls were the teeth in her head. Blue as a hyacinth were the eyes. Red as rowan-berries the lips. Very high, smooth, and soft-white the shoulders. Clear-white and lengthy the fingers. Long were the hands. White as the foam of a wave was the flank, slender, long, tender, smooth, soft as wool. Polished and warm, sleek and white [were] the two thighs. Round and small, hard and white, the two knees. Short and white and rule-straight the two shins. Justly straight, . . . beautiful the two heels. If a measure were put on the feet it would hardly have found them unequal, unless the flesh of the coverings should grow upon them. The bright radiance of the moon was in her noble face: the loftiness of pride in her smooth eyebrows: the light of wooing in each of her regal eyes. A dimple of delight in each of her cheeks, with an *amlud* [dappling?] in them [at one time] of calf's blood, and at another with the bright lustre of snow. Soft womanly dignity in her voice; a step steady and

<sup>1</sup> See *Thèbes*, vss. 955–85, 3976; *Floris et Phillis*, vs. 208; *Cligès*, vs. 2730; *Ivain*, vs. 1492, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Faral cites a passage, p. 183, from the *Ars versificatoria* of Mathieu de Vendôme. Cf. Ogle, *op. cit.*, who gives much additional material.

Ovid *Amores* iii. 3, says:

Candida candorem roseo suffuso rubore  
Ante fuit: niveo lucet in ore rubor;  
Pes erat exiguus: pedis est artissima forma;  
Longa decensque fuit: longa decensque manet;  
Argutos habuit, radiant ut sidus ocelli.

So, Petronius *Satiræ*, ch. 126, "oculi clariores stellis extra lunam fulgentibus." Cf. Schultz, *Höfische Leben*, I, 212.



Then follows the well-known<sup>1</sup> "conceit," which Marie phrases as:

Flur de lis e rose nüvele  
quant ele pert el tens d'esté  
trespassot ele de bealté [94];

and Crestien, in these words:

Plus ot que n'est flors de lis,  
Cler et blanc le front et le vis.  
Sor la blanchor plus grant merveille  
D'une color fresche et vermoille,  
Que Nature li ot donee,  
Estoit sa face anluminee [427].

Of course, Enide rides to court with the *esprevier* won by Erec for her (1442), and there receives from Guenievre the *bliant* and the *mantel*

De la vert porpre croisilliee [1591],

slow she had: a queenly gait was hers. Verily, of the world's women 'twas she was the dearest and loveliest and justest that the eyes of men had ever beheld. It seemed to them [the king and his companions] that she was from elfmound." For date, see Cross, *Revue celtique*, XXXI., 441, n. 1.

Also to the following from the *Eachtra Airt meic Cuind* (*Eriu*, III, 153): "Thus was the maiden [Bécuma]. She had a green cloak of one colour about her, with a fringe of red gold, and a red satin smock against her white skin, and sandals of findruine upon her, and soft, yellow hair, and a gray eye in her head, and lovely coloured teeth, and thin red lips, black eyebrows, arms straight and fair of hue, a snowy white body, small round knees, and form, and complexion, and accomplishments."

The supernatural woman who predicts the slaughter of the hosts of Connacht in the *Táin Bó Cuailgne* (trans. of Miss W. Faraday in *Grimm Library*, 1904, p. 2) "had yellow hair, and a cloak of many colours, and a golden pin in it; and a hooded tunic with red embroidery. Her face was narrow below and broad above. Very black were her two eyebrows; her black delicate eyelashes cast a shadow into the middle of her two cheeks. You think it was with *partaing* ("Parthian red" [?], Windisch, *Ir. Texte*, Extraband zur Serie I bis IV, 28, n. 3) her lips are adorned. You would think it was a shower of pearls that was in her mouth, that is her teeth. She had three tresses: two tresses round her head above, and a tress behind, so that it struck her two thighs behind her." Cf. Windisch, ed. and trans., *op. cit.*, 26 ff., and D'Arbois, *Revue celtique*, XXVIII (1907), 155. Professor Cross calls my attention further to the following: the *Bruiden Da Chocae* (*Revue celtique*, XXI, 395, n.), the *Aidead Muirchertaig maic Erca* (*Revue celtique*, XXIII, 397 ff.), the *Agallamh na Senórach* (*Silva Gadelica*, II, 203; *Ir. Texte*, III, 473), the *Tochmarc Beccola* (*Royal Irish Academy*, *Ir. MSS Series*, I, 1, 175) and the *Aislinge Oengusso* (*Revue celtique*, III, 347); and to the following parallels with the romances: *Tyolet*, vss. 696-98; *Dolopathos*, vss. 9236 ff.; *Guingamor*, vss. 430 ff.; *Bel Inconnu*, vss. 2482 ff.; *Désiré* (*Lais inédits*, etc., p. 16); *Conte del graal* (ed. Pot.), vss. 16987 ff., 24482 ff., 27399 ff.

On "yellow hair" among the ancient Celts, see D'Arbois de J., *La civilisation des Celtes*, pp. 370 ff., and Windisch, *op. cit.*, Einleitung, p. xvi: "Nach Poseidonios bei Diodor V, 28, 1, waren die Celten *ξανθοί*, blonde Leute. Dem entspricht, dass unter 21 Personen, bei denen in der *Táin* (*Bó Cuailgne*), Abschnitt XXV, die Haarfarbe angegeben ist, abgesehen von vier grauen Häuptern, 11 den verschiedenen Schattierungen des Blond (*buide*) bis zum Roth (*ruádderg*) angehören, und nur 6 dem braunen oder schwarzen Typus." Cf. R. Renier, *Il tipo estetico della donna nel medioevo*, Ancona, 1881.

<sup>1</sup> See Ogle, *AJP*, XXXIV, 146 ff.

which Erec later compels her to wear on their famous journey, and from Arthur the "kiss" giving her supremacy over all the beauties of the court.<sup>1</sup>

Here the first part ends (*li premerains vers*<sup>2</sup>); and there follows the reunion of the court for the wedding. This part again is quite in the manner of Wace,<sup>3</sup> vss. 10455-11050:

*Brut:*

Por ses richeces demustrer  
Et pur faire de lui parler,  
Prist conseil, si li fu loé  
Qu'a la pentecuste, en esté,  
Feïst sun barnage assembler.

. . . . .

Manda tuz ses baruns par ban.

*Erec:*

E par son reaume anvoia  
Toz les rois et les contes querre,  
Çaus qui de lui tenoient terre;  
Que nul tant hardi n'i eüst,  
Qu'a la pantecoste ne fust [1924].

The long list of knights (kings and counts) who grace the occasion thus has a parallel in Wace; a fact which Foerster overlooks when he says:<sup>4</sup> "dazu kommen die vielen offenbaren Nachahmungen der Volksepen, so die langen Listen, die sich blos im Erec (1691 fg., 1913 fg.) finden, und in keinem seiner Romane in irgendwie nennenswerten Umfang wiederkehren (ein einzigesmal Karrenr. 5810 fg. nicht im Perceval, dafür einigemal in den Fortsetzungen, etc.)."

The festivities over, Erec retires with his bride to his estates at Carnant—and languishes in love, the motif which Foerster has called "der Grundgedanken des Romans," and which we saw was the key to the main situation. Here again the *Brut* offers a precedent, for Cador warns Arthur's knights that

<sup>1</sup> Here and elsewhere, the *Erec* furnishes an excellent instance of elaboration. Cf. *Erec*, 1307, and *Thèbes*, 3857. See Faral, 185. In comparison the Welsh text is indeed simple. The description of Enid reads: "une pucelle portant une chemise et un manteau déjà vieux et commençant à s'user: jamais G. n'avait vu jeune fille plus pleine de perfections du côté du visage, de la forme et de la beauté."

<sup>2</sup> Literally the first "laisse" or "strophe." See Wace, *Rou*, I, 36: "mes pur l'œuvre espleitier les vers abrigerum" (which I interpret differently from Paris, *Rom.*, IX, 598); *Guillaume de Dole*, *passim*, and vs. 1332, "Qui chante cest vers de Gerbert" (as Professor Jenkins tells me, not *cez vers*, as in the MS), where *vers* means a *laisse* of the *Girbert de Metz*. What Foerster, *Erec*<sup>2</sup>, p. 196, means by "'Hauptteil eines Abenteuerromans' ist sonst nicht belegt" I do not know. Can *Erec*, vss. 1-1843, be called a *Hauptteil*?

<sup>3</sup> Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> *Erec*<sup>2</sup>, p. ix.

"Oisdive met hum en perece,  
 Oisdive amenuise proëce;<sup>1</sup>  
 Oisdive esmuet les lecheries,  
 Les jureces et drueries.  
 Par lunc repos, et par oisdive  
 Est juvente trop ententive  
 As gas, as deduis, et as tables  
 Et as autres gius deportables;  
 Par lunc sejour et par repos  
 Pueent Bretun perdre lur los" [vss. 11021 ff.].

This danger Gauvain, however, does not fear:<sup>2</sup>

"Par neient estes en esfrei:  
 Bone est la pais apres la guerre,  
 Plus riche et mielde en est la terre.  
 Mult sunt bones les gaberies,  
 Li deduit et les drueries:  
 Pur la noblece de s'amie  
 Fait juvenes hum chevalerie."

That is, at a point in the narrative corresponding to that at which Cadur points out the dangers of sloth, Erec falls a victim to them, but through "love," which Gauvain had praised as a spur to valor—and the bearing of Wace on our romance is again evident.

But the kinship with the *Brut* is not confined to the beginning of the *Erec*. The trials of the lovers once over, and a contrasting theme being supplied by the *Joie de la cour* episode,<sup>3</sup> Crestien returns to the Arthurian background to complete his work. Erec's father dies at Carnant in Wales;<sup>4</sup> whereupon his son sets forth from Tintagel in Cornwall for Nantes in Brittany, there to receive the crown from Arthur himself. Arthur says to him:

"La porteroiz real ansaingne,  
 Corone el chief et ceptre el poing;  
 Cest don et ceste enor vos doing" [6554].

At Nantes there are:

contes et dus et rois,  
 Normanz, Bretons, Escoz, Irois;  
 D'Angleterre et de Cornoaille

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cato I, 2:

Plus vigila semper: ne somno deditus esto  
 Nam diuturna quies vitilis alimenta ministrat.

<sup>2</sup> Here Wace elaborates Geoffrey, who has no mention of Gauvain at this point.

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion, see below, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> A Carnant . . . .  
 Ou li rois Lac iere a sejour.

According to Lot, *Rom.*, XXV (1896), 9, *Ros Carnant* which lay close to *Tintagel*.



I ot mout riche baronaille;  
 Que des Gales jusqu'an Anjo,  
 Ne el Mainne ne an Peito  
 N'ot chevalier de grant afeire  
 Ne jantil dame de bone eire,  
 Que les mellors et les plus jantes  
 Ne fussent a la cort a Nantes,  
 Si con li rois les ot mandez [vss. 6645 ff.].

Compare, *Brut*, 10008 ff.:

N'esteit pas tenuz pur curteis  
 Escosz, ne Bretuns, ne Franceis,  
 Normant, Angevin, ne Flamenc,  
 Ne Burguignun, ne Loherenc,  
 De qui que il tenist sun fiu,  
 Des occident dusqu'a Munt Giu,  
 Qui a la curt le rei n'alast.

Thus, there succeeds another long enumeration which brings the insular territory of Erec's early exploits into close relationship with Brittany, Poitou, and Anjou—a territory not only connected, as Lot has shown,<sup>1</sup> with the traditional Guerec or Erec, but of political interest also in Crestien's own day.<sup>2</sup>

Here, then, Erec is crowned, and an elaborate account of the festivities brings the poem to a close.

We see, therefore, that from wherever Crestien may have drawn his plot he presents it in a setting made familiar by Wace,<sup>3</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> *Rom.*, XXV (1896), 589. This Guerec, son of Alain Barbe-Torte, was Count of Nantes. "Il gouverna cette ville d'abord en compagnie de son frère Hoël, plus seul, après la mort de celui-ci, en 981. Lui-même mourut vers 990. Il fut non moins que son frère Hoël [cf. Wace] l'objet de récits légendaires."

<sup>2</sup> In 1156, i.e., before the writing of the *Erec*, Geoffrey, brother of Henry II, succeeds a Hoël de Bretagne, as count of Nantes. For details, see A. Richard, *Histoire des contes de Poitou*, II, 123.

<sup>3</sup> For the probable influence of the *Brut* on the *Erec* in matters of style, see F. M. Warren, *MP*, III (1906), 524 ff. Cadour's speech has an analogue in *Cligés*, vss. 154 ff.:

Maint haut home por lor peresce  
 Perdent grant los, que il porroient  
 Avoir, se par le monde erroient.  
 Ne s'acordent bien ansamble  
 Repos et los, si con moi samble;  
 Car de rien nule ne s'alose  
 Riches hon qui toz jorz repose.

And Gauvain's in *Ivain*, vss. 2487 ff.:

Honiz soit de sainte Marie,  
 Qui por anprier se marie!  
 Amander doit de bele dame,  
 Qui l'a a amie ou a fame,  
 Si n'est puis droiz, que ele l'aint,  
 Que ses los et ses pris remaint,

although here Crestien is repeating the problem of the earlier romance,

elaborates an idea—the hero's sloth—which Wace adduced as one of the dangers of that setting. At the same time, Crestien tells the history of a character not even mentioned in the *Brut*, and works out a theme in detail which Wace does not develop beyond an incidental reference.

## III

In considering now the central motif of the story (what Foerster calls the *Verliegen*<sup>1</sup>) we naturally turn to the *conte d'avanture* men-

<sup>1</sup> Aeneas, is, of course, the classical example of the love-sick hero; see especially *Aeneid* iv and Faral, *op. cit.*, 180 ff. *Erec*, vss. 5339 ff., 5891 ff., shows Crestien's knowledge of the story, in part doubtless on the basis of the *Enéas*; cf. A. Dressler, *Der Einfluss des alt-franz. Enéas-Romans auf die altf. Litteratur*, Bonn-Leipzig, 1907, reviewed in *Rom.*, XXXVI (1907), 458-61.

But *Erec*, vss. 4939 ff.:

Mout est tost alec novele;  
Que riens nule n'est si isnele,

suggests *Aeneid* iv. 174:

Fama, malum qua non aliud velocius ullum,  
rather than *Enéas*, vss. 1539 ff.:

La fame vait par la contree,  
que Eneas l'a vergondee.  
Fame est molt merveilleuse chose,  
el ne fine ne ne repose;

or *Thèbes*, vss. 1101 ff.:

La fame en va par les contrées  
Que les puceles sont données;

or *Troie*, vss. 4773 ff.:

Renomée, que tost s'espant,  
Ne se tarja ne tant ne quant;

or *Brut*, vss. 4663 ff.:

Renomée qui partut vole  
E qui de poi fait grant parole,

[this form also in *Troie*, vs. 27409]; though no argument can be based on so commonplace a trait, cf. Warren, *MLN*, XXIII (1908), 71, and *Rou*, vs. 4945, *Charrete*, vs. 4446, etc.

Further, *Enéas*, vss. 1449 ff., brings into relation *amors* and *repose*:

Car amors est molt plus grîes chose,  
Quant en sejoirne et repose,  
Et ki s'en vult bien delivrer,  
Il ne deit mie reposer;  
Se l'en s'en vult bien esloignier,  
Altre entente li a mestier,  
Car quant il entent altre part,  
Se li sovient d'amor plus tart;

a passage in which Faral sees the influence of Ovid *Remedia amoris*, 136 ff.

But the Dido-situation is *not* that of the *Erec*, and there is nothing in Crestien's poem to remind one *directly* of the passage in the *Remedia*, except the general association of love and inactivity, since Ovid's idea is that repose engenders love (the reverse of the *Erec*), the cure of which thus is activity:

Da vacuae menti, quo teneatur, opus.

Tennyson's verse: "Molten down in mere uxoriousness" (ed. Macmillan II, 87), as applied to Geraint, is a direct Virgilian reminiscence, not a part of the original story. Thus it will be found that the classical traits in the *Erec* are all superficial; that is, added by way of amplification, and in no way a part of the original setting.

The extent to which Crestien could adapt a tale to the Virgilian setting, in accord-

tioned by Crestien as his source. What type of story did this represent? And what specific elements of the *Erec* did it contain? The answer to these questions is, I believe, to be found in a consideration of the *Joie de la cour* episode.<sup>1</sup>

It was Roques<sup>2</sup> who first pointed out that this episode, long considered an *hors d'œuvre inutile*, is in reality a counterpart to Erec's quarrel with Enide. He says: "Il ne me semble pas que l'on ait toujours assez exactement marqué l'opposition, cependant bien indiqué par Chrétien, entre la sage Enide et sa romanesque cousine."

But aside from this question of the two heroines, it is necessary to note the following:

1. Mabonagrain's *amie* like Enide is from Lalut.<sup>3</sup>

ance with his *san[s]* or learning, is best observed in the *Ivain*. Compare *Aeneid* iv. 569:

Heia age, rumpe moras. Varium et mutabile semper  
Femina, etc.

with *Ivain*, vss. 1436 ff.:

Que fame a plus de mil corages.  
Celui corage qu'ele a ore  
Espoir changera ele encore—  
Ainz le changera sanz "espoir,"

and Faral, *op. cit.*, 180, note, on the theme, "alors à la mode," of the inconstancy of women.

Compare also the following: (1) *Aen.* iv. 35: "Esto: aegram nulli quondam flexere mariti," etc., *Enéas*, vss. 1327 ff., and *Ivain*, vss. 1598 ff., 1666 ff. (cf. Wilmotte, *Bulletin*, 366); (2) *Enéas*, vss. 1600 ff., and *Ivain*, vss. 2165 ff. (cf. Faral, *op. cit.*, 186; *Kritischer Jahresb. rom. Philologie*, VIII, 2, p. 313); (3) *Aen.* iv. 260: "Aenean fundantem arces ac tecta novantem," etc., *Enéas*, vs. 1605, and *Ivain*, vs. 2484. From these passages it will be seen that superficially considered Esclados has an analogue in Sichaeus, Lunete in Anna, Laudine in Dido, Gauvain (who rouses Ivain) in Mercury (who rouses Aeneas).

Nor should we forget the parallel between Laudine and Jocasta of the *Thèbes*; cf. van Hamel, *Rom. Forschungen*, XXXIII (1907), 911 ff.; Voretzsch, *Einführung in das Studium der altfranzösischen Literatur*, 1913, p. 321; A. Hilka, *Die direkte Rede als stilistisches Kunstmittel in den Romanen des K. v. T.*, 128, note 1, and recently Zenker, *ZfS*, XLI (1913), 3-4, p. 147, who ventures to suggest as a possibility "dass nicht der Thebenroman den *Ivain* sondern umgekehrt eine ältere Fassung des letzteren jenen beeinflusst hat!" [?].

The entire question, moreover, of remarriage should be viewed in the light of the contemporary practice; cf. Luchaire, *Société française au temps de Ph. Auguste*, 1909; and A. Richard, *Histoire des contes de Poitou*, 1903, II, 108, on the remarriage of *Aliénor* of Poitou. See Zenker, *loc. cit.*

<sup>1</sup> *Erec*, vss. 5367-6510. In vs. 5445 the episode is called an *aventure*. But see vs. 1483. In vs. 5737 the poet says:

Que del vergier ne vos retraire  
Lonc l'estoire chose verale.

<sup>2</sup> In a review (*Rom.*, XXXIX [1910], 380) of Mme Lot's (Mlle Borodine) interesting dissertation, *La femme et l'amour au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après les poèmes de C.d.T.*, 1909.

<sup>3</sup> I have previously (*MP*, VII [1909], 154) indicated that there may be some connection between this place and Landuc, from which Laudine hails.



2. As the result of a *don*<sup>1</sup> made her in his youth, she holds him:

"a lone sejour;  
Ne cuidoit pas que a nul jor  
Deüst an cest vergier antrer  
Vassaus qui me poïst outrer.  
Por ce me cuida a delivre  
Toz les jorz que j' eüsse a vivre,  
Avuec li tenir an prison" [vss. 6091 ff.].

3. We must reverse Foerster's statement:<sup>2</sup> "das bekannte Märchenmotiv von der Befreiung einer Jungfrau aus der Gefangenschaft eines Riesen," since Mabonagrain and not his *amie* is the real captive.

4. Erec's victory sets Mabonagrain free; it restores his sovereignty, which he had sacrificed to his *amie*. In other words, the value of the episode consists in the contrast it affords to Erec's own experience: Mabonagrain, unable to triumph alone over his imperious lady, does so with Erec's assistance.

So much for the *courtois* aspect of the episode, in the explanation of which I differ from Roques only in emphasizing, as it appears Crestien intends us to do, the rôles of Erec and Mabonagrain as well as those of Enide and her nameless cousin. As for the episode proper, its "otherworld" character was first recognized by Philipot<sup>3</sup> in 1896. He says: "À l'égard du sujet d'*Erec*, Chrétien de T. a procédé comme il procédera plus tard pour le sujet d'*Yvain*. Dans les deux cas, un thème légendaire, féerique, évolue sous sa main vers le conte sentimental . . . ." And after outlining the theme of the *Ivain* he goes on to state Crestien's method in the *Erec*. The framework of the romance, he thinks, was the *conte d'aventure*, to which, however, was added "après coup . . . un conte de caractère tout différent, rappelant de très près le type représenté par la *Griselidis* de Boccace." This latter he leaves aside for future discussion, confining his attention to the former—"le cadre" as he says—"dont 'la Joie de la cour' est une survivance importante."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the *geis* in Irish stories. The matter is treated in Gertrude Schoepperle's *Tristan and Isolt*, Frankfurt a.M. and London, 1913; see *index rerum*.

<sup>2</sup> *Erec*<sup>2</sup>, xxlii. The more primitive version is that in which the "lady" is dominant.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. his study in *Rom.*, XXV (1896), 258 ff.

It would be superfluous to retrace here the steps whereby Philipot identifies this episode with the familiar "fairy-mistress" situation. Brown<sup>1</sup> has since, independently of Philipot, gone over the ground in connection especially with the *Ivain*. More recently still Ehrismann<sup>2</sup> has brought out the important parallel, which neither Brown nor Philipot mentions, between the love-sickness of Cuchulinn and the uxoriousness of Erec.

But it is essential to add that of the three traits common to the *Erec-Ivain* and the Celtic otherworld stories—namely, the journey to the otherworld, the combat in behalf of the *fée*, and the sloth of the hero—the first and the third are best exemplified in the Irish *Imrama*, in which both Philipot and Kölbing<sup>3</sup> found specific traits of Crestien's two romances.

The oldest *Imram* is that of Bran.<sup>4</sup> Meyer says<sup>5</sup> it "was written in the seventh century," though the extant MSS are derived from a tenth-century copy.

The story begins with (a) the lulling to sleep of the hero by the fairy-mistress (cf. *Serglige*), who then describes her abode. It is *Emain*, a distant isle (p. 4), having a delightful plain on which games are held; feet of white bronze under it through beautiful ages (p. 6); an ancient tree is there with blossoms, on which birds call to the hours; joy is known, unknown is wailing or treachery, without

<sup>1</sup> [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 1903.

<sup>2</sup> Paul A. Braune's *Beiträge*, XXX (1905), 39; cf. Windisch, *Irische Texte*, I, 216, 13; Thurneysen, *Sagen aus dem alten Irland*, 92:

Steh auf vom Schlaf, du Ulterheld,  
Erwach gesund und froh;

A. H. Leahy, *Heroic Romances of Ireland*, 1906, I, 68:

Stand up, O thou hero of Ulster!  
Wake from sleep! rise up, joyful and sound!

To this should be added: Ailill's love-sickness for Etáin in the *Tochmarc Etdéine* (text in Windisch, *op. cit.*, I, 121 ff.; transl. in Thurneysen, *op. cit.*, Leahy, I, 11 ff.; see *Revue celtique*, III, 343 ff., and *Zeits. f. celt. Phil.*, V, 522). Etáin sings:

Young man, of the strong step and splendid,  
What hath bound thee? what ill dost thou bear?

Finally, compare the *Aislinge Oengusso* (Vision of Oengus), *Revue celtique*, III, 347. The sloth which overcomes the hero in the otherworld is often connected with the supernatural passage of time; see *Revue celt.*, X, 212 ff.; *Voyage of Bran* (*Grimm Library*, IV), p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> *Zeits. f. vergleich. Literaturgesch.*, XI, 442-48; cf. Brown, *Iwain*, p. 86. For the *Imram Snedgusa* and the *Navigatio S. Brandani*, see Zimmer, *Haupt's Zeitsch.*, XXXIII, 218, 298. See the discussion in Brown, *op. cit.*, 85 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Text ed. by Kuno Meyer, *Grimm Library*, IV. Cf. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, 261; Strachan, *Philol. Soc. Trans.*, 1899-1901, p. 55, note.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. xvi.

grief, without sorrow, without death, without any sickness, without debility (p. 6); a variegated land, splendour on a diadem of beauty, whence the white cloud glistens (p. 12).

b) She tells Bran:

"Do not fall on a bed of sloth,  
Let not thy intoxication overcome thee,  
Begin a voyage across the clear sea,  
If perchance thou mayst reach the land of women."

c) So Bran and his companions set forth; when they have been at sea two days and two nights, Manannan, son of Ler, utters prophecies to Bran. Among other things he says:

"Along the top of a wood has swum  
Thy coracle across ridges,  
There is a wood of beautiful fruit  
Under the prow of thy little skiff"<sup>1</sup> [p. 20].

d) Bran then comes to an island. He rows round about it, and a large host is gaping and laughing. They are all looking at Bran and his people, but will not stay to converse with them. Bran then sends one of his people on the island. He ranges himself with the others, and is gaping at them like the other men of the island. The name of the island is the *Island of Joy* (p. 28).

e) Not long afterward they reach the Land of Women. Says the chief of the women: "Come hither on land, O Bran, son of Febal! Welcome is thy advent!" Bran does not venture to go on shore. The woman throws a ball of thread to Bran straight over his face. Bran puts his hand on the ball, which cleaves to his palm. The thread of the ball is in the woman's hand, and she pulls the coracle toward the port. Thereupon they go into a large house, in which is a bed for every couple, even thrice nine beds. The food that is put on every dish vanishes not from them. It seems a year to them that they are there—it chances to be many years. No savour is wanting to them (p. 30).

f) Home-sickness seizes one of them, even Nechtan the son of Collbran. His kindred keep praying Bran that he shall go to Ireland with him. The woman says to them their going will make

<sup>1</sup> A wood with blossom and fruit,  
On which is the vine's veritable fragrance,  
A wood without decay, without defect,  
On which are leaves of golden hue.



them rue. However, they go, and the woman says that none of them shall touch the land (p. 32). Nechtan disobeys this advice and is turned to ashes. Bran, having told his adventures, apparently continues to wander.

A similar tale, though much expanded and presumably of later date,<sup>1</sup> is the *Imram Curaig Maelduin*<sup>2</sup> or the Voyage of Maelduin. But the framework of this tale is so elastic that just as in the later Arthurian stories the same episode is often repeated in a variant form.<sup>3</sup>

In incident 22, Maelduin and seventeen companions reach a sea resembling green glass. Such is its purity that the gravel and the sand of the sea are clearly visible through it. (a) Soon afterward they put forth into another sea like a cloud, and it appeared to them that it would not support them or the boat. Below them they then beheld roofed strongholds and a beautiful country. Here there was a monstrous beast in a tree, and about it a drove of herds and flocks, and an armed herdsman.

Then an island came into view (d), and up around it rose the sea, making vast cliffs (of water). From the island people shouted at them derisively, and a woman pelted them from below with large nuts which remained (floating) on the waves above by them. Then they saw an island above which was an arch of water like a rainbow; and a great column of silver, and not a single sod of earth was about it, but (only) the boundless ocean; and also an island on a single pedestal, to wit, one foot supporting it. And they rowed round it to seek a way into it, and they found no way thereinto. But they saw down in the base of the pedestal a closed door under lock. They understood that *that* was the way by which the island was entered. (e) Finally, they reached a large island, and there was a great plain therein, and on this a great table-land, heatherless, but grassy and smooth. They saw in that island near the sea a fortress, large, high, and strong, and a great house therein adorned and with good couches.<sup>4</sup> Seventeen grown-up girls were

<sup>1</sup> Zimmer dates it in the eighth or ninth century; cf. César Boser, *Rom.*, XXII (1893), 583.

<sup>2</sup> For translation see Stokes, *Revue celtique*, IX, 447-95; X, 50-95.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, I, 166 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. my "Castle of the Grail," *Elliott-Studies*, p. 47.

there, preparing a bath. And Maelduin and his men landed on that island and sate on a hillock before the fort. Maelduin said this: "We are sure that yonder bath is getting ready for us." Now at the hour of none they beheld a rider on a horse of victory (coming) to the fortress. A good, adorned horsecloth under her seat: she wore a hood, blue and . . . she wore a bordered, purple mantle. Gloves with gold embroidery on her hands; and on her feet adorned sandals. As she alighted, a girl of the girls at once took the horse. Then she entered the fortress and went into the bath. Then they saw it was a woman that had alighted from the horse, and not long afterward came a girl of the girls unto them. "Welcome is your arrival!" said she. "Come into the fort, the queen invites you." So they entered the fort and they all bathed. The queen sat on one side of the house, and her seventeen girls about her. Maelduin sat on the other side, overagainst the queen, with his seventeen men around him. After dinner—which was plentiful—the seventeen men and the seventeen grown-up girls slept together, and Maelduin slept with the queen. Then after morning they arose (to depart). "Stay here," saith the queen, "and age will not fall on you, but the age that ye have attained, and lasting life ye shall have always; and what came to you last night shall come to you every night without any labour. And be no longer awandering from island to island on the ocean!"

"Tell us," saith Maelduin, "how thou art here."

"Not hard (to say) indeed," she saith. "There dwelt a good man in this island, the king of the island. To him I bore yon seventeen girls, and I was their mother. Then their father died, and left no heir. So I took the kingship of this island after him. Every day," she saith, "I go into the great plain there is in the island, to judge the folk and to decide (their disputes)."

"But why dost thou leave us today?" saith Maelduin. "Unless I go," she saith, "what happened to us last night will not come to us (again). Only stay," she saith, "in your house, and ye need not labour. I will go to judge the folk for sake of you."

(f) So they abode in that island for the three months of winter; and it seemed to them that (those months) were three years.

"It is long we are here," saith one of his people to Maelduin. "Why do we not fare to our country?" saith he.

"What you say is not good," saith Maelduin, "for we shall not find in our country aught better than that which we find here."

(But) his people began to murmur greatly against Maelduin, and they said this: "Great is the love which Maelduin hath for his woman. Let him, then, stay with her if he so desires," saith the people. "We will go to our country."

"I will not stay after you," saith Maelduin.

One day, then, the queen went to the judging whereunto she used to go every day. When she had gone they went on board their boat. Then she came on her horse and flung a clew after them, and Maelduin caught it, and it clung to his hand. A thread of the clew was in her hand, and she drew the boat unto her, by means of the thread, back to the harbour.

. . . Then they came to (this) counsel. "Of this we are sure, now," saith his people, "that great is Maelduin's love for his woman. Therefore he attends the clew that it may cleave to his hand and that we may be brought back to the fortress." "Let someone else attend the clew," saith Maelduin, "and if it clings to his hand, let his hand be cut off." This happened. . . . But when she saw that, she at once began to wail and shriek, so that all the land was one cry, wail, and shrieking. In that wise they escaped from her out of the island.<sup>1</sup>

In the above, we have not only a clear expression of the central theme of our romance (the *Verliegen*) but, linked with it, an other-world visit analogous in many details to the *Joie de la cour* in

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that Zimmer, *op. cit.*, 328, would explain the episode of the "amorous queen" as influenced in part by Virgil. The writer knew the *Aeneid* and shaped his version to agree with it. The argument in no way affects the validity of our hypothesis: an otherworld tale colored by classical influence would appeal the more strongly to a Frenchman's taste. But we are not arguing that Crestien borrowed directly from the *Imrama*.

Another tale of interest here, though of a late date, is the Adventures of Teigue, son of Cian; cf. *Silva Gadelica*, II, 385-40; the text is in I, 343-59. See Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, I, 205, and Brown, *Iwain*, 74, note. Here the hero finds on a hill: "a white-bodied lady," "the fairest of the world's women," and on a second hill "a queen of gracious form draped in a vesture of golden fabric." He meets, too, with Connla, son of Conn of the Hundred Battles, who "held in his hand a fragrant apple having the color of gold; a third part of it he would eat and still, for all he consumed, never a whit would it be diminished. This fruit it was that supported the pair of them (Connla and his maiden), and when once they had partaken of it neither age nor dimness could affect them." See also *Eachtra Airt meic Cuind* (*Eriu*, III, 150 ff.).



*Erec*. Thus (cf. *a* and *e*), in *Bran*, *Maelduin*, *Erec*,<sup>1</sup> the place of amorous delight is a plain on an island, difficult of access. In *Bran* it is a variegated land, "splendour on diadem of beauty whence the *white cloud* glistens." In *Maelduin* the sea itself is "like a cloud," and does not seem able to support the travelers; about one island the sea makes "vast cliffs of water." Compare *Erec*, vs. 5739:

El vergier n'avoit anviron  
Mur ne paliz se de l'er non;  
Mes de l'er ert de totes parz  
Par nigromance clos li jarz;<sup>2</sup>

and the *clos de nuage* in the *Geraint*. In *Maelduin* the voyagers see "near the sea, a fortress, large, high, and strong," in front of which the hero seats himself.<sup>3</sup> So in *Erec*, vs. 5370, Brandigan is described as follows:

Et viennent devant les bretesches  
D'un chastel fort et riche et bel,  
Clos tot antor de mur novel;  
.....  
Li rois Evrains le fist fermer,  
Qui l'a tenu an quiteé  
Trestoz les jors de son aé,  
Et tandra trestote sa vie;  
Mes fermer ne le fist il mie  
Por ce qu'il dotast nules janz;  
Mes li chastiaus an est plus janz.<sup>4</sup>

Here the visitors are hospitably received; nothing is lacking to satisfy their physical needs.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vs. 5397: "L'isle, ou li chastiaus est assis."

<sup>2</sup> The words *Cae Nywl* in the *Geraint* = "enclosure of mist" (see *Red Book*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 809; also *White Book*, ed. Evans). Compare further the "druidical mist" in the *Fled Bricrend*, ed. Henderson (cited by Brown, *Iwain, a Study*, 53, note) and the note of Brown, *PMLA*, XX (1905), 677, note 8.

<sup>3</sup> The omission of the combat pertains to the nature of the *Imrama*; see Brown, *op. cit.*, 57.

<sup>4</sup> See *Iwain*, 191:

Antraï et vi une bretesche  
A demie liue galesche  
Et sor le pont an piez estoit  
Cil cui la forteresce estoit.

<sup>5</sup> Crestien says, vss. 5584 ff.:

Quunque cuers desirre et covoitte,  
Orent plenerement la nuit,  
Oisiaus et veneison et fruit  
Et vin de diverse meniere;  
Mes tot passe la bele chiere!

As for the *vergier* in which the combat occurs, its otherworld traits are quite clear:

Et tot esté et tot iver  
I avoit flors et fruit meür;  
Et li fruiz<sup>1</sup> avoit tel eür,  
Que leanz se leissoit mangier:  
Au porter fors feisoit dangier;  
Car qui point porter an vossist,  
Ja mes a l'uis ne revenist,  
Ne ja mes del vergier n'issist  
Tant qu'an son leu le fruit meist [vss. 5746 ff.].

And further, 5755:

Ne soz ciel n'a oisel volant,<sup>2</sup>  
Qui pleise a hom, qui n'i chant  
Por lui deduire et resjoir,  
Que l'an n'an i poist oïr  
Plusors de chascune nature;  
. . . . .  
Erec aloit lance sor fautre  
Parmi le vergier chevauchant,  
Qui mout se delitoit el chant  
Des oisiaus qui leanz chantoient,

(b) and (f). The *Verliegen*, expressed twice in our poem, once in the complaint over Erec,<sup>3</sup> and again by the *don* of which Mabona-grain is the victim, is rendered in the *Imrama* by the murmur of the hero's companions and, symbolically, by the clew or ball of thread whereby the hero is drawn (back<sup>4</sup>) to the *fée's* land.

But the same idea appears also in the advice given by the *fée* before Bran's visit to her land:<sup>5</sup>

"Do not fall on a bed of sloth,  
Let not thy intoxication overcome thee."

<sup>1</sup> On this see above note, the fruit in the Adventures of Teigue, and in the *Echtra Condla Chaim* (Zimmer, *op. cit.*, 262 ff.), and many other passages, especially those in the *Eachtra Airt meic Cuind* (*Eriu*, III, 150 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> The parallel here, however, is rather between *Ivain*, vss. 460 ff., and the *Imrama*; see Brown, *loc. cit.*, for the most recent discussion. While the *Erec* contains no reference to the "hours" which the birds call (*Ivain*, vs. 471) nor to the fact that they settle densely on the otherworld tree, yet the mention of them at this point is significant.

<sup>3</sup> See vss. 2443 ff., vss. 2463 ff.

<sup>4</sup> In the *Maelduin*.

<sup>5</sup> In this way the "*fée's* injunction" and the "ball of thread" differ in their results but agree in the essential fact that in each instance the *love for the fée* threatens the hero with inactivity. In the first case she fears his inactivity will come too soon, before he is in her power; in the second she wishes him to be inactive for her own sake.

This imperious quality of the *fée* is characteristic; see Brown, *loc. cit.*, and Miss Paton, *Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance* (Radcliffe College Monographs, XIII), *passim*. In *Ivain*, Laudine retains this trait; *Ivain's* activity she would center on the defense of the fountain, but he is none the less to be in her control; cf. *MP*, VII, 163.

(d) The visit to the *fée's* land is preceded in both Irish tales by the sight of an island whose inhabitants mock the travelers. In *Bran* it is called the Island of Joy (*Inis Subai*).<sup>1</sup>

The inhabitants of Brandigan give Erec a similar reception as he fares forth.<sup>2</sup>

Disoient tuit: "Haï! haï!  
Chevaliers! Joie t' a traï,  
Cele que tu cuides conquerre,  
Mes ton duel et ta mort vas querre" [vss. 5705 ff.].

Other details could be added. For instance, Mabonagrain<sup>3</sup> is an obvious denizen of the otherworld, paralleling the Ider of the first part of the romance; Guivret is himself a dwarf-king, an inhabitant of an

haute tor,  
Qui close estoit de mur antor,  
Et de fossé le et parfont [3673];

it is he who directs Erec to Brandigan, etc. But enough has been said to show the nature of Crestien's *conte d'avanture*.

On the whole, we may picture it to ourselves as follows:

A. The familiar situation of the otherworld journey.

Here a mortal hero of renown visits the otherworld (in *Erec* = Lalut, in *Ivain* = Landuc), in behalf of a *fée* whose champion (or, later, enemy) he vanquishes. The latter, when not the *fée's* lover, is a relative. Thus Ider the son of Nu (Irish *Nuatha*, Welsh *Nudd*) is Enide's uncle, but Mabonagrain is the lover of the heroine of the

<sup>1</sup> Philipot, *op. cit.*, 290; the same term occurs in *Concla*, § 6, Windisch, *Kurzgefasste Irische Grammatik*, 118-20. Crestien's *courtois* expression *Joie de la cort* (vs. 5465) receives confirmation from the passage in the *Ereutavit*, ed. Jenkins, vss. 33-34:

Que droiz est que chascuns s'atort  
Contre la jole de la cort.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Ivain*, vs. 5115:

Mal veigniez, sire, mal veigniez!  
Cist osteus vos fu anseigniez  
Por mal et por honte andurer;

*Charrete*, vs. 1678:

Veez le chevalier, veez,  
Qui fu menez sor la charrete!  
N'i et mes nul qui s'antremete  
De joer tant com il i iert.  
Dahez et, qui joer i quiert.

<sup>3</sup> See Philipot, *loc. cit.*, and W. J. Gruffydd, "Mabon ab Modron" in the *Revue celtique*, XXXIII (1912), 452 ff. Like Esclados in the *Ivain*, he is a "red" knight; cf. *Erec* (5899),

Armé d'unes armes vermoilles,  
Qui mout estoit granz a mervolles.

Cf. Brown, *PMLA*, XX (1905), 678, note.



episode (like Esclados in *Ivain*), and a nephew of Evrain.<sup>1</sup> Having won the *fée's* favor, the hero succumbs or is in danger of succumbing to her charms until roused by his companions. Then, he wanders distraught until restored to the good graces of his mistress, or as in the *Serglige*<sup>2</sup> until the spell whereby she holds him is broken.

B. The reduplication of this theme, either before Crestien or by him (cf. the *Pesme Avanture* in *Ivain*, vs. 5107), in such a way that it is related:

1. As an adventure of chivalry, pure and simple, in which the hero of the tale wins a name and a bride. Here the imperious *fée* is rationalized into a mortal *amie*, and the otherworld combat becomes a beauty-contest decided by combat and known as the Sparrow-hawk Adventure.<sup>3</sup>

The hero is now supreme in power except that "love" which conquers all also conquers him. In this regard, and in her general

<sup>1</sup> In the *Geraint*, Edern is the nephew of Ynywl, thus the cousin of Enid. See Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, II, 121. In Wolfram's *Parzival*, Ider [Ither] is Arthur's cousin, § 498, 13. For Ider as the lover of Guenievre herself, see H. Gelzer, *Einleitung zu einer kritischen Ausgabe des altfranzösischen Yderromans*, Strassburg-dissertation, 1908, p. 45. Gwynn, another son of Nudd, occurs in the *Kulhwch and Olwen*; see Loth, *op. cit.*, I, 252, where it is pointed out that Nuada = Nudd is a king of the Tuatha Dé Danaan; cf. further, Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, and my "Castle of the Grail," *Elliott-Studies*, 49 ff. The mythological basis of Crestien's account is thus evident.

Brown, *Iwain*, 49, says: "In the *Serglige*, the *Loegaire*, and their Welsh analogues, the notion of fighting is present, and the *fée*, except in the *Tale of Loegaire*, has a husband or a suitor like any mortal woman. From this the step to regarding her as more or less in the power of a warrior, who must be overthrown before she can be reached, is a natural one." Ider, like Mabonagrain, is a *red knight*; see Brown, *PMLA*, XX (1905), 678, notes 1 and 2, and my own note in *MP*, IX (1912), 294.

<sup>2</sup> The madness of Cuchulinn is paraphrased as follows by Thurneysen, *Sagen aus d. alten Irland*, 104: "Da that Culanns Hund drei Sprünge in die Höhe und drei Sprünge südwärts nach Luachtra [read Lúacra] und lebte lange Zeit ohne Trank u. Speise auf dem Gebirge, und jede Nacht pflegte er auf der Strasse von Mittel-Luachtra [read Lúacra] zu schlafen.

"Emer aber ging nach Emin zu Conchobar und berichtete ihm, wie es mit Culanns Hund stehe. Da sandte Conchobar die Fili und die Männer der Kunst und die Druiden von Ulster nach ihm aus, sie sollten ihn festnehmen und nach Emin bringen. Culanns Hund suchte zwar die Männer der Kunst zu töten; aber sie sangen ihm Zaubersprüche entgegen und hielten seine Hände u. Füße fest, bis ihm die Besinnung wiederzukehren begann. Da bat er sie um einen Trunk. Die Druiden gaben ihm ein Vergessenheits-trank; wie er den getrunken hatte, erinnerte er sich nicht mehr an Fann noch an alles, was er gethan hatte. Auch Emer gab man Vergessenheitsstränke; denn ihr Zustand war nicht besser. Und Manannan schüttelte den Mantel zwischen Culanns Hund und Fann, auf dass sie nie mehr zusammentreffen könnten." Text in Windisch, *Irische Texte*, I, 226, cf. 330; French paraphrase in D'Arbois and Dottin, *Épopée celtique en Irlande*, 174; for English see Leahy, *op. cit.*, I, 85.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 6.

characteristics, the *amie's* influence is still dominant. In other words, a romantic reworking of the situation in chivalric garb.

2. As a tale of "magic" or enchantment, which it is the function of the hero to destroy in order to liberate the knight enthralled by the *fée*. In this portion the otherworld traits are well preserved, as our discussion has shown.

As a result of this reduplication, the hero's madness or *desmesure*, when threatened with the displeasure of his *amie*, is given exceptional importance. As we saw above, Crestien lays great emphasis on this fact since it is the fury (or *desmesure*) of Erec<sup>1</sup> which constitutes the dramatic element of the plot.

But it will be said, in what form did the tale reach Crestien? To this question it seems no satisfactory answer can be given. In all probability, Crestien's source was oral,<sup>2</sup> and nobody can say what form such an oral source would have. The poet, to be sure, testifies that the plot was concerned with Erec, who is known from other sources as a legendary hero,<sup>3</sup> so that a certain rationalization would already be characteristic of the source, but the extent to which this is true is likewise obscure.

Now, it is at this juncture that many scholars adduce the evidence of the Welsh *Geraint*. For if, as Zenker and Edens

<sup>1</sup> I am anticipated by Smirnov, *Revue celtique*, XXXIII (1912), 132 ff., in the use of the word *desmesure*. But Smirnov makes no attempt to explain the origin of this motif. He is, however, quite right in saying: "c'est la 'desmesure' d'Erec qui le pousse à refuser tout secours et à vouloir poursuivre son expédition à lui seul." That explains Kei's burlesque attempt to bring Erec back to Arthur—an attempt which yields only to Gauvain's superior intelligence or *san* (4112).

The situation is repeated in *Ivain* (2255), and again in *Perceval* (4155, Baist's text). In fact both of these romances repeat the motif of madness due to a reproach from the otherworld inhabitant. Cf. *Ivain*, vs. 2774:

Yvains respondre ne li puet,  
Que sans et parole li faut;  
Lors li monta uns torbeillons  
El chief si granz que il forsane,  
Lors se descire et se depane  
Et fuit par chans et par arees  
Et leisse ses janz esgarees,  
Qui se mervoillent, ou puet estre;

vs. 2804:

and *Perceval* (Baist), vs. 6179:

Percevaus, ce conte l'estoire,  
A si perdue la memoire  
Que deu ne li sovient mais.

Also *Charrete*, vss. 4352 ff., when Lancelot is reproached by Guenievre.

I called attention to this similarity in the motivation of Crestien's Arthurian works (save *Cligés*) in *MP*, IX (1912), 294.

<sup>2</sup> "Die Erzählung eines wandernden Spielmanns," *Erec*<sup>2</sup>, XXII.

<sup>3</sup> Above, p. 13.

argue,<sup>1</sup> the *Geraint*, though based on a French original, represents a more primitive source than the *Erec*, it would of course be of value in settling Crestien's original. Without attempting here to determine so complex a problem as the relationship of the *Geraint* to the *Erec* we may at least draw attention to the following facts: (1) The *Erec* rather than the *Geraint* gives evidence of being primitive. (2) As we have indicated,<sup>2</sup> the prologue of the *Erec* repeats, in the main, the prologues of *Thèbes* and *Troie*. Knowing the type of "elaboration" in these works, we can assume that Crestien's method was at least similar. That is, he would tend to interpret in *courtois* terms the *donneés* of his original rather than to alter his original in any of its characteristic features.

In short, granting even that the *Geraint* were not derived from the *Erec*,<sup>3</sup> we need not assume on that account that the *Geraint* is closer to the common original than the *Erec*. On the contrary, the *Erec* can be explained independently of the Welsh work. Let us now consider these questions more closely.

#### IV

Arguing on the evidence of the *Joie de la cour* episode, Philipot concluded<sup>4</sup> that the *Geraint* (G) was virtually derived from a version of Crestien's work (E). G lacks the trait which gives the episode its name in E, and which, by comparison with the *Bran*, we saw is characteristic of the episode. Except for the *clos de nuage* (after which the G form is named), G also lacks the characteristic other-world landscape: there is no island fortress, no special land of plenty, no marvelous song-birds, no mocking inhabitants, etc. But above

<sup>1</sup> Edens, *op. cit.*; Zenker, *Zur Mabinogionfrage*, Halle, 1912. See also Foerster, *Litterarisches Zentralblatt*, August 26, 1911, pp. 1120-24; Edens, with reply of Foerster, *ibid.*, November 18, 1911, 1522-27; *ibid.*, December 2, 1911, 1590-91; Foerster, *ZfS*, XXXVIII (1911), 149-95; Zenker, *ibid.*, XL (1913), 186-212; Ph. A. Becker, *Litteraturblatt f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, 1913, col. 19-26; Zenker, *ZfS*, XLI (1913), 3, 131-65. I have tried as far as possible to maintain a neutral attitude in what seems to me an unfortunate controversy.

<sup>2</sup> For bibliography, see below, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> It nowhere claims to be.

<sup>4</sup> His words (*op. cit.*, 294) are: "Sans doute, pour l'épisode qui nous occupe, la comparaison de M. Othmer était incomplète et rapide, puisqu'elle ne tenait compte que de deux textes mis en présence. Mais on voit qu'une étude plus attentive et plus étendue de la *Joie de la cour* ne nous a pas conduit, pour cet épisode, à des conclusions différentes des siennes."



all, G omits the "emprisonment" motif which gives E its meaning and Crestien his contrasting theme. In G the episode is a footless addition to the rest of the story: to his other exploits Geraint now adds that of destroying enchantment, otherwise the episode has no meaning.

At this point in the narrative, then, G is certainly not primitive in the sense that it is not only farther removed than E from the well-known concept of the otherworld as a plain of delight from which the ordinary mortal cannot escape, but lacks the inherent interest present in E.<sup>1</sup>

It seems to me this priority of E extends also to the main issue of the story: the hero's attitude toward Enide (in G *Enid*). Edens and Zenker argue that since Erec, unlike Geraint, is *not* jealous of Enide, his reconciliation lacks reason. In Edens' own words: "*die ratio essendi, da nach Chr. überhaupt kein Verschulden oder vermeintliches Verschulden auf Seiten Enides vorliegt.*" Consequently, it is said, the original possessed the jealousy motif which Crestien suppressed for aesthetic reasons (*aus ästhetischen Rücksichten*).<sup>2</sup> And Zenker concludes with the remark that "Somit bietet das im Mab. vorhandene Eifersuchtsmotiv geradezu den Schlüssel zum Verständnis Geraints, bezw. Erecs Verhalten gegen Enide, es ist für die ganze Erzählung unentbehrlich, es muss also auch in Chrs. Quelle schon vorhanden gewesen sein."

Now we saw (1) that Erec's wrath is amply explained on the basis of sovereignty. Having eased his anger and realized that Enide can submit, he naturally and willingly forgives her reproach. But nothing in his behavior would indicate that he had been modeled on a character actuated by jealousy. We saw (2) that the starting-point of the entire situation is the fairy-mistress control—the oppressive nature of which is clearly stated in the *Joie de la cour* episode, where Mabonagrain is all that Erec would not be. This domination of the woman is characteristic of the Arthurian (Celtic) tales as a class. Compare, to mention only classical examples, Maelduin's

<sup>1</sup> By inherent interest is meant the "emprisonment" feature, not the contrast Crestien makes between this and Erec's condition.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Edens, *op. cit.*, 91 and 100; and Zenker, *Zur Mabinogionfrage*, 74: "er [Crestien] hat es aber getilgt, offenbar weil ihm 'bei dem rein idealen Licht, in dem er Erecs Verhältnis zu Enide schildert, ein solcher Verdacht Erecs unwürdig schien.'"

(or Bran's) attitude to the Queen, Diarmaid's to Grainne, Naisi's to Deirdre, Connla's to the fairy, Tristan's to Isolt,<sup>1</sup> Lancelot's to Guinevere, Merlin's to Vivienne, etc. In the Cuchulinn story, it is the passion of Emer which compels Fand to yield Cuchulinn. Miss Paton well expressed the general idea when she said:<sup>2</sup>

In the fairy mythology of romance the law is invariable that for the mortal who once has experienced the fairy control there is no true release, and that the fay is never to be thwarted in her plans to win the hero whose love she seeks. Hence, although she often appears in the pages of romance as a capricious mistress who with astonishing fertility of resource provides adventures for mortals, she really moves in accordance with a definite law of her nature, the law of absolute supremacy whenever she pleases to exercise her control, and this control is primarily effective for the welfare of the knight she loves.

Finally, (3) the Welsh text distinctly states: "une autre pensée le mit en émoi: c'est que ce n'était pas par sollicitude pour lui qu'elle avait ainsi parlé, mais par amour pour un autre qu'elle lui préférerait et parce qu'elle désirait se séparer de lui." This passage seems to me clear: Geraint's primary impulse is not jealousy; he becomes jealous as an afterthought. And why? Because, I believe, the text was written or composed by one who no longer felt the real motive of the story, and thus attempted to strengthen the situation by the addition of a fresh motive, the *ex post facto* of which is evident from the fact that Geraint, no more than Erec, acts like a jealous man.

It therefore follows that, whatever the actual relationship of G to E may be, Edens' chief argument for the traditional priority of G falls to the ground. Crestien's idea of *desmesure* is not only better literature, it is also, in the light of such evidence as we have, more primitive in character. To assume, however, as Edens and Zenker do, that Crestien suppressed the jealousy motif of his source is to assume that he unconsciously restored the story to an earlier plane; and this is hardly credible.

So much for the main problem as it appears to us in G; let us now consider certain specific details.

Edens argues again and again that whenever G is clearer and

<sup>1</sup> See now Miss Schoepperle, *op. cit.*, 395 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance* (Radcliffe Monographs, XIII), chap. i.

more logical than E, it is therefore more primitive. It is obvious, however, that a more logical version is not *ipso facto* a more primitive one. But however that may be, an examination of Crestien's obscurities will show that more often than not they are the result of his closer adherence to the traditional source. Most of these are enumerated by Edens (pp. 123 ff.). I shall follow his order.

1. How, he says, do the inhabitants of Brandigan know that Erec and not Guivret is the hero of the adventure?

Guivret is a dwarf (3870), *de cors petiz* (3679), his abode is a *tor* on a *tertre* or "hill"; and when Erec asks him about Brandigan, he says:

mout bien le sai,  
La vérité vos an dirai.

Obviously he is a stock-figure of the otherworld,<sup>1</sup> and would be known as such to its inhabitants. Hence it requires no perspicacity on their part to see that Erec and not he is the knight in search of adventure.

2. Why should the *clos de l'er* be said to be impenetrable if anyone can enter the *vergier* with ease?

Crestien says:

Leanz par une estroite antree  
Est la torbe des jans antree [vss. 5765 ff.].

So that although

de l'er est de totes parz  
Par nigromance clos li jarz  
Si que riens antrer n'i pooit,  
Se par dessore n'i voloit [vss. 5741 ff.],

there was also, as in most such accounts, a narrow gateway through which the company went. Cf. the revolving rampart of fire in the *Maelduin* (§ 32), through an entrance to which, when it came opposite to them, the travelers could see the land within; and in general, the motif of the Perilous Passage in the romances.<sup>2</sup> In the *Ivain*, vs. 907, we read:

Si avoit si estroite antree  
Que dui home ne dui cheval  
N'i poissent ansamble antrer.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Probably a kind of Hospitable Host.

<sup>2</sup> See Brown, *Ivain*, 75 ff.; my "Castle of the Grail," *Elliott-Studies*, 25, note; Miss Hibbard, *Romanic Review*, IV (1913), 167.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. same idea in *Charrete*, vss. 1516, 2179.



3. The expression *Joie de la cour* (*court*) is said not to fit the adventure.

But it corresponds admirably to the name and attributes found in the *Bran* type of story. See, for instance, Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, I, 149. It is the *Mag Mell*, the *Tir Tairngiri*, the *Inis Subai* of the Irish tales; cf. *Silva Gadelica*, II, 290: "Most beautiful of plains is the Plain of Two Mists"; for a better version, see *Zeits. celt. Phil.*, V, 532 ff. Crestien uses the motif again in his *Charrete*, vss. 1630-1840.

4. How can Mabonagrain's *amie* find comfort in the fact that Enide is her cousin?

The *amie*, who admits the clandestine nature of her love affair (6215), naturally fears she will lose her lover. The relationship of Erec through Enide destroys this fear since it is clear that Erec will make no claim to Mabonagrain's place; cf. in *Ivain* the manner in which Ivain replaces Esclados, and elsewhere. Further, Enide reveals to her cousin the realization of love in marriage. *Erec*, vss. 6294 ff.:

"Bele cosine! il m' esposa  
 Si que mes pere bien le sot  
 Et ma mere grant joie an ot.  
 . . . . .  
 Il m'aimme mout, et je lui plus;  
 Que l'amors ne puet estre graindre.  
 Onques ancor ne me soi faindre  
 De lui amer, ne je ne doi."

5. Why should Mabonagrain not only vanquish intruders but also behead them?

For the elaboration of this trait see *Charrete*, vss. 2640-2978, 7109. Decapitation is a common trait in such stories, especially on Celtic soil; cf. Child, *Ballads*, V, 482, Schofield, [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, IV, 175 ff. Brown, *Ivain*, 137, note, cites an example of "great antiquity" from the *Siaburcharpat Conculaind* in the *Lebor na h-Uidre*. Cf. Curtin, *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland*, 1906, p. 37. For examples in Old French, see *Perlesvaus*, ed. Potvin, *Mule sans frein*, *Livre d'Artus*, *Mériaduc*, *Ider*, *Prose Lancelot*, etc. See also Kittredge, "Disenchantment by Decapitation," *Jour. Amer. Folklore*, XVIII (1905), 1 ff.

## 6. What purpose has the horn in E?

Its present one certainly is to announce the *joie*:

Et lors comancera la Joie [6147].

Edens argues<sup>1</sup> that the use of the horn in G is "in Uebereinstimmung mit der Tradition dem Zauber ein Ende zu machen und nicht wie bei Chr, nur die Leute herbeizurufen." *Ergo*, G is more primitive than E.

One may question, however, whether either of these functions was the original one of the horn. A priori the horn appears rather as a means of challenge. Thus we find<sup>2</sup> the mortal challenging the otherworld foe by pouring water on a stone (*Ivain*), by breaking flowers in a garden (*Garel*, ed. Walz, vss. 3234 ff.), by blowing a horn hanging from a sycamore (*Perceval*, vss. 21967, 26508; Malory, Book VII). In the *Lebor na h-Uidre* Cuchulinn<sup>3</sup> throws the withe on the pillar stone of the Dun of Nechta's sons into the water; see Brown, *PMLA*, XX (1905), 678. And, G. Paris says à propos of the *Lanzelet* (*Rom.*, X, 474, note 4): "Dans le bois merveilleux de Behforet . . . est une cymbale suspendue à un tilleul; un marteau est auprès. Si on frappe trois fois sur la cymbale, on défie Iweret, qui accourt prêt à combattre. Ce trait rappelle le perron de la fontaine dans le Ch. au L. et plus d'un autre épisode de nos romans." (See Foerster, *Ivain*<sup>3</sup>, XXXVI.) It is possible, therefore, that the horn, originally the means of summoning Mabonagrain, was first connected by Crestien with the *joie*, and thence, by the author of G, who omits the *joie*, simply with the destruction of the enchantment. But that the last was the original function seems inconceivable.

But Edens also thinks that a further sign of an earlier source is to be seen in the fact that in G the horn hangs from a tree and not from a stake as in E. While *Lanzelet*, *Ivain*, *Perceval*, Malory agree with this,<sup>4</sup> the *Prose Erec* (p. 288) reads: "il trouva vng arbre chargie de testes de cheualiers, ouquel pendoit un cor." That is, a text which is admittedly based on Crestien altogether omits the stakes.

<sup>1</sup> P. 126.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Huet, *Rom.*, XXXVIII (1909), 129; and *Revue celtique*, XXXI (1910), 539.

<sup>3</sup> One might add that in the *Tochmarc Emere* (see Kuno Meyer, *Archeological Review*, I, 234 ff.) Cuchulinn throws his lance against the door of the scathach's dun.

<sup>4</sup> See, however, *Huon de Bordeaux*, p. 141.

So that it is always possible that G like the *Prose Erec* corrected E at this point according to the dominant conception of an other-world tree.

In Edens, 7, 8, 9 answer themselves in the light of the change from a fairy-mistress tale to a *roman courtois*.

Up to this point Edens' points are those adduced by G. Paris in *Rom.*, XX (1891), 154. He now adds five of his own.

Under 10 he considers the "absurd" explanation Mabonagrain gives of his imprisonment. First, he says, the *amie* holds Mabonagrain until he is conquered, thus running the risk of having him slain. Secondly, Mabonagrain is thus in the dilemma of trying to win without wishing to win. Thirdly, he has the means, which he does not use, of escaping from her control.

Here Edens entirely misses the character of the *fée's* control. The bond whereby she holds her lover is stronger than death. This fact Brown, Philipot, Miss Paton, etc., have made quite clear. Certainly here the mortal is *fated* to remain in the fairy's control until one stronger than himself shall appear. Hence the liberation is either through death or, as in E, through the destruction of the unnatural bond whereby the *fée* holds him. The essence of this situation survives distinctly in Renaud's *Bel Inconnu*, where the *fée* is *la pucele as blanches mains* and the lover is *Malgier le gris*.

Li usages itels estoit;  
Quant nus de ses amis moroit,  
Quant il estoit mors en bataille,  
Celui prendroit, sans nulle faille,  
Qui son ami ocis avoit [vss. 1997 ff.].<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Charrette*, vss. 1320 ff.; and especially my "Fountain Defended" as the *theme* of the *Ivain*, in *MP*, VII (1909), 145 ff. I may say here, in reply to Professor Brown, *MP*, IX (1911), that I do not pretend "to go behind the *Seriglige Conculaind* and the *Tochmarc Emere* in quest of the ultimate source," but behind the *Ivain* in quest of the *theme* of the story. This theme, folkloristic in character, widespread in Europe, is the theme of the Arician Diana myth (*MP*, VII, 193). Here we have: (1) defense of the *fay's* domain (spring or fountain); (2) death of the first defender; (3) choice of his assailant as the next defender. I believe that ultimately this motif is agrarian. Cf. G. D. Hadzsits, "Aphrodite and the Dione Myth," in *Amer. Jour. Phil.*, XXX, 53. See, also, on the spring called Daphnis (Theocritus *Id.* 1. 139, 140), the recent article by H. W. Prescott, *Class. Quarterly*, VII (1913), 126-38. The author's purpose is "to show that the form of the legend current before Theocritus simply illustrates the notion, widespread among European peoples, that intimacy between a mortal and a *fay* is fatal to the mortal, and that Theocritus himself reveals, in the phrase which he uses to describe the fate of Daphnis, his consciousness of one of the commonest expressions of the theme in which *fay* is a water-sprite." Cf. also Cross, *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, p. 387.



11. Edens is nonplussed by the fact that Mabonagrain does not know his name:

"Car onques tant con vaslez fui,  
Mon non ne dis ne ne conui" [vss. 6137 ff.].

Only in the otherworld (*an cest païs*) is he called Mabonagrain. This again is clearly a primitive trait. The hero of romance is preferably an *inconnu*: as Ehrismann says, *eine Märchenfigur*.<sup>1</sup> His name is a part of his history. So it happens with Cuchulinn, Mael-duin, Lanzelet, Perceval, Wigalois (Guiglain), or the Bel Inconnu. It should be noted, too, that among savage races the totem name is frequently kept secret, lest an enemy acquire it and do harm. Certain Indians have a habit of calling each other "brother," "sister," "father," etc., in order to avoid the danger of letting others know their real name. See Lord Avebury, *Marriage, Totemism, and Religion*, Longmans, 1911, p. 119.

The renown of the hero once established, the name grows correspondingly important. Says Gauvain:

"Onques mes nons ne fu celez  
An leu ou il me fust requis,  
N'onques ancores ne le dis  
S'aincois demandez ne me fu."<sup>2</sup>

Perceval mysteriously divines his name after the grail adventure; Ivain having fallen into disgrace is nameless and wins his way back to honor as the *chevalier au lion*; cf. Lancelot's pseudonym: *chevalier à la charrete*, etc.<sup>3</sup>

12. Before their arrival at the *Clos de nuage* in G, Geraint, Enid, and Gwiffert come to a fork in the road<sup>4</sup> (Loth, II, 169), Geraint is advised to follow the less dangerous path: "si tu vas à l'autre là-bas, tu n'en reviendras pas," with the result that he chooses the more dangerous one. This feature occurs also in Hartmann's *Erek*, 7810 ff.; and Philipot, p. 293, is reminded of the same feature in the *Méraugis*. Edens asks: "Sollte ursprünglich auch Chr. den Scheideweg gehabt haben, wie Foerster in solchen Fällen annehmen

<sup>1</sup> P. 22; and my remarks in *MP*, IX (1912), 321.

<sup>2</sup> *Perceval*, ed. Balst, vs. 5584.

<sup>3</sup> On *Mabonagrain* and its analogues, see Philipot, *loc. cit.*, and W. J. Gruffydd, "Mabon ab Modron," *the Revue celtique*, XXXIII (1912), 452.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. G. Paris, *Rom.*, XX, 155, note.

will?" Not necessarily; the trait is of sufficient frequency to assume that G and Hartmann could have independently worked it into their versions. It occurs in *Ivain*, vs. 376:

Tote la droite voie va,  
Se bien viaus tes pas anploier,  
Que tost porroies desvoier,  
Qu'il i a d'autres voies mout;

in the *Charrete*, vs. 610:

Et lors ont an un quarrefor  
Une dameisele trovee,  
. . . . .  
Cele respont come senee  
Et dist: "Bien vos savroie metre,  
Tant me porriiez vos prometre,  
El droit chemin et an la voie";

in the *Rigomer*, vs. 2411:

Dont trueve une forchie voie.  
Le mellor laisse et si forvoie,  
Si chevauce fis et sœurs.

13. In G the hero does not spend the night with his host but enters upon the adventure directly after eating. Cf. *Bel Inconnu*; Philipot, 293.

Here again E follows the commoner form. The night's sojourn is found in *Ivain* (791 ff.: "Mes sire Yvains cele nuit ot Mout buen ostel et mout li plot"), *Lanzelet* (3828, at the "jaemerliche" monastery), *Charrete* (460 ff.), *Rigomer* (5003, "a mon ostel girés anuit"), *Papegau* (70, 11: "Et l'ont couchié en ung bel lit et l'ont bien couvert et luy font tous les biens qu'ilz peuent"), etc.

14. Instead of simply approaching the lady of the inclosure, Geraint seats himself in an empty chair next to her (Philipot, 293). G reads:

Il n'y avait qu'une pucelle assise dans une chaire dorée; en face d'elle était une autre chaire vide. Gereint s'y assit. "Seigneur," dit la jeune fille, "je ne te conseille pas de t'asseoir dans cette chaire"—"Pourquoi?" "Celui à qui elle appartient n'a jamais permis qu'un autre s'y assît."

This looks like a form of challenge; cf. the Siege Perilous or Irish *Lia Fáil* (see my "Castle of the Grail," *Elliott-Studies*, I, 42).

At the same time it would be hard to prove that this feature is more primitive than the silver-bed in Crestien:

un lit d'arjant  
Covert d'un drap brosdé a or,  
Dessoz l'ombre d'un sicamor,  
Et sor le lit une pucele [vs. 5880].

Cf. the "Echtra mac Cormaic," *Irische Texte*, III, 1, 195: "in the midst of the fortress was a house of white silver." Also the "Acallamh na Senórach," *Irische Texte*, IV, i, 1-438; cf. *Silva Gadelica*, II, 101 ff.<sup>1</sup> That is, if either trait is the original someone made the change, and G is as likely to have done so as Crestien.

With one or two possible exceptions then (the "horn hanging from the tree," the "forking of the road"), E seems to have the more primitive form of the episode. In other words, while it is always possible that E and G were independently derived from X,<sup>2</sup> E is closer to X than G: (1) in the idea underlying the theme, (2) in the details of the contrasting episode.

As for the remainder of the romance, Edens' arguments for the priority of G seem to me even less conclusive.

1. Edens argues that Crestien's lines:

Qu'il voloit le blanc cerf chacier  
Por la costume ressaucier [37]

and

Quel costume li blans cers a [44]

(cf. also, vss. 1811 ff.:

"L'usage Pandragon, mon pere,  
Qui fu droiz rois et anperere,  
Doi je garder et maintenir")

constitute a *widersinn*, since the hunt of the white stag could occur but once.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, he thinks, the single occurrence of the hunt in G is "better," "more logical," *ergo* more primitive. The use of the word "custom," however, he would explain as a misunderstanding-

<sup>1</sup> See Brown, *Romanic Review*, III (1912), 158, 164.

<sup>2</sup> In the present state of controversy this seems the safest hypothesis. Crestien's prologue (see below, p. 40) necessitates the assumption of a folk-tale in French before his *Erec*. Nothing in our evidence disproves the derivation of G from the same or a closely related source. Moreover, Crestien's avowed object is to give his tale "texture"; that is, to bring together its various parts. See below, p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> "Der" weisse Hirsch kann doch nur einmal gejagt werden.



ing of Arthur's well-known taboo not to eat until some important adventure had been reported to the court.<sup>1</sup>

Now, in the first place, the text does not imply that the hunt itself is a "custom" but states that he who can kill the stag shall have the right to kiss the fairest:

"Par reison beisier li estuet  
Des puceles de vostre cort  
La plus bele, a quoi que il tort."

In other words, the kiss is the "custom" and not the hunt. With this idea Hartmann's version agrees:

dô sî ze Karadigân wâren-komen,  
dô wolt der kûnec hân genomen  
sîn reht nâch der gewonheit [vss. 1111 ff.].

And the idea recurs in the *Lanzelet*:

den wîzen hîrz sî wolten vân  
und daz der kûnec dâ naeme  
von rehte, als im gezaeme  
der schoensten kus, daz was sîn lôn.  
sîn vater Utpandragon  
der het ez alsô ûf geleit.  
die selben gewonheit  
behielt der sun imer sît [vss. 6730 ff.].<sup>2</sup>

In the second place, outside of the Welsh *Pwyll*, mentioned by Edens, a similar hunt occurs in *Guigemar* (Marie de France), in *Guingamor* (*Rom.*, VIII), in *Tyolet* (*ibid.*), in *Graelent* (Roquefort, ed. of Marie, I, 486 ff.), in the Dutch *Lancelot* (cf. *Hist. litt.*, XXX, 13), in Wauchier's *Perceval* (Potvin, vss. 22546 ff., here the prize is the "head" of the stag as in G), in Gottfried's *Tristan*, etc. It is, indeed, as others have observed,<sup>3</sup> a common induction motif to the fairy-mistress episode. Originally, the stag is either the creature of the *fée* or the *fée* herself (see *Guigemar*),<sup>4</sup> and the striking-off of the foot or head would<sup>5</sup> equal the disenchantment, another form of which is probably the kiss, thus the *fier baiser*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Perceval*, ed. Baist, vs. 2788: "Tant qu' a ma cort novele viegne."

<sup>2</sup> See also *Perceval* (Baist's text), vss. 426 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Miss Weston, *Legend of Sir Perceval*, I, 111 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*<sup>3</sup>, 250.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Tyolet*; see Kittredge, *loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> See Schofield, "Studies on the Libeaus Desconus," [*Harvard Studies and Notes*, IV, 199 ff.; T. P. Cross, *op. cit.*, 381.

That Crestien should speak of the kiss as a "custom" is natural: the kiss as a result of the stag-hunt had a constant value. To be sure, its value does not appear fully in the *Erec*; but the disenchanted *fée* was of course the most beautiful, and that aspect of the formula Crestien retains. Cf. the use of the word "custom" in the *Ivain*, vss. 1848, 5155, etc.; also in the *Perlesvaus* (S. Evans' translation), I, 109:

"By my faith," saith the dwarf, "me thinketh this is not he that shall do away with the *evil custom* whereby we lose the coming hither of knights."<sup>1</sup>

2. While Crestien, says Edens, inadequately explains the Queen's departure for the hunt accompanied by only *one* damsel, G enlightens us by saying: "on ne trouva à l'écurie que deux chevaux" (II, 115). But why should the Queen need more than one damsel? And of what possible importance or interest is it how many damsels she has provided she has at least *one*?

3. In G the heroine receives the stag's head: less primitive says Edens is Crestien's idea of the kiss. See, above, answer to 1.

4. Geraint's host has no servant, Erec's has *one* servant; so Enide's service in the *Erec* is pointless.

But in *Erec* the *one* servant is a cook, he is needed in the kitchen. He also waits on the table since Enide eats with the company. Moreover, even in G a servant is mentioned (p. 121): "Elle [i.e., Enid] revint bientôt accompagnée d'un serviteur portant sur le dos un cruchon plein d'hydromel acheté, et un quartier de jeune bœuf."

5. The arms given in G are *lourdes, rouillées, sans valeur*,<sup>2</sup> whereas Erec's are *armes buenas et beles*. Consequently G is in harmony with its setting; the host is poor, so are his arms.

To reason, however, that the Welsh author was incapable himself of this picturesque touch is a *reductio ad absurdum*, especially since a glance at G shows that the effect there of the combat is heightened through Geraint's trying one lance after another until the *vavassor* hands him one which had never been shattered "et dont le fer est excellent" (p. 124).

<sup>1</sup> Finally, see Smirnov's remark on the episode, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Edens says: "schlecht und rostig."

This, it appears to me, is a clear case in which G, supposing he had a version of E before him, might easily, with a little native wit, have improved on E.

One might go on, but the other 10 instances cited by Edens can be disposed of in the same or similar manner. Either the logic in reality is on the side of E rather than G, or the change is such that the author of the Welsh text could have made it himself.<sup>1</sup> He was a person, an author, adapter or translator, hence must have had some originality, however slight.

Thus, leaving aside entirely the ultimate derivation of G, we reach this conclusion: instead of being more primitive than E, G gives evidence of being a later, more rational, less traditional form of the story and—contrary to Edens' hypothesis—is not essential to an understanding of Crestien's text or the *conte d'avanture* which served as its source. The latter may or may not have been the original of G, which is certainly more episodic in many respects than E.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, the

<sup>1</sup> The reader can judge the remaining instances for himself; to adduce them here seems to me unnecessary. Smirnov has already dealt with several of these (*loc. cit.*). See, especially, what he has to say of reason *o* (Edens, 132); and Zenker's acceptance, *ZfSS*, XL (1913), 211, of Smirnov's argument. Zenker says: "Erec's Weigerung, vor Artus zu erscheinen, ist allerdings bei Chrétien, v. 4011 ff., wie die Gereints im Mabinogi, ausreichend begründet, was Edens übersehen hat."

A good example of a possible improvement by G is furnished by reason *n* (Edens, p. 131). It is the well-known scene of Gauvain's breaking in on Erec's madness, found also in *Ivain* and *Perceval*. Crestien relates how Gauvain with two squires comes upon Erec:

Ja ont Erec aconseti  
Mes ne l'ont mie coneti.

That is, Gauvain does not recognize Erec. Yet he sends word to Arthur to hasten hither if he

viaut conoistre et herbergier  
Le mellor chevalier por voir,  
Que il cuidast onques veoir [vs. 4122].

The Welsh text avoids this contradiction by having Gwalchmei charge Geraint with his lance. "Gwalchmei le regarda alors avec attention et le reconnut. 'Oh! Gereint,' s'écria-t-il, 'est-ce toi?' 'Je ne suis pas Gereint,' répondit-il? 'Tu es bien Gereint, par moi et Dieu'" (II, 161). Thus in G a recognition takes place before Gwalchmei sends to Arthur.

But in Hartmann, whose version is certainly close to E, a recognition is also effected, though in a totally different manner. Here Kelfin (Kay) has recognized Erec by his voice:

sine stimme hörte ich [vs. 4853].

So that Gäwein knows it is Erec before he approaches him.

If Hartmann was capable of seeing the contradiction in *Erec* or in its source, why does Edens argue that the Welsh author could not have seen it and corrected it in his own way? Yet Edens says, with the added authority of Z(enker): "Dies dürfte eins der schlagendsten Beispiele für die grössere Ursprünglichkeit des M. sein!"

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 45.



Mabinogion<sup>1</sup> of *Geraint*, *Owain*, and *Peredur* are later than Crestien, and in addition show evident traces of French influence, two factors to be reckoned with in any theory of derivation. But that, as we have said, is a problem for Celticists and not for us.

This brings us to our final point: the value of the prologue as a commentary on the poet's method.

## V

Beginning with a proverb:

Que tel chose a l'an an despit  
Que mout vaut miauz que l'an ne cuide<sup>2</sup>—

Crestien proceeds to say:

Por ce fait bien qui son estuide  
Atorne a *sans*,<sup>3</sup> quel qu'il l'et;  
Car qui son estuide antrelet,  
Tost i puet tel chose teisir  
Qui mout vandroit puis a pleisir.

Hence he

tret d'un conte d'avanture  
Une mout bele *conjointure*,  
Par qu'an puet prover et savoir  
Que cil ne fet mie savoir,  
Qui sa *science* n'abandone  
Tant que Deus la grace l'an done.  
D'Erec, le fil Lac, est li contes,  
Que devant rois et devant contes  
*Depecier* et corronpre suelent  
Cil qui de conter vivre vuelent.  
Des or commencera l'*estoire*  
Qui toz jors mes iert an memoire  
Tant con durra crestiantiez;  
De ce s'est Crestiens vantez [1-26].

On the last lines of this prologue Foerster<sup>4</sup> has the following comment: "Der höfische Dichter ahmt hiermit genau die Ausfälle der

<sup>1</sup> J. Loth, *Revue celtique*, XXXII (1911), 439, says: "Les trois romans . . . sont indépendants des romans de Chrétien, mais, quoique l'origine probable soit celtique ils sont manifestement inspirés parfois comme traduits, d'une source immédiatement française rapprochée sur beaucoup de points de celle de Chrétien."

<sup>2</sup> Kadler, *Ausg. u. Abhand.*, XLIX, 529.

<sup>3</sup> So MSS PE; cf. also *Métraugis*, ed. Friedwagner, vss. 15, 18, and *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> *Anmerkungen*, p. 293.

Sänger der Chansons de geste gegen derer handwerkmässige, rein geschäftliche Nebenbuhler nach."<sup>1</sup> But, as was said above, the entire prologue has an obvious model in *Thèbes* and *Troie*, and a parallel in the *Lais* of Marie de France.<sup>2</sup> Not only do the prologues to these works agree with Crestien in emphasizing (1) the *sens*<sup>3</sup> (Lat. *sensus* = "understanding") which the poet expresses; (2) the application of his God-given *science* or *sapience* to the task; (3) his expectation of fame, and (4) his disdain of the unlettered, but the clerical origin of these ideas is proved by a reference<sup>4</sup> to the *Liber Sapientiae*, where they are set forth in chapters vii and viii.<sup>5</sup>

It would appear then that Crestien's attitude toward his material (*estoire*) would not differ essentially from that of the clerical writers toward the *matière de Rome*. While Crestien does not follow a Latin source, like Benoit<sup>6</sup> he says that he adheres to an *estoire* (5737: "vos retraie Lonc l'estoire chose veraie"<sup>7</sup>), and the retention of irrelevant details<sup>8</sup> in his narrative would show that this is more often the case than not. We can hardly assume that if the *Erec* had been composed freely, with only an occasional reference to its source, it would still contain the inconsistencies in question. If, therefore, Crestien saw fit to follow the clerical tradition in his prologue, he doubtless followed it also in the composition of his work.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, *Aiol*, 6 ff.:

Laïssies le noise ester, si uos traies uers mi.  
Cil nouel iongleor en sont mal escarni,  
Por les fables qu'il dient ont tout mis en obli,  
La plus ueraie estoire ont laïset et guerpi.

etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Thèbes*, vss. 7-16; *Troie*, vss. 1-44; Prologue to *Lais*, vss. 1-42. For a complete treatment of this subject see my "*Sans et matière* in the Works of Crestien de Troyes," to appear shortly.

<sup>3</sup> *sens* < *sensus* and *senz* or *sens*(?) < *sinnus*\* (Ital. *senno*) are apparently both in Crestien, and it would be hard to make any precise differentiation, especially as *sens*, nom., would soon develop a *sen*, obliq.

The semasiology of the word, however, clearly points to *sensus*, as used in the *Liber Sapientiae* (Vulgate edition), VII, 7: *et datus est mihi sensus*, and in the mediaeval church writers. Compare *Roland*, ed. Stengel, vs. 1724: "Car vasselages par *sens* nen est folle." On the word see further W. Benary, *Zur Geschichte des konsonantischen Auslauts der nomina im alt- und neufranzösischen*, Darmstadt, 1902, p. 143.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Troie*, 1:

Salemon nos enseigne et dit  
Et sil list ome en son escrit.

<sup>5</sup> *Biblia Sacra*, ed. Loch, II, 270 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Troie*, 198: "Einsi com j'en l'estoire truis," and *passim*.

<sup>7</sup> Also E 3590: "Si con l'estoire reconte."

<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 30.

<sup>9</sup> See Faral, *op. cit.*, 33, and above, the remarks on Wace.

In other words, although taken from a folk-tale (*tret d'un conte d'avanture*), the *Erec* is as much a romance as either the *Brut* or the *Thèbes*, if not in derivation, at least in method and in general purpose. It presents a traditional story in *courtois* setting, and it emphasizes the motives of the action fully as much as the action itself.<sup>1</sup> In this respect the work is a product of its author's *sans*: (1) in the embellishment it received in the matter of descriptions, classical allusions, and the like; (2) in the stress laid on the "moral" (as regards conduct) relationship of the characters, especially that of husband and wife, of *amie* and *fame*—which, as we have seen, constitutes Crestien's theme. Whence the importance the poet attaches to the *belle conjointure* as the norm by which the work is to be judged.<sup>2</sup>

In the *textausgabe* (2d ed.) Foerster renders *conjointure* by "Schlussfolgerung" and compares the *Mir. de St. Eloi* (ed. Peigné), p. 77:

Cil qui a chele eure veilloient  
Et qui l'ocoison ne savoient  
De chele nouvele aventure,  
Devinioient par conjointure  
Qu'aucuns signes du chiel venoient.

Obviously Foerster has in mind the "inference" or "moral" which he thinks Crestien drew from his source; probably the *Grundgedanken*, on which Foerster lays such stress.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand,<sup>4</sup> Baist took the word to refer to the theme itself of Crestien's source: "Die *belle conjointure* welche Kristian zu seinem Erec aus einem *conte d'aventure* gezogen hat, ist aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach weiter nichts als das Motiv von dem Sperber, der der Schönsten gehören soll und welche die

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 4, and *Erec*, vs. 4688. Compare also the moral the author points in the *Thèbes*:

Por ço vos di: "Prenez en cure,  
Par dreit errez et par mesure;  
Ne faciez rien contre nature,  
Que ne vengiez a fin si dure" [vss. 10227 ff.].

On the "moral" *sensus* attached by the Middle Ages to every history, or what was considered such, see K. Vossler, *Göttliche Komödie*, 201 ff.; Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages* (Eng. trans.), London, 1895, pp. 116 ff.; Flamini, *I significati reconditi della Commedia di Dante e il suo fine supremo*, Livorno, 1903, I, 33 ff. The "moral" *sensus* (= *san*) is also seen in Crestien's *Charrete* (vs. 26):

Matiere et *san* l'an done et livre.

Cf. *Livre des Reis*, ed. Le Roux de Lincy, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Par qu' an puet prover et savoir  
Que cil ne fet mie savoir,

etc.

<sup>3</sup> See *Erec*<sup>2</sup>, p. xxii.

<sup>4</sup> *Charrete*, ed. Foerster, p. lxxii.



Erzählung des Lai, welchen Andreas Capellanus, II, 8 . . . überliefert." Again, in the introduction<sup>1</sup> to the original edition Foerster remarked: "Er [Crestien] schält nur aus dieser Erzählung eine *Kombination* heraus, die ihm sehr gefallen hat und durch derer Verarbeitung er zeigen will, dass derjenige schaffensstüchtige Dichter töricht handelt, der sein Können und Kennen ändern nicht zu Gute kommen lässt, so lange ihm Gott die Gnade dazu vergönnt." Thus opinions differ. *Conjointure*<sup>2</sup> may mean: (1) "inference" or "moral"; perhaps *Grundgedanken*; (2) the motif of what Baist thought was Crestien's source; (3) the combination of features or motifs taken from that source.

Now the last meaning is not only the original meaning of the term—as Foerster admits<sup>3</sup>—but it is also the rhetorical use of it, and Crestien seems to be using the word in a rhetorical sense. Compare *Philippe Mouskés*,<sup>4</sup> vss. 9703 ff.:

Gramare i fu painte premiere,  
Qui nos enseigne en quel maniere  
On doit escrire les figures  
Et asambler les congiointures.  
Par li sont clerc adroit lisant,  
Et boine clergie aprendant.

To this we should add the following: (1) Crestien opposes *conjointure* to the *depecier et corronpre* on the part of others; (2) he states that the *conjointure* was drawn from "a" tale (*un conte*), which may mean either that his source was essentially "one" story, however disjointed, or that "one" story in particular was the basis of his *Erec*, to which other stories may or may not have been added.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. lxi; but see p. 298, where the meaning given is "Ereignis, Vorfall."

<sup>2</sup> On *conjunctura*\* see Murray, *New English Dictionary*. The word is lacking in the Latin lexicons. Ducange, *Glossarium*, s.v., gives *conglutinatura* as its equivalent.

In the sense of "combination of ideas" the classical rhetoricians use *conjunctio*; cf. Cicero *Topica* xiv. 7 and elsewhere. On *iunctura*, see Horace *Ars poet.*, vs. 47: "notum si callida verbum reddiderit iunctura novum." Evrat, *Bible*, f. 4 v° (see Godefroy), gives *conjuncture* in the sense of "soul," that which holds together and animates the body.

On modern French *conjoncture* see Livet, *Lexique de la langue de Molière*, I, 457; also the *Dict. général*. Here the word means *occasion* = "happening."

<sup>3</sup> *Erec*<sup>2</sup>, p. 226.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. de Reiffenberg.

<sup>5</sup> I see no means of settling this question with the material at our disposal. The example of the *Cligés* used by Foerster (original edition, p. xlii, and *Erec*<sup>2</sup>, p. xxii) does not necessarily hold for the *Erec*, which is an Arthurian romance, not, like *Cligés*, an eastern tale adapted to the model of an Arthurian romance (the *Tristan*).

Thus we see that the *belle conjointure* of the *Erec* is probably equivalent to the word *roman* in the sense in which this term is used later, without reference to the Latin, by Crestien himself<sup>1</sup> and by those that follow in his footsteps; for example, Renaud de Beaujeu:<sup>2</sup>

Por li vuel un roumant estraire  
D'un moult biel conte d'aventure.

To sum up, it is probable that Crestien de Troyes strove to put into appropriate form an episodic tale about Erec and his imperious *amie*. In conformity with his clerical training he gave the story the benefit of his *sans*. That is, he adorned the narrative with allusions and descriptions suited to the taste of readers brought up on the *matière de Rome*. But, above all, he read into his text a controlling purpose or theme, so that Part 1, the Sparrow-hawk Adventure, became an introduction to Part 2, the sloth and madness of the hero, and both were set in contrast to Part 3, the *Joie de la cour*; the various episodes thus acquiring definite meaning in the career of the legendary Erec. In some respects he still followed the lead of the cruder *chansons de geste*, and he inclined rather more to the model of the *Brut* than the more sophisticated *Thèbes*.<sup>3</sup> In general, his work occupies a place midway between the two.

To what extent he drew on his own imagination in all this we shall probably never know. Parts of the story are perhaps cut down and simplified. Others, however, seem considerably lengthened; as for example, Enide's soliloquy after vs. 3720, so, too, the episode with Galoian, vss. 3365 ff., and doubtless many descriptive passages like vss. 6713 ff.

<sup>1</sup> See the closing lines of the *Ivain*:

Del chevalier au lion fine  
Crestiens son romanz einsi;  
Qu'onques plus conter n'an oi.

<sup>2</sup> *Bel Inconnu*, vss. 4-6; cf. *Escoufle*, vss. 9074 ff.:

Mais c'est drois que li roumans ait  
Autretel non comme li contes.

See F. M. Warren, *MLN* (1908), 72. Also Thomas' *Tristan* (Bédier, I, 377):

Seignurs, cest conte est mult divers,  
E pur ço l'unl por mes vers  
E di en tant cum est mester  
E le surplus voil relester [vss. 2107 ff].

Yet Thomas, no more than Crestien, calls his work a romance.

<sup>3</sup> In the matter of portraiture, motivation, etc., Crestien is in advance of Wace; see Wilmotte, *Bulletin de l'académie royale de Belgique*, 1903, p. 371, note.

Nevertheless, for the present<sup>1</sup> it is safest to assume that the essential features of the poem were contained in the *conte d'aventure* Crestien mentions. To these we may reckon the *Joie de la cour* and the hero's love-sickness (sloth) and madness, as most characteristic of the otherworld tale. The Sparrow-hawk Adventure has a decided chivalric flavor, yet the indications are that it, too, lies back of Crestien, and could thus have belonged to his original. Certainly, Erec's madness presupposes a fairy-mistress situation, and the Sparrow-hawk Adventure and the Hunt of the White Stag also point in that direction. Thus both otherworld adventures, Erec's and Mabonagrain's, would antedate Crestien and were contained in his source, or, at least, were united by him from allied sources. But, in either case it was he who wove them into a definite plot by stressing<sup>2</sup> the moral relationship of his two pairs of lovers. Hereto and to the elaboration of detail he applied his *estuide* (vs. 6). "Amplifier a été pour les auteurs du moyen âge la grande affaire" (Faral).<sup>3</sup>

The result is a romance which bears the imprint of Crestien's genius—his sense of style, his grasp of the essential motives of human action, his knowledge of the *courtois* circles of his day—however much its real motivation has been obscured for us by the false notion of the hero's jealousy as set forth in the parallel, and perhaps independent, version of the Welsh *Geraint*.

WILLIAM ALBERT NITZE

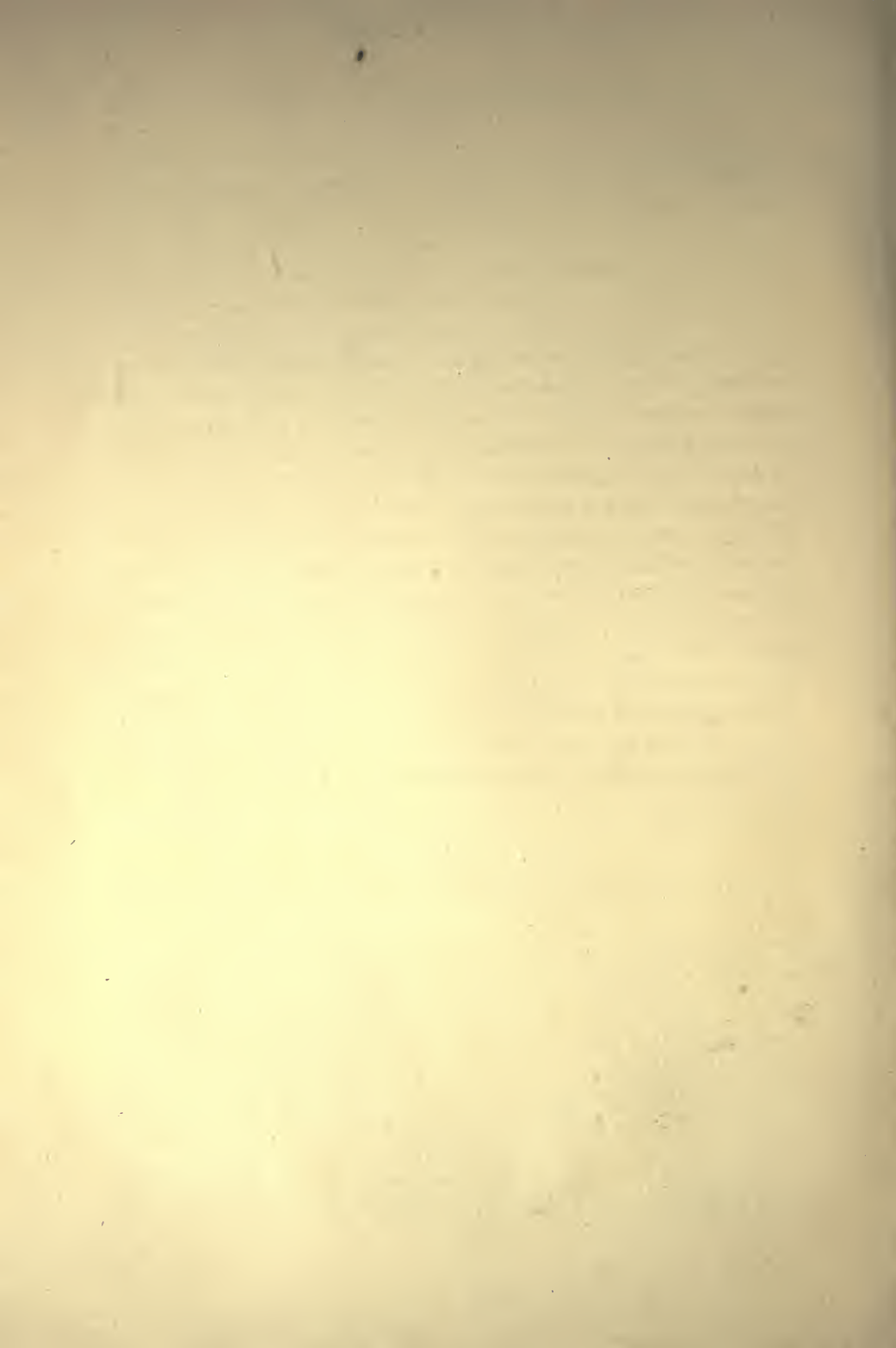
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<sup>1</sup> Until careful analyses of the different romances have been made. For instance, a minute comparison of all the versions, *Geraint*, *Saga*, *Hartmann*, *Prose Erec*, would probably yield interesting results.

<sup>2</sup> This *Bindeglied* is lacking in G. A point of much interest is that raised by Brown, *Romanic Review*, III (1912), 151 ff.; namely, the respective position of the Castle of Ill-Adventure in the *Ivain* and the Welsh *Owain*. In Crestien the episode is worked into the plot, in the Welsh the episode is told as a "separate story about Owain after the close of the main romance." This furnishes a clear parallel to the *Joie de la cour* (*Clos de nuage*) story; cf. van Hamel, *Rom.*, XLII (1913), 279 ff., and the above reference (p. 44, note) to the *Tristan*. Compare also Brown's judicious statement, *op. cit.* (p. 152, note): "The *Owain* consists of separate stories about the hero told with much straightforwardness, but very loosely connected together"; and also Miss Weston, *Legend of Sir Lancelot*, 1901, pp. 18 ff., with respect to the formlessness of the *Lanzelet*. The remarks of Zenker (and Edens, *op. cit.*, 36), *ZffS*, XLI (1913), 3, p. 133, seem to me valid: "Was den *Erec* betrifft, so genügen die vielzitierten Verse 19 ff. vollkommen um eine ältere französische *Erec*-Dichtung sicher zu stellen." But, I repeat, the "extent" of this source must be left for further investigation.

<sup>3</sup> Faral's *Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans courtois du moyen âge*, 1913, did not reach me before the completion of the above study. While Faral's work supplements the extent of classical borrowing, his neglect of the Celtic materials seems unfortunate. Cf., for example, the very inadequate treatment of the Celtic hypothesis on pp. 386-87.





## THE LOVERES MALADYE OF HEREOS<sup>1</sup>

It is not often that a word has dropped so completely into oblivion that its occurrence in two famous classics can be commented on for over three centuries without an inkling of its real significance, while an adjective whose meaning depends directly upon it is used again and again in another no less celebrated work without recognition by a single commentator or in a single dictionary. *Hereos* itself, so far as I know, has escaped all the lexicographers, with but one obscure exception. In the passage in Chaucer in which it occurs it has been, from the first comment made upon it to the last, misunderstood. In the *Philobiblon* of Richard of Bury it has been universally regarded as a textual corruption, and subjected by the editors to more or less ingenious emendation. And that the adjective *heroical*, as used in the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, has any other than its ordinary meaning seems to have occurred to no one who has expressed himself in print. It is the pious purpose of this article—itsself the result of a happy accident—to rescue from the iniquity of oblivion a long-lost and extremely interesting word. For the lore of *hereos* is a mingled yarn, and some of the strangest fancies of two races through a thousand years have found a place in it.

### I

The passage in the *Knight's Tale* describing the sorrows of Arcite must first be quoted in full:

His sleep, his mete, his drink is him biraft,  
That lene he wex, and drye as is a shaft.  
His eyen holwe, and grisly to biholde;  
His hewe falwe, and pale as asshe colde,  
And solitarie he was, and ever allone,  
And wailling al the night, making his mone.  
And if he herde song or instrument,  
Then wolde he wepe, he mighte nat be stent;  
So feble eek were his spirits, and so lowe,  
And chaunged so, that no man coude knowe

<sup>1</sup> A brief preliminary statement of the matter of this article will be found in *The Nation* of September 11, 1913 (Vol. XCVII, No. 2515, p. 233).

His speche nor his vois, though men it herde.  
 And in his gere, for al the world he ferde  
*Nat oonly lyk the loveres maladye*  
*Of Hereos*, but rather lyk manye  
 Engendred of humour malencolyk,  
 Biforen, in his celle fantastyk.<sup>1</sup>

For the last four lines I append a critical text, using the Ellsmere manuscript as a basis:

Nat oonly<sup>2</sup> lik the<sup>3</sup> louteris<sup>4</sup> maladye  
 Of Hereos<sup>5</sup> but rather lyk Manye  
 Engendred of humour<sup>6</sup> malencolik  
 Biforn his owene<sup>7</sup> Celle fantastik.<sup>8</sup>

The black-letter editions of Thynne and Stow and the 1598 Speght have *Hereos*,<sup>9</sup> and it is Speght who, in 1598, makes the first known comment on the passage. It is found in his list of "The Hard Words of Chaucer Explained," and is as follows:

. . . . of Hereos) Read *Eros*, i. Cupide; for so it seemeth rather to be: which I gather thus. Lucian in his second Dialogue bringeth in Cupid teaching Jupiter how to become amiable, and in him how louers may be made acceptable to their Ladies; not by weeping, watching, and fasting, nor by furious melancholike fittes, but by comely behauiour. The words in the Greeke are thus much in Latine: *Si voles amabilis esse neque concutias Aegida, neque fulmen geras: sed suavissimum teipsum exhibi: et vestem sume purpureum, crepidas subliga aurates: ad tibiam et ad timpana composito gressu incede, et videbis quòd plures te sequentur, quam Bacchum Menades*. So that the Louers of *Eros*, that is, Cupides seruants, doe carry themselues comely in all their passions; & their maladies are such, as shew no open distemperature of bodie or mind: which mediocritie this *Arcite* was farre from keeping.

<sup>1</sup> A 1361-76.

<sup>4</sup> "louere," Cm.; "louers," Cp. Pt. Ln. Hl.

<sup>2</sup> "comly," Cp. Pt. Ln.

<sup>5</sup> "hereos," Cm.; "heres," Cp. Pt. Ln.; "hercos," Hl.

<sup>3</sup> "to," Cp. Pt. Ln.

<sup>6</sup> "humourys," Cm.

<sup>7</sup> Om. "owene," Hg. Cp. Pt. Ln. The reading of Hl. is: "Byforne in his selle fantastyk."

<sup>8</sup> It is not necessary for the purposes of this article to discuss at length the variant readings of the passage, except to observe that the reading *comly* for *oonly* (which influenced profoundly the earlier comments) persisted through Urry, and is found as late as the Bagster edition of 1807. It should also be noted that the reading of the Harleian MS for l. 1376 affords an example of manifest improvement, as compared with the other MSS, which is not included in Professor Tatlock's list (pp. 5 ff.) in his monograph on *The Harleian Manuscript 7334 and Revision of the Canterbury Tales* (Chaucer Society), 1909.

<sup>9</sup> I have not been able to consult the editions of Caxton, Pynson, or Wynkyn de Worde.



To this interpretation Thynne at once took exception, in his *Ani-maduersions*.<sup>1</sup>

fo: 3. pa: 2. ("noughte comelye lyke to louers maladye of hereos.") for whiche woorde 'hereos,' yo<sup>u</sup> reade eros, i. cupide, a very good and probable correccion, well gathered out of Luciane. But (salua patientia vestra, and reservinge to myselfe better iudgmente hereafter, yf I nowe mystake yt,) I wolde, for the printed 'hereos' of Chaucer, read 'heroes': whiche two woordes onely differ in misplacinge of the letters; a comone thinge for the printer to do, and the corrector to ouerpasse. for Arcyte, in this furye of his love, did not shewe those courses of gouer[n]mente, whiche the Heroes, or valiante persons, in tymes paste vsed; for thoughte they loued, yet that passion did not generallye so farre ouerrule them (althoughe yt mighte in some one particuler personne) as that they lefte to contynewe the valor, and heroicke actions, whiche they before performed. for the Heroes sholde so love, as that they sholde not forgett, what theye were in place, valor, or magnanymy, whiche Arcite, in this passione, did not observe "lyke to louers malady of Heroes." Whereof I colde produce six hundred examples, (as the prouerbe ys,) were yt not that I avoyde tedious prolixitye.

In the edition of 1602 Speght changes *Hereos* to *Eros* in his text, and, as a result of Thynne's criticism, modifies his earlier note as follows:

(*Eros*, fol. 3, p. 1) *g*. Whereas some copies haue Hereos, some Hernes, and some such like counterfait word, whereof can be giuen no reason; I haue set doune Eros, *i*. cupid: as most agreing in my opinion with the matter; which I gather thus: [here follows the 1598 note to the end]. And whereas some will haue us read Heroes, *i*. noble men; I cannot dislike their opinion, for it may fitly stand with the sense of the place.

The reading *Eros* and the note of 1602 reappear in the edition of 1687, and from then until now, with (so far as I know) the single exception of Morell,<sup>2</sup> Speght's equation of *Hereos* = *Eros* has been accepted. Urry in 1721 retains the *Eros* of 1602 and 1687 in his text,<sup>3</sup> with the note: "Eros: Cupid; Love. It is used for the Distemper of Love . . . *Gr. Έρως*."

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Furnivall (Chaucer Society, 1875), pp. 44-45.

<sup>2</sup> And, it may be added, the acceptance of the Harleian reading *Hercos* in the Bell text of 1854 (I have not seen the 1782 Bell), and in Morris' 1867 edition of the *Knight's Tale*. In 1869, however, Morris reads *Hereos*, which he explains as "Eros" in his note.

<sup>3</sup> His reading of l. 1376 is: "Beforn in his Cervelle fantastik."

The lines in Morell<sup>1</sup> are as follows:

Not only like the Lovere, Maladye  
Of Heroes, but rather like Manie,  
Engendrid of Humourys melancolik,  
Before his owene Sellé fantastik.<sup>2</sup>

And Morell's note is in the spirit of Thynne:

Not only like, etc. He did not behave himself like one in Love only, (to which Malady the bravest Heroes are subject, but are always decent and comely in their Passions,) but rather, etc.<sup>3</sup>

Tyrwhitt in his edition of 1775 reads *Ereos*,<sup>4</sup> with the explanation in the Glossary: "Ereos for Eros, *pr. n.* Gr. Love." I have not been able to consult all the editions since Tyrwhitt, but the score or so that I have seen agree in an unquestioning acceptance of Speght's identification.<sup>5</sup> The translators with one accord follow suit. Kan-negiesser (1827) has: "bey Eros' Quälerey"; Fiedeler (1844): "durch Eros Plagen"; Herzberg (1866): "durch Eros' Glut"; von Düring (1885): "den Pfeilen Eros"; Chiarini (1897): "dal male di Eros"; Gomont (1847): "malade d'amour"; Le Chevalier de Chatelain (1857): "malades par Eros";<sup>6</sup> Morel (1908): "du mal d'Eros."

<sup>1</sup> *The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer, in the Original, from the Most Authentic Manuscripts; etc.*, London, 1737.

<sup>2</sup> P. 104.

<sup>3</sup> Morell's text reads *only*, but his note presupposes the reading *comely*. His list of variants is also interesting: "516. of Hereos, C. of Eros, Ur. Sp. of Teres, D. of Hernes, B. of Heres, i.e., Heroes, G." (p. 435).

<sup>4</sup> His reading of l. 1376 is: "Beforne his hed in his celle fantastike."

<sup>5</sup> A few notes may be quoted. Professor Skeat, in his revision in 1878 of the Bell edition, comments: "Ereos, or Hereos, is a false genitive of Gk. ἔρως, love, or 'Cupid.'" The note on "the lover's disease of Eros" in the *Oxford Chaucer* is familiar to everybody; the version in Skeat's modernization of the *Knight's Tale* in 1904—"the lover's malady By Cupid caused"—is not so well known. A. W. Pollard in his edition of the *Canterbury Tales* (1894) has the note: "*Hereos*, Eros, Love," which is retained in the *Globe Chaucer*. Mather's note (Riverside edition, 1899) is: "*Hereos*, Eros, Cupid"; Liddell's (1901): "The 'disease of Eros' is, of course, a humorous expression for 'Love.'" Miss Bantinck Smith (1908) has: "*Hereos* = Eros." The commentator who (as will be seen) comes nearest to the mark is Carpenter, in his *English of the XIVth Century* (1872): "The 'malady of Eros' [Carpenter's text has *Hereos*] is that 'heroical love which is proper to men and women.' The 'mania' is a sort of melancholy or monomania. 'The part affected, as Arnoldus supposeth, is the former part of the head, for want of moisture.' Burton, *Anat. Mel.* 'All [authors] make leanness, want of appetite, want of sleep, ordinary symptoms, and by that means they [the subjects] are brought often so low, so much altered and changed that, as he [Terence Eun.] jested in the comedy, one scarce knew them to be the same men.' Ib. Burton quotes this passage, saying 'So he describes it—love-melancholy—aright.'"

<sup>6</sup> The translation of Chatelain deserves quotation in full:

Était si débrailé, si bizarre et sans suite,  
Non seulement comme devers Paphos  
Il arrive à ceux là malades par Eros,  
Mais plutôt comme en proie à ce triste vertige  
Sur le devant du front logé par un prodige.

In a word, except for Thynne and his follower Morell, there has been no suspicion whatever of a problem.

## II

During the last summer, in turning the leaves of Arnaldus de Villanova, my eye was caught by the word "heroys" in a connection which suggested the passage in the *Knight's Tale*. A search of several hours through all the lexicons available in the Harvard Library disclosed the fact that the word was nowhere recorded.<sup>1</sup> A return to the context of the passage in Arnaldus, however, rendered the lexicons unnecessary, and the clue thus stumbled on led through devious ways to the results which follow.<sup>2</sup>

In the *Liber de parte operativa*,<sup>3</sup> Arnaldus de Villanova distinguishes between five species of mental alienation (species . . . . scientiationis corruptae):

Sunt autem ipsius quinque species famosae. scilicet alienatio quam laetitia concomitatur: et proprie stultitia dicitur: quasi stupida laetitia: quoniam tales in extasi velut rapti laetantur et rident sine causa exterius

<sup>1</sup> Du Cange has, to be sure, the following: "HEROIS, *La baronissa*, in eod. Glossar. Vide *Heroicus*." Under *HEROICUS* we find: "*Antiquus*. Gloss. MS. Sangerman. n. 501. *Aliae* Gloss. Lat. Gall.: *Heroicus*, *De Baron. Heros*, *Baron. Heroys*, *Baronesse*." But these are obviously not Arnaldus' words.

<sup>2</sup> I wish to disclaim at the outset any intention of offering an exhaustive study of *amor herois* in its relation to mediaeval medicine. For one thing, the necessary data for such a study have not been at my disposal; for another, I should not in any case venture so rash an incursion into a highly specialized and alien field. As it is, it has been "e'en to't like French falconers—fly at anything we see." For *Herois* is uncharted even on the medical maps. Such obvious gaps as appear, however, from the point of view of the history of medicine, are relatively unimportant in establishing the *literary* bearings of the term. I may add that in what follows, instead of giving a bibliography of each of the medical writers cited, I shall usually refer once for all to the great *Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin* (Jena, 1902) of Neuburger and Pagel, where full bibliographical data may be found. The histories of medicine by Baas, Haeser, Puccinotti, and others, and such bibliographical compendia as those of Eloy, Choulant, Hirsch and Gurlt may also be consulted.

<sup>3</sup> *Arnaldi de Villanova Opera*, Lugd., 1532, f. 123–f. 130 (Harvard College Library). Outside the field of Chaucerian scholarship, where no attention has been paid him, "Arnold of the Newe Toun" is now recognized as a figure of capital importance. He is one of the dominant influences in the development of mediaeval medicine, and the importance of the part he played in the affairs of church and state, especially during the first decade of the fourteenth century, is gaining steadily increasing recognition. He was already a famous physician in 1285 (the first certain date in his career), and more than one hundred printed editions of his collected or individual works, ranging from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, are in the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale alone. I have already printed (in *Modern Language Notes*, XXVIII, No. 7, November, 1913, p. 229) the brief passage from one of his alchemical works, which Chaucer quotes. Further consideration of his life and work will have to be reserved for fuller treatment in another article. It need only be added here that as an authority in his own field in his own day he is of the first rank. See, among others, Hauréau, in *Hist. littér. de la France*, XXVII, 26–126; Pagel, in Neuburger u. Pagel, *Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin* (1902), I, 688–94; etc.



manifesta. ¶ Alienatio quam concomitatur audacia temeraria et furiosa: nominaturque mania: quasi manum. id est deorum infernalium insania. ¶ Alienatio quam concomitatur timor irrationalis et sollicitudo: quae communiter nominatur melancholia recipiens suam denominationem a sua causa materiali. ¶ Alienatio quam concomitatur immensa concupiscentia et irrationalis: et graece dicitur heroys, idest domina rationis. nam heroys est corrupta scientiatio qua iudicatur apprehensum delectabilius aut excellentius esse quam sit: quapropter excitat vehemens desiderium ad quaerendum rem illam: et suam cogitationem in ea frequentius: cum haec species manifestatur in concupiscentia indiuidui humani: qua indiuiduum unius sexus complexionari desiderat indiuiduo sexus alterius. Et vulgariter dicitur amor: et a medicis amor heroicus.<sup>1</sup> id est immensus: et irrationabilis.<sup>2</sup>

I have quoted this distinction at length, because it serves at once to give the malady its characteristic setting—a setting which we shall see in more detail as we go on.

Under each of the five species, now, Arnaldus proceeds to enlarge upon the causes, the signs, and the cure. Since much of what is given under these heads is found elsewhere in other writers whom I wish to quote, I shall pass over, with brief mention of certain details,<sup>3</sup> the discussion in the *Liber de parte operatiua*, and come at

<sup>1</sup> The bearing of this upon the use of the adjective *heroical* in Burton will appear later.

<sup>2</sup> Ff. 126–27. The fifth species is too interesting to pass over, and I wish it as well to complete the background of *heroos*. To save space, however, I shall reduce it to a note:

“¶ Alienatio quam concomitatur horror vel odium irrationabile siue immoderatum . . . et vocatur haec alienatio cicubus propter similitudinem quam habet in incessu cui alienatus. cicubus enim est quoddam animal paruum simile araneae degens in aquis: et super eas incedit praeter ordinem aliquem nec ante nec retro nec lateraliter. Similiter iste alienatus cum omnes homines conceperit euitare: sicque adeo raptus ut non percipit eos qui exterius ei praesentes donec tangant eum vel appropinquant: et quemlibet sic obulantem velit fugere seu vitare nullum in fugiendo seruat ordinem incedendi.”

The same species of alienation is described in the *Lilium medicinae* (see below, p. 498) under the name *cutubus*:

“Cutubus autem est quoddam genus araneae quod vadit supra aquas fontium: et habet longas tibias: cum incipit ire versus unam partem antequam motus sit perfectus statim incipit alterum. et ita de secundo. et ita de omnibus. et appellatur illud animal in vulgari capra aquae” (Partic. II, cap. xix, *De mania et melancholia*).

<sup>3</sup> The section with the rubric “Causae heroys” (f. 128) begins: “¶ Causae primitiuae heroys frequentia videnti vel sentiendi rem desideratam sub circumstantiis placentibus.” Under “Signa heroos” (f. 128)—where the word occurs in the form used almost without exception by the other writers on the subject—are given, among the “signa distinctiua heroos,” abstinence and insomnia, “siccitas et profunditas oculorum,” fluttering of the eyelids, quickening of the pulse, disturbance of the breathing, and so on. Under “Cura herois specialis” (f. 129) the chief remedy suggested is the distraction of the attention from the object desired. The passage is quoted in part below, p. 545.

once to Arnaldus' fuller treatment of the theme in the *Tractatus de amore qui heroycus nominatur*.<sup>1</sup>

Two points only in this most interesting treatise may be mentioned here. The first is the fact that Arnaldus takes particular pains to establish the position that *amor heroycus* is a *malady*.<sup>2</sup> The second is the interpretation of the name:

*Dicitur autem amor heroycus quasi dominialis non quia solum accidat dominis: sed quia aut dominatur subijciendo animam et cordi hominis imperando aut quia talium amantium actus erga rem desideratam similes sunt actibus subditorum erga proprios dominos. quemadmodum etenim hi timent domini maiestatem offendere et eisdem fideli subiectione servire conantur vt gratiam obtineant et fauorem: sic ex parte alia proportionatur circa rem dilectam heroyci afficiuntur amantes.*<sup>3</sup>

The rest of the *Tractatus* we may not consider here. Its substance appears elsewhere in equally striking form, and the limitations of space are inexorable.

The list of the physicians whom the Doctour of Physik knew<sup>4</sup> ends with the names of "Bernard and Gatesden and Gilbertyn."<sup>5</sup> The first of these is the famous Bernardus Gordonius, who flourished at the close of the fourteenth century at the great school of

<sup>1</sup> Ff. 215-16. The tractate falls into four chapters:

"Q Capitulum primum de descriptione amoris heroici et descriptionis notificatione et qualiter eius proprietates ex actibus amantium colligantur."

"Q Capitulum secundum de origine et causa vehementis concupiscentiae: et fixae imaginationis in amantibus et nominis interpretatione."

"Q Capitulum tertium de accidentibus et causis accidentium huius morbi."

"Q Capitulum quartum de remediis eiusdem passionis."

<sup>2</sup> "Antea tamen est sciendum quod licet in rubricis capitulorum superius amorem heroycum morbum vocauerim nequaquam tamen morbus proprie dicitur. Morbus etenim est innaturalis dispositio seu contra naturam membri existit nocumentum: aut quod ex dicta mala dispositione sequitur ad actionem virtutis operantis in organo sic contra naturam dispositio proveniente nomine morbi accidens appellatur. Amor igitur cum non sit mala dispositio membri: sed potius nocua actio seu mala virtutis operantis in organo"—and so on at too great length to quote. Chaucer's use of the term *malady*, however, was technically sound.

<sup>3</sup> F. 215. Barthélemy Haureau, in his great article on "Arnaud de Villeneuve, Médecin et Chimiste" (*Hist. littér.*, XXVIII, 26-126), is apparently justified in his contention that Arnaldus did not know Greek: "Au chapitre II, vers la fin, Arnaud dérive le mot *heroicus* du latin *herus* et non du grec *ἥρως*; ce qui prouve clairement qu'il ignorait cette langue grecque" (p. 68). See also below, p. 524. On the *Tractatus de amore*, etc., Haureau remarks: "ce que nous hésitons à croire, c'est qu'on en puisse tirer quelque observation utile" (p. 68). But Haureau did not know Chaucer, Richard of Bury, or Burton!

<sup>4</sup> A 429-34.

<sup>5</sup> I shall have more to say of this list in another paper.



Montpellier, where he became professor about 1285.<sup>1</sup> Bernard's chief work, the *Lilium medicinae*,<sup>2</sup> is not only in general one of the most remarkable of its class, but it also contains a very noteworthy account of the malady we are concerned with. In common with the majority of similar treatises the *Lilium medicinae* groups together a long series of diseases of the brain, and the list is illuminating for our purpose. The bead-roll of cerebral maladies, beginning with the eleventh chapter of Particula II, is as follows:

xi, de scotomia et vertigine; xii, de litargia; xiii, de corruptione memoriae; xiv, de litargia non vera; xv, de congelatione; xvi, de somno profundo innaturali; xvii, de stupore; xviii, de vigiliis; xix, de mania et melancolia; xx, de amore qui hereos dicitur; xxi, de ebrietate; xxii, de frenesi; xxiii, de sternutatione; xxiv, de incubo; xxv, de epilepsia; xxvi, de apoplexia; xxvii, de parali; xxviii, de spasmo; xxviii, de tremore.

*Hereos*, accordingly, is in edifying company. Nor is Gordon's discussion of the malady itself less instructive. In accordance, once more, with the set formula of treatises of the type, he follows an orderly procedure, and considers at length *causa, signa, pronostica cura, clarificatio*.<sup>3</sup> Gordon's treatment is not only uncommonly interesting, but it is also highly typical; it is drawn upon largely by Burton in the *Anatomy*; and I shall therefore quote, in this instance, the greater part of the chapter.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The best account of Gordon is that of Émile Littré, "Bernard de Gordon, Médecin," in *Hist. littér.*, XXV, 321-37. See also Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 694-95. Jacques Fermand, in his *EPOTOMANIA* (see below, p. 536), has the following: "the French have so great an opinion of his authority, that they have a Proverbe, *Que le Médecin qui va sans Gordon, va sans baston*; the Physitian that goes without *Gordon*, goes without his staffe" (pp. 236-37).

<sup>2</sup> I have used it in the editions of 1491 (in the Boston Medical Library) and of 1550 (from the Pagel collection in the library of the Washington University Medical School). Bernard's explanation of the name of his treatise and the statement of the date of its composition appear together at the close of the *Proœmium*:

"Ad honorem igitur agni celestis, qui est splendor & gloria Dei patris, hunc librum intitulo Lilium medicinae. In Lilio enim sunt multi flores & in quolibet flore sunt septem folia candida & septem grana quasi aurea: Similiter liber iste continet septem partes, quarum prima erit aurea, rutilans & clara. Tractabit enim de morbis plurimis vniuersalibus, incipiens à febris: aliæ autem sex partes erunt candidæ & transparentes, propter earum grandem manifestationem. Inchoatus autem est liber iste, cum auxilio magni Dei, in præclaro studio Montispessulani, post annum vigesimum lecturæ nostræ, Anno domini 1305. Mense Iulij" (ed. 1550, p. 4).

<sup>3</sup> The significance of these rubrics in their bearing upon a question that has been raised regarding the source of Burton's *Anatomy* will appear later. See p. 541, n. 7.

<sup>4</sup> In general, in this article, I propose to give the maximum of text and the minimum of comment. The material, I think, is wholly new and much of it extremely difficult of



Morbus<sup>1</sup> qui hereos dicitur est sollicitudo melancolica propter mulieris amorem.

**Causa.** Causa huius passionis est corruptio existimativae<sup>2</sup> propter formam et figuram fortiter affixam. unde cum aliquis philocaptus est in amore alicuius mulieris: ita fortiter concipit formam et figuram et modum quoniam credit et opinatur hanc esse meliorem. pulchriorem. magis venerabilem. magis speciosam. et melius dotatam in naturalibus et moralibus quam aliquam aliarum: et ideo ardentem concupiscit eam. et sine modo et mensura opinans si posset finem attingere quod haec esset sua felicitas et beatitudo. et intantum corruptum est iudicium rationis: quod continue cogitat de ea: et dimittit omnes suas operationes. ita quod si aliquis loquatur cum eo vix intelligit aliqua alia. Et quia est in continua meditatione: ideo sollicitudo melancolica appellatur. Hereos dicitur quia hereosi et nobiles propter affluentiam deliciarum istam passionem consueverunt incurrere. quoniam sicut dicit Viaticus.<sup>3</sup> sicut felicitas est ultimum dilectionis:<sup>4</sup> ita hereos ultimum dilectionis et ideo intantum concupiscunt quod insani efficiuntur. Juxta illud Ouidii. atrahe sublimi triste pendit onus. Iudicium et ipsorum corruptum est. et ideo dicebat versificator. Omnis amans caecus non est amor arbiter aequus. Nam deforme pectus<sup>5</sup> iudicat esse decus. et alibi. Quisquis amat ranam: ranam putat esse dianam.<sup>6</sup> Virtus

access, and its significance warrants as full a statement as space will allow. The citation from Gordon follows the edition of 1491; the few variants of any importance in the edition of 1550 are given in the notes.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. 1550, "Amor."

<sup>2</sup> Ed. 1550, "aestimativae."

<sup>3</sup> "Viaticus" long eluded me, but once found he proved to be of the first importance. See below, pp. 513-16, 522-23.

<sup>4</sup> One thinks at once of the Franklin, "That heeld opinloun, that pleyn delyt Was verrally felicittee parfyt" (A 337-38).

<sup>5</sup> Ed. 1550, "pecus."

<sup>6</sup> I have so far been unable to identify "versificator." In at least four other places Gordon uses the same term in introducing a quotation. In two of these I have found the lines in the *Flos medicinae*, better known as the *Regimen Salernitanum*; the third is obviously from a versified *pharmacopœia*, such as that in cap. ii. of the *Regimen Salernitanum*, or in the *Liber de laudibus et virtutibus compositorum medicaminum* of Aegidius Corbollensis (to whom John of Gaddesden in the *Rosa anglica* refers in at least one passage—f. 97—as "versificator"); the fourth I have not traced. Two of these are also in a crude rhyming hexameter, and it is very possible that in the *hereos* lines, too, Gordon is quoting from one of the numerous versified medical treatises of his day. The special interest of the line is due to Burton's use of it. For in the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part. III, Sec. II, Mem. III, Subs. I, occurs the following: "Love is blind, as the saying is, *Cupid's* blind, and so are all his followers.—Quisquis amat ranam, ranam putat esse Dianam." It is clear that Burton is paraphrasing the first of the three lines cited by Gordon, and quoting the third. Yet Shilleto (Vol. III, p. 178, of his edition) has the following note: "Is the reference in Diana to the famous Diana of Poitiers, mistress of Henri II, a paragon of well-preserved and lasting beauty?" Diana of Poitiers was born in 1499, one hundred and ninety-four years after Gordon quoted the line! One is accordingly not surprised to find Bernardus identified in Shilleto's index with Alexander Gordon. The ranam : Dianam line is also quoted by Gerardus de Solo and Michael Savonarola. See below, pp. 509-10, 532-33.

igitur existimatiua<sup>1</sup> quae est altior inter sensibiles praecipit ymaginatiuae et ymaginatiua concupiscibili: et concupiscibilis irascibili. irascibilis virtuti motiuae lacertorum. et tunc mouetur totum corpus spreto ordine rationis. et currit de nocte et de die per viam et in via: spernendo calorem et frigus et omnia pericula cuiuscunque conditionis sint. cum iam amplius non potest quiescere corpus. sed concupiscentia non quiescit intantum quod tristabilia sunt sine comparatione maiora quam essent delectabilia: dato quod haberet intentum. et cum naturaliter fugiantur tristabilia: hic autem in mente captus est quod<sup>2</sup> propter unam modicam et miserrimam delectationem omne tristabile videtur sibi delectabile. Ita recte<sup>3</sup> faciunt ribaldi qui propter delectationem ludi et tabernae in hieme incedunt nudi et in terra decumbunt. et tamen vident quod est magis<sup>4</sup> delectabile vel tristabile: et non est dubium quod tristabile. et tamen eligunt maxime tristabilia propter modica delectabilia. ita et isti miseri philocapti.

**Signa.** Signa autem sunt quando amittunt somnum et cibum et potum: et maceratur totum corpus: praeterquam oculi. et habent cogitationes occultas et profundas cum suspiriis luctuosis. et si audiant cantilenas de separatione amoris statim incipiunt flere et tristari. et si audiant de coniunctione amoris statim incipiunt ridere et cantare. Pulsus<sup>5</sup> eorum est diuersus et inordinatus, sed est velox, frequens, et altus, si mulier quam diligit nominetur, aut si transeat coram ipso. Et per hunc modum cognouit Gale. passionem cuiusdam iuuenis: patiens enim erat melancholicus, tristis, et macilentus, et pulsus erat occultus et inordinatus, et nolebat Gale. reuelare, tunc accidit à fortuna, illa mulier, quam diligebat, transiuit coram eo, et tunc pulsus fuit subito fortiter excitatus, et tunc mulier transiuisset, pulsus reuersus est ad naturam primam, et tunc cognouit Galen. quòd philocaptus erat et dixit, tu es in tali passione, quia talem diligis mulierem, et alter fuit admiratus, quòd cognouisset passionem et personam. Et ideo si aliquis vult scire nomen mulieris quam diligit nominet sibi multas. et cum nominatur illa quam diligit statim pulsus excitatur. Illa ergo est.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ed. 1550, "aestimatiua."

<sup>2</sup> Ed. 1550, "indirecte."

<sup>3</sup> Ed. 1550 omits.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. 1550 inserts "vel."

<sup>5</sup> The next two sentences, which I failed to transcribe from the edition of 1491, are printed from the edition of 1550.

<sup>6</sup> The edition of 1550 adds: "et fugiatis ab ea!" This artifice—which reads like some of the latest devices of the psychological laboratory for the detection of criminals—seems to have had wide vogue. See, for instance, the account which Ferrand gives of how he discovered "the foolish doating of a young Schollar . . . who was desperately gone in Love" (EPOTOMANIA, ed. 1645, pp. 117–18), and the list of cases which Burton cites (with a quotation from Gordon) in his chapter on "Symptoms of Love" (ed. Shilleto, III, 156–57). I am indebted to my colleague, Dr. F. C. Walker, for calling my attention to Margaret's use of the device in the fifty-second chapter of *The Cloister and the Hearth*: "How know ye 'tis he?" "I held her hand, and with my finger did lightly touch her wrist; and when the others came and went 'twas as if dogs and cats had fared in and out! But at this Ulrich's coming her pulse did leap. . . . I tell ye all this hath been done before, thousands of years ere we were born."



**Pronostica.** Pronosticatio est talis *quod* nisi herosis<sup>1</sup> succurratur in maniam cadunt aut moriuntur.

**Cura.** Patiens iste aut est obediens rationi aut non. Si est obediens remouetur ab illa falsa ymaginatione ab aliquo viro quem timeat: de quo verecundetur cum verbis et amonitionibus ostendendo pericula seculi: diem iudicii: et gaudia paradisi. Et si rationi non est obediens: et si esset iuuenis *quod* esset sub ferula. tunc frequenter et fortiter flagelletur donec totus incipiat fetere.<sup>2</sup> deinde nuncietur sibi valde tristabilia: ut maior tristicia minorem habeat obfuscare. Aut *quod* nuncientur alta delectabilia: ut *quia* factus senescallus: vel bailius: vel beneficium grande est sibi collatum. et ita revocabitur: *quia* honores mutant mores. deinde tollatur ocium: de quo Ouidius. oia si tollas periire cupidinis actus.<sup>3</sup> Deinde occupetur in aliqua actione necessaria. de quo Ouidius Dat<sup>4</sup> vacuae menti *quod* teneatur opus. Deinde distrahatur ad longinquas regiones ut videat varia et diversa. et de hoc Ouidius. Vade per urbanae splendida castra troiae.<sup>5</sup> Invenies pixides et rerum mille colores. Deinde hortetur ad diligendum multas: ut distrahatur amor unius propter amorem alterius. et de hoc Ouidius hortor et ut pariter binas habeatis amicas. fortius et plures si quis amare<sup>6</sup> potest. Utile igitur est mutare regimen. et esse inter amicos et notos. et *quod* vadat per loca ubi sint prata. fontes. montes. nemora. odores boni. pulchri aspectus. cantus avium. instrumenta musica. cum<sup>7</sup> dicit Auicenna *quod* aliqui plus moventur per instrumenta musica. Et si aliqua materia fuerit aggregata: mundificatur sicut dictum est in capitulo de mania et melancolia *quia* vere una species melancoliae est. Finaliter autem cum aliud consilium non habemus: imploremus auxilium et consilium vetularum. ut ipsam dehonestent et difament quantum possunt. ipsae enim habent artem sagacem ad hoc plus quam viri. cum<sup>8</sup> dicit Auicenna. *quod* aliqui sunt qui gaudent in audiendo fetida et illicita. Quaeratur igitur vetula turpissima in aspectu cum magnis dentibus et barba: et cum turpi et vili habitu: et *quod* portet subtus gremium pannum menstruatam et adueniens philocapta *quod* incipiat dehonestare camisiam suam dicendo: *quomodo* est tignosa et ebriosa: et *quod* mingit in lecto: et *quod* est empileptica et impudica: et *quod* in corpore suo sunt excrescentiae enormes cum fetore anhelitus. et aliis omnibus enormibus in quibus vetulae sunt edoctae. Si autem ex his persuasionibus nolit dimittere: subito extrahat pannum menstruatam coram facie: portando dicendo clamando: talis est amica tua talis. Et si ex his non dimiserit: iam non est homo sed diabolus incarnatus. Fatuitas igitur sua ulterius secum sit in perditione.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. 1550, "hereosis."

<sup>2</sup> Both Ferrand and Burton quote this remedy from Gordon.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. 1550, "artes."

<sup>4</sup> Ed. 1550, "habere."

<sup>5</sup> Ed. 1550, "da."

<sup>6</sup> Ed. 1550, "tamen."

<sup>7</sup> Ed. 1550, "togae."

<sup>8</sup> Ed. 1550, "tamen."



The *Clarificatio* I shall pass over, except for its last sentence:<sup>1</sup>

Ultimo intelligendum quod ista passio pulcherrimo modo potest describi sic. Amor est mentis insania: quia animus vagatur per inania:<sup>2</sup> cerebri doloribus permiscens pauca gaudia.

The next name in Chaucer's list is that of Gatesden. Gatesden, as is well known, is John of Gaddesden,<sup>3</sup> who died in 1361, and who was probably born about 1280. He was a member of Merton College, Oxford, and was Master of Arts, Bachelor in Theology, and Doctor in Medicine.<sup>4</sup> His *magnum opus* was the *Rosa anglica*.<sup>5</sup> Unlike the large majority of treatises of its type, the *Rosa anglica* follows an order of its own, and the passage we are concerned with comes near the end instead of toward the beginning of the volume. The fourth book is entitled "De morbis particularibus," and I shall quote its opening paragraph for the light it throws on a characteristic common to John of Gaddesden and Chaucer's Physician:

Quartus liber erit brevis de prius obmissis morbis qui sunt particulares: quia particulariter eueniunt: non particularitate corporis tantum: sed par-

<sup>1</sup> And for the citation, without its elaboration, of the remedy which—along with the use of wine—is perhaps most uniform in its occurrence in the various discussions: "Coitus igitur, quia laetificat et calefacit, et bonam digestionem inducit, ideo bene competit quibus est permissum, dum tamen fiat secundum temperamentum."

<sup>2</sup> Ed. 1550, "maniam."

<sup>3</sup> Not John Gatisden, as Wright and Skeat give the name.

<sup>4</sup> The latest and fullest account of John of Gaddesden is that of H. P. Cholmeley, *John of Gaddesden and the Rosa Medicinae*, Oxford, 1912. See also Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 699.

<sup>5</sup> Through the kindness of my colleague, Dr. George Dock, I have had the use of his copy (the edition of 1502) of this extremely rare work (see the paper by Dr. Dock on "Printed Editions of the *Rosa Anglica*" in *Janus* (n.s.), xli<sup>e</sup> année, livraison viii, 1907, pp. 1 ff.), and I have also collated the beautifully illuminated copy of the edition of 1492 in the John Crerar Library. The explanation of the title of the work (as in the case of the *Lilium medicinae*) is of very curious interest. I give Cholmeley's transcription (p. 24) of the passage:

"Ante tamen capitulo primo ista fiant volo nomen isti libro imponere, vocando ipsum Rosam Medicinae propter quinque additamenta quae sunt in rosa, quasi quinque digitus tenentes rosam, de quibus scribitur.

"Tres sunt barbatii sine barba sunt duo nati, i.e., tres articuli vel partes circumdantes rosam sunt cum pilositate, duae sunt sine, et ideo erunt hic quinque libri. Primi tres erunt barbatii barba longa, quia ad multa se extendent, quia erunt de morbis communibus. . . . Duo sequentes erunt de morbis particularibus cum declaratione aliquorum omisiorum in precedentibus, quasi sine barba. Et sicut rosa excellit omnes flores, ita iste liber excellit omnes practicas medicinae, quia," etc.

Gaddesden's statement of the date of his work is as follows: "quae haec omnia ego Joannes de Gaddesden 7mo anno lecture meae compilavi." Cholmeley (p. 23) gives the date of his "Inceptio ad Lecturam" as 1307. If this is correct, the *Rosa anglica* was written about 1314, nine years after the *Lilium medicinae*. For a very interesting account of the book itself see Cholmeley's second chapter.

ticularitate temporis: *quia raro medicus lucratur pecuniam cum eis: et sunt liturgia mania desipientia melancolia. et particularius de iter agentibus, etc.*<sup>1</sup>

In other mediaeval medical writers *amor hereos* is always closely associated with the discussion of *melancolia*; in John of Gaddesden, however, no dividing line whatever is drawn. The second chapter of Book IV is headed "*De mania desipientia et melancolia*,"<sup>2</sup> and under *Signa* appears the following:

De genere *melancoliae* est *amor hereos* in istis mulieribus et viris qui inordinate diligunt. et habent isti omnes diuersas proprietates *quia* quidam putant se esse gallos et erigunt brachia tanquam alas et volunt cantare. quidam quod sunt episcopi et volunt conferre prebendas. quidam fugiunt ne super eos caelum cadat.<sup>3</sup> et generale est apud omnes quod timent mortem et non vellent eam. et quidam timent omnia nigra. et cum audiunt loqui de diabolo passio arripit eos. nec audent stare soli in camera tales nec ad loca tenebrosa aliquo modo ire propter timorem. et alia talia infinita. sicut de vna muliere quam habui in cura mea vidi quod non audebat loqui de diabolo nec respicere per fenestram extra ne videret diabolum timens de omni homine nigris vestito ne esset ille.<sup>4</sup>

Inasmuch, however, as "a good pitaunce" was not in such cases to be expected, John of Gaddesden dismisses the *cure* of *hereos* summarily:

¶ Sed in amore ereos oportet vituperare illam quam diligit vel facere copulationem et dare camphorum et lactucam super renes. et confortare patientem ne in ethicam incidat. Ista omnia valent istis tribus passionibus. id est. maniae *melancoliae* et desipientiae. et aliquando frenesi et amori ereos quo ad purgationem et balneum. Et ideo simul posui ista capitula quae si bene inspiciantur sunt utilissima in multis casibus: posito quod morbi isti raro eueniant vnde in istis amentibus et alienatis cum istis iam dictis potest medicus facere quasi mirabilia. tamen oportet frequenter humores adustos

<sup>1</sup> I shall have something to say in a later article regarding physicians' fees, and also regarding the suggestion more than once made that John of Gaddesden was the model for Chaucer's Doctour of Physik.

<sup>2</sup> Ff. 132-33.

<sup>3</sup> With these constantly recurring symptoms of *melancolia* in the more general sense I shall have to deal later in another connection.

<sup>4</sup> The bearing of much of this—and of numerous similar passages—on the famous discussion of *dreams* in the *Nun's Priest's Tale* I shall also have to leave for consideration another time. The commonly accepted views regarding the sources of Chaucer's dream-lore will, I think, have to undergo revision. It is not upon mediaeval sermon-books that he chiefly drew—if he drew on them at all.

euacuare sicut satis dixi in primo et 2° et aliquantulum in 3° et ideo recurre ad loca illa.<sup>1</sup>

Before coming to the sources of the mediaeval treatment of *amor hereos* in the Arabic and Greek writers, and to the later development of the subject between Chaucer and Burton, I shall mention two of Chaucer's more immediate contemporaries.

John of Tornamira was the physician of two popes—Gregory XI and Clement VII—and of the king of France; and he was twice (the second time about 1401) head of the school of Montpellier. His period of greatest activity was the last quarter of the fourteenth century, and his chief work was the *Clarificatorium super nono almanoris cum textu ipsius Rasis*.<sup>2</sup> His discussion of *amor hereos* is at the close of his long gloss on the thirteenth chapter ("De melancolia") of the text of Razi,<sup>3</sup> under the heading "de amore hereos." His most significant contribution to the subject, from our point of view, is his comment on the scope and application of the phrase. It has a very definite bearing on the passage in the *Philobiblon*, and I shall reserve it for quotation there.<sup>4</sup> What follows is sufficiently characteristic:

Et nota quod amor hereos cum sit vna species melancolie ex quo est ibi alienatio et corruptio rationis et apud quosdam antiquos dicitur sollicitudo melancolica: quia ultra rationem sunt solliciti versus mulieres propter concupiscentiam carnalem conceptam ab eis et ultimate deliciosam habendam confidentes. . . . Et nota quod amor hereos est amor multum excedens sine ratione: ideo dicitur amor cum insania mentis propter multum delectabile ab eis conceptum iam habendum. nam hereos grece est multum delectabile latine<sup>5</sup>. . . . proprie tamen amor hereos vertit se ad mulierem propter deliciam carnalem ultimate eis deliciosam habendam. Nam quibusdam iuuenibus libidinis videtur quod participatio carnalis cum quibusdam mulieribus est vltimum delicie et felicitatis mundane: nam isti ex spe

<sup>1</sup> I have been, unfortunately, unable to see the work of "Gilbertyn"—the *Compendium medicinae* (sometimes known as the *Rosa anglicana*—not *anglica*) of Gilbertus Anglicus (thirteenth century). The book is too rare to be sent out of the few libraries that possess it, and the examination I have had made of it has failed to disclose any treatment of *hereos*. I am not sure, however, that it does not contain such a discussion. It is not always easy to find when it does not constitute a separate chapter.

<sup>2</sup> See Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 695. I have used the 1507 edition of the *Clarificatorium*, in the Pagel collection.

<sup>3</sup> See also below, pp. 507 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 531, and also p. 524, n. 9.

<sup>5</sup> For what immediately follows, see below, p. 531.



mundana sensata alicuius mulieris infixā immemoriā per memoriā frequentatā imaginando conditiones subiacentes: etc.

Since, as we have seen, the malady results from too great dryness of the brain, the following cure (in addition to others) is suggested:

Rasis vult quod fortiter inebrientur quibusdam diebus. vt cerebrum humectetur: et ipsarum obliuiscatur. quia sicut modica inebriatio incitat luxuriā ita magna obfuscat propter excessuā humiditatem obliuiscuntur talem actum dormiunt velut stupidi: de quo somno multum indigent. Et sic terminetur cura amoris hereos.

One of the most edifying of all the mediaeval compendia is the *Philonium* of the Portuguese Valescus (or Valascus) of Taranta.<sup>1</sup> Like Bernardus Gordonius and John of Tornamira, Valescus was a teacher at Montpellier, and the *Philonium*, finished in 1418, was the outcome of thirty-six years of experience.<sup>2</sup> Valescus' chapter (lib. I, cap. 11) *De amore hereos* comes between those on *incubus* and *mania*, and it opens with a remarkable addition to our fund of etymological information:

Hereos grece idem est quod dominus latine. Et alemani dicunt. heer. id est dominus.<sup>3</sup>

The definition immediately follows:

Est autem amor hereos amor inordinatus et irrationabilis quem aliquis habet erga aliquam mulierem non propter bonum finem. Est ergo hereos amor cum sollicitudine immensa propter amorem mulieris.<sup>3</sup>

And the cause is concisely stated:

Causa hereos est corruptio virtutis imaginatiuæ falsa representantis virtuti rationabili et opinatiuæ. Nam imaginatio magna domina est: et

<sup>1</sup> Its title, in the edition of 1526 (Pagel collection), is *Aureum ac perutile opus practice medicine operam dantibus: quod Philonium appellatur*. Its *Prologus* is a remarkable document. I shall have occasion elsewhere to quote its invocation of divine assistance. Valescus' reasons for dividing his book into seven parts are of a piece with the explanations of the titles of the *Lilium medicine* and the *Rosa anglica*: "Primo enim septem verba quæ dominus noster iesus christus saluator noster in cruce pendens locutus fuit. Septem sunt gaudia virginis gloriosæ. Septem sacramenta ecclesiæ. Septem petitiones in dominica oratione. Septem sunt virtutes septem peccatis mortalibus resistentes. Alia septem virtutes: quatuor cardinales et tres theologice. Septem peccata mortalia quæ ignorari non debent vt euitentur. Septem opera dei in sex diebus facta cum requie septimæ diei. . . . Septem candelabra. . . . Septem opera misericordiæ. Septem ecclesiæ quæ sunt in asia. . . . Septem spiritus qui sunt ante thronum dei. . . . Septem planetæ. Septem dies in septimana. Septem climata tam habitabilia"—and so on through six more groups of seven (fol. ii).

<sup>2</sup> "Inceptus est autem liber iste cum auxilio magni et eterni dei post practicam usualem. 36. annorum per me Valescum anno domini. 1418" (fol. ii).

<sup>3</sup> Fol. xix.

imperat aliis virtutibus. Quando ergo ipsa apprehendit species rei dilectae: tunc eas presentat aliis virtutibus scilicet rationi et memoriae. et iterum isto modo sibi: et ita continue nocte dieque stant amantium animae ita quod nil aliud perfecte imaginari possunt et deus scit quomodo ratio tunc operatur.<sup>1</sup>

The *signa* may be passed over. Upon the *curatio*, however, Valescus lavishes all his eloquence. Of the thirteen methods of cure which he enumerates I shall mention only four. The first is sufficiently obvious and indubitably effective: "*Prima est quod detur sibi illa quam diligit: sicut dicit Rasis et cura facta est.*" The fifth is familiar, but perhaps nowhere else so enticingly phrased as in the *Philonium*:

Quinto iuuat incedere per prata cum sociis et dilectis viridaria et nemora: et per iardinos floridos vbi cantant aues et resonent philomenae: vbi prandia et cenae sint bene parata cum triplici vel quadruplici specie vinorum: et optimis ferculis et fructibus: vbi flores et sarta et gaudia preparentur: vt unus homo saluetur: et ista ab eius consortio cum conuenientia et dei reuerentia suscipiantur tam in gurgitatione voluptatum quae multum deo displicent. Ad hoc etiam multum iuuat loqui cum amicis et dilectis suis.<sup>2</sup>

The sixth we have met with in Gordonius, but Valescus makes his own addition:

Sexto iuuat ad distractionem imaginationis ammonitio parentum et sapientum virorum: qui sibi doceant huius seculi et venturi effectus: et pericula: ac scandala quae inde possunt sequi: etsi iuuenis est: flagelletur culus eius cum verberibus: et si non sistit: ponatur in fundo turris cum pane et aqua donec veniam a sua insania petat.<sup>2</sup>

Nor is the ninth original, except perhaps in its phrasing:

Nono ad hoc iuuat vt diligat plures et illas osculetur et cum eis saepe loquatur: vt eius amor erga eam non sit totus: sed dividatur. Ideo dicebat Ouidius. hortor vt et pariter binas habeatis amicas. Fortior et plures si quis habere potest. Nam si vna dicit non: altera dicit sic.<sup>2</sup>

There is space for but two of the seven divisions of the *Clarificatio*. The first is a rather cynical expression of Valescus' belief in the passing of the malady:

Primo sciendum quod pauci vel nulli nunc efficiuntur heroiei. nam tanta dissolutione vtuntur cum diversis mulieribus: quod eorum amor super unam queiscere [sic] non valet.<sup>2</sup>

The second speaks with sufficient clearness for itself:

Secundo nota quod ebrietas: gulositas: luxuria: latrocinium: hereos: ludus: vsura: maliloquium: mentiri: blasphemias petere: tenacitas seu

<sup>1</sup> Fol. xix.

<sup>2</sup> Fol. xx.

aueritia: loquacitas: *omnia ista iudicium rationis impediunt: et habituata vix recedunt.*<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to refrain from further quotation; there are few more interesting human documents of the sort than the eleventh chapter of the *Philonium*.<sup>2</sup>

### III

The passages thus far cited are more than enough to establish the meaning of Chaucer's line. But the interest of the subject itself, as well as its wider implications, warrants further consideration of the earlier history both of the malady and of its name. And that history is strikingly typical. For *hereos* is one more embodiment of the passage of Greek learning by way of the Arabs into Western Europe.

Perhaps the greatest of all the Arabic physicians—with the possible exception of Avicenna—was Rhazes or Razi (Abu Bekr Muhammed ben Zakarijja er-Razi), who lived from 850 to 923 or 932.<sup>3</sup> His most extensive work, the vast compendium known as *al-Hawi* (or *Haouy*), was translated into Latin in the thirteenth century under the name of *Continens*.<sup>4</sup> It is a gigantic encyclopedia of the medical knowledge of his day, consisting largely of a mass of

<sup>1</sup> Fol. xx.

<sup>2</sup> A much older treatise is the *Commentarium Magistri Bernardi Provincialis super tabulas Salerni* (*Collectio Salernitana*, 5, 269–328). It is, in large measure, a compendium of folk-medicine, quoting constantly the “mulieres Salernitanae” as its authorities for all manner of curious remedies, some of which still survive in rural communities. Master Bernardo flourished during the last half of the twelfth century (De Renzi, *Collectio Salernitana*, 5, 329 ff.). In his chapter “De calidis II gradu” (5, 299–300) occurs the following:

“Ferrugo, id est fex ferri: Si quis invenis [apparently a misreading of *iuvēnis*] aggravatus sit amore alicuius mulieris quam non possit habere, vel aliqua puella in amore alicuius pueri quem non possit habere, manibus post sterga [sic] positis vel etiam revinctis, bibat de aqua in qua ferrugo vel ferrum candens extinctum sit, ore prono, in vase ubi est aqua, et sic minus amore illicito torquebitur; phisicum et empiricum et rationale remedium: vel potest dici, et verum est, quod humores qui ab amore illicito *vel hercos* levigantur aqua ferruginea bibita gravidantur inferius et sic amor inervatur et spiritus animalis minus infestatur.”

The form *hercos* is noteworthy, since it appears also in the Harleian MS. See below, p. 523, n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> See Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 598–601; Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe* (Paris, 1876), I, 337–54. Razi's name is variously transmogrified in the Middle Ages as Abubeter, Abubater, Bubikir, etc. I may say, once for all, that no two of the modern authorities whom I have consulted agree in their transliteration of any of the Arabic names that occur in this paper, and I assume no responsibility for the forms (always those given by reputable authorities) which I have used.

<sup>4</sup> On its translator, Ferraguth, see Leclerc, II, 464–67.



(often verbal) citations from his predecessors—Greek, Arabic, Persian, Indian, even Chaldean—accompanied by Razi's own comment. The twentieth *tractatus* of the first book is entitled "De coturub vel ereos,"<sup>1</sup> and it falls into two chapters, of which I shall quote the first.<sup>2</sup> The sheer gauntness and starkness of it is of a different world from the Ovidian trappings of Valescus.

¶ *Capitulum primum est de essentia causis signis accidentibus et pronosticatione coturub vel ereos.*

*Dixit Judeus quod patientes coturub vel ereos incedunt de nocte tanquam canes: et eorum facies sunt croceae propter vigilias et eorum corpora dessicantur: et continue siciunt: et hoc accidit eis post laborem.*

*Dixit Alexan. quod patientes coturub vel ereos incedunt stridendo alias vagando et clamando tota nocte et proprie per sepulturas mortuorum usque ad mane: et eorum color est croceus: et eorum oculi debilitantur: et siccantur: et fiunt concaui: et non lachrymantur: et desiccatur eorum lingua: et videtur puluerizata: et habent crustulas vel ulcera quae non possunt consolidari: et hic morbus est de morbis melancholiae.*

*Dico Patientes morbum qui appellatur corub [sic] incedunt amentes per sepulturas mortuorum: et hic morbus est in capite: et eorum facies apparet immutata: et visus debilis: et oculi sicci et concaui: et non lachrymantur: et eorum lingua est sicca: et apparent in ea pustulae: et totum corpus siccum et durum: et multum siciunt: et impossibile est quod conualescant ex hoc morbo: propter praua accidentia quae concomitantur ipsum: et mesti iacent supra eorum faciem: et videntur in eorum facie et dorso vel tibiis quasi quaedam maneries pulueris et morsus canis: et hoc accidit ex melancholia: et ambulant de nocte tanquam lupi: et desiccantur eorum linguae: et haec species est de vsues idest birsem melancholica.<sup>3</sup>*

The second chapter—"de cura coturub vel ereos"—deals chiefly with phlebotomy and the use of drugs, and I shall omit it here.

Next to the *Continens* the best-known work of Razi is *El Mansoury* (*Liber medicinalis Almansoris*). The ninth book (or *tractatus*)

<sup>1</sup> "Coturub" (*qutrub*)," Professor George F. Moore informs me, "is, in the medical writers, 'a species of melancholia, disordering the intelligence, drawing up the face . . . turning the skin ashy, the eyes sunken, body emaciated,' etc. The lexicons refer to Avicenna, Book iii, for a more detailed description." The reference is evidently to the chapter discussed below (p. 512).

<sup>2</sup> *Continens Rasis ordinatus et correctus per clarissimum artium et medicinae doctorem magistrum Hieronymum Surianum* (Venice, 1509). I have used the copy in the John Creer Library.

<sup>3</sup> "Usues is *wiswds* (Western pronunciation *wiswēs*), 'insanity'; *birsem* (*birśām*) is defined in the general dictionaries as pleurisy (or peritonitis?), accompanied by delirium; while *sirsām* is inflammation of the brain" (Moore). The sixth chapter of Razi's *Liber divisionum* (see below, p. 510) is entitled: "De birsen. *id est* litargia et irenesi

of *El Mansoury* was frequently translated and commented on during the Middle Ages, and its text may be found in the *Clarificatorium* of John of Tornamira.<sup>1</sup> It does not itself contain a discussion of *hereos*, but this lack is supplied by the commentators.<sup>2</sup> I shall first quote a brief passage from the thirteenth chapter ("De melancolia") in the twelfth century Latin translation of *El Mansoury* by Gerhard of Cremona.<sup>3</sup>

Rasis non nominavit gadob . . . . neque nominavit sollicitudinem quæ ex amore mulieris vel alicuius rei accidit cuius cura est ebrietas et mutatio de regione in regionem et coitus cum alia quam cum ea quam diligit.

It is, however, in another commentator on the ninth *tractatus* of the *Liber Almansoris* that one of the most remarkable of all the disquisitions on *amor hereos* occurs. Gerardus de Solo was at the head of the school at Montpellier about 1320,<sup>4</sup> so that his treatise falls between those of Bernardus Gordonius and John of Tornamira. His comment on the chapter "De melancolia" in Razi contains the following:<sup>5</sup>

Sequitur de tertia specie melancolie quæ amoreos dicitur circa quam passionem quattuor sunt pernotanda. Primo secundum philosophum .vi. ethicorum amor triplex est quidam est propter bonum domesticum et vocatur amor virtuosus procedens a virtute: ita quod non patitur secum illicitum. . . . Alter est amor propter bonum utile: ut inter dominum et seruum et communiter non est talis amor. et tertius est amor propter bonum est delectabile diuersificatus secundum fiens: secundum Auicem. iij. canonis nam aliqui in auro. aliqui in diuitijs. aliqui in mulieribus est consequens appetitum. et ille amor est triplex. quidam est non multum intensus. et ille vocatur ereos et ille non multum intrat in voluntate: sicut amor qui non intrat multum inter dentes: vt dicitur in prouerbiis. Alter est amor in mulieribus qui est multum intensus et assiduus circa mulierem principaliter

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 504. The *Tractatus nonus*, without comment, is also accessible in the *Articella* of Petrus Hispanus (Lugd., 1533), pp. cccxxx-ccclv.

<sup>2</sup> As we have already seen in the case of John of Tornamira.

<sup>3</sup> *Alubetri arazi filii zacharie Liber incipit qui ab eo Almansor vocatus est* . . . . translatus ex arabico in latinum apud toletum a Herardo cremonensi, etc. Lugd., 1510 (John Crerar Library), fol. cxlix. Gerhard of Cremona (1114-87), whom Steinschneider calls "der fruchtbarste Uebersetzer des Mittelalters," ranks with Constantinus Africanus (see below, p. 513) as an intermediary between the Arabs and Western Europe. See Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 660, and especially Leclerc, II, 398-431.

<sup>4</sup> See Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 695.

<sup>5</sup> *Almansoris liber Nonus cum expositione Geraldî de Solo doctoris Montispezzulani*, Lugd., 1504 (John Crerar Library), foll. 39-41.

propter actus coitus exercendos. *et talis vocatur amoreneos. id est. amor nobilis a nobilitate dictus: quia multum fortis amor: quia milites magis conuenerunt habere istam passionem quam alii. ideo illi sunt coacti qui sunt in delitiis. et potest sic diffinire: amoreneos est amor multum fortis seruens et assiduus circa mulierem propter actus coitus exercendos: et talis vocatur amoreneos.*

The remainder of the long passage has too much of the frankness of a medical treatise for quotation here. Its interest, apart from its obvious emphasis, lies in the curious distinction—peculiar to Gerard de Solo, so far as I know—between *hereos* and *amor hereos*; and in the fact that the phrase *amor hereos* is uniformly printed as a single word.<sup>1</sup>

A third widely used work of Razi was the *Liber diuisionum*. Its chapter (xi) "De amore" is succinct.<sup>2</sup>

Cura eius est assiduatio coytus et ieiunium et deambulatio et ebrietas plurima assidue.<sup>3</sup>

Razi was followed by another noted physician whose name precedes his in Chaucer's list. Haly (Ali ben el-Abbas el-Majusi) died about 994, and his "Royal Book," *el-Maliki* (*Almaleki*, *Maleky*), was translated into Latin in 1127.<sup>4</sup> I shall quote but a brief extract from his treatment of our theme:<sup>5</sup>

¶ De amore. Amor autem est animæ sollicitudo in id quod amatur et cogitationis in id ipsum perseverantia. Cuius signa sunt oculorum profundatio, etc.

The rest of the treatment follows the usual course.

Almost contemporary with Haly was Abulkasim (Abulkasim Chalaf ben Abbas el-Zahrawi),<sup>6</sup> best known for his contribution to

<sup>1</sup> Gerard de Solo also quotes the frog couplet, in the form: "Si quis amat ranam ranam capit esse dianam."

<sup>2</sup> *Liber diuisionum* translatus in tilero a magistro Hererdo Cremonensi de arabico in latinum. Verba abubetri filii zachariae arasi. Lugd., 1510 (John Crerar Library), cap. xi, fol. vii.

<sup>3</sup> There is also, in the Boston Public Library, a very beautiful fourteenth-century MS (formerly in the Ashburnham collection) of a treatise of Razi entitled *De aegritudinibus*. Its eleventh chapter, also "De amore," contains a brief description of the malady and a list of its symptoms, in addition to the cure. Inasmuch as Razi left behind over two hundred works, I have not attempted to identify the treatise.

<sup>4</sup> See Leclerc, I, 381-88; Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 601-2; Daremberg, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits médicaux* (Paris, 1853), pp. 80-85.

<sup>5</sup> *Haly filius Abbas. Liber totius medicinae necessaria continens*, etc., Lugd., 1523 (John Crerar Library). The discussion is found in the seventh chapter of the ninth book, "De melancolia et canina et amore causisque eorum et signis."

<sup>6</sup> Known also as Alzaharavius, Alsarabi, Ezzahraui, etc. He lived about 912-1013. See Leclerc, I, 437-57; Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 602-5.



the development of surgery. His great work was the *Tesrif*, or *Altasrif*, which was early translated into Latin (by whom, is not known). The first two books of the *Tesrif* (as well as other sections of it) were printed separately, and it is an early edition of these that I have used.<sup>1</sup> The discussion of love is in the *Liber practicae*, Tractatus primus, sectio secunda, cap. xvii: "De amore et est excessus amoris."<sup>2</sup> The term *hereos* does not occur in the text; one of the rubrics, however, reads, "Causae amoris hereos." A few sentences will be sufficient to indicate the character of the chapter:

Signa dilectionis sunt, *quoniam* oculi sunt concaui. . . . Color vero faciei est citrinus & omnia sua membra sunt sicca. . . . Curatio primae speciei est vti frequenter coitu cum quacumque poterit & cum non dilecta & assidue ieiunare & itinerare & inebriare. Curatio vero secundae speciei est quod adhaereat ei *quam* diligit, & non absteineat videre ipsam . . . & inspicere viridaria & cursus aquarum & lumina & potare vinum, & esse cum sociis & audire parabolas & hystorias quae sollicitudinem ducunt . . . et elongari a rebus grauibz & horribilibz & prostrentur sibi in domo genera florum & herbarum odoriferarum sicut sunt rosae folia mirtae basilicon mellissa & folia citri & similia.

We have now reached one of the greatest names in the development of mediaeval medicine. Avicenna (Abn Ali el-Hosein ben Abdallah Ibn Sina) is of perhaps equal importance with Razi as a physician, and of incomparably greater weight and influence in other fields. On his amazing fecundity and on the organizing power of his genius it is unnecessary to dwell here.<sup>3</sup> His great medical work—the bulk of which (although less than that of the vast *Continens* of Razi) is almost commensurate with its influence—is the *Liber Canonis*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Liber theoricæ necnon practicae Alsaharavii*, Aug. Vind., 1519 (John Crerar Library). On this edition see Leclerc, I, 448.

<sup>2</sup> Fol. xxxi.

<sup>3</sup> Avicenna's dates are 980–1037. For brief accounts of his life and of his contribution to *medicine* see Leclerc, I, 466–77; Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 605–9.

<sup>4</sup> The Arabic text is in the edition of 1593 (Rome). It was translated into Latin, toward the close of the twelfth century, by Gerhard of Cremona. I have used the Latin text in the editions of 1490, 1556, and 1582. That Chaucer had some knowledge of the *Liber Canonis* is clear from the well-known reference in the Pardoner's Tale (C 889–91):

But, certes, I suppose that Avicen  
Wroote never in no canon, ne in no fen,  
Mo wonder signes of empoisoning, etc.

But his curious use of the word "canon" (regarding which Professor Skeat's note is sound) seems to indicate that his acquaintance may have been at second hand. The same statement, however, must be made (I fear) in Professor Skeat's own case. For Avicenna's "De venenis" is Lib. IV, Fen VI, and not Fen I, as Skeat states.

The passage with which we are concerned is found in Liber III, Fen I, Tractatus IV, cap. 23, under the title: "De alhasch id est Amantibus."<sup>1</sup> And its treatment of the theme has influenced

<sup>1</sup> This is the title in the editions of 1556 and 1582. In the edition of 1490 the heading is "De ilisci." "Ilisci" also appears in the 1582 *text*, and both forms are recognized by later writers (see pp. 532, 535, 538). The older commentators give curious explanations of the term. In the glossary of Arabic terms ("Arabicorum nominum Bellunensis interpretatio") appended to the edition of 1582, *alhasch* is explained as follows: "*alhasch* sicut scribit Ebenesis est species volubilis quae involuitur super arbores, et exicca east, et ad eius similitudinem alhasch dicitur de quodam aegritudine quae exiccat patientem ipsam [sic], et removet ab eo colorem splendidum vitae." Further information (?) is given in an extremely interesting fourteenth-century work (see more fully p. 516 below), Ad-Damiris *Haydt al-Hayawdu* (a zoölogical lexicon). Under the word *al-Fakhshah* (a certain species of collared dove), at the close of a long disquisition on the various stages of love, the author discusses certain differences of opinion regarding the derivation of the terms he has used: "As to *al-ishk*, it is derived from *al-ashakah*, which is a plant that twists itself round the roots of trees that grow near it, and that are hardly able to free themselves of it excepting through death. Some say that *al-ashakah* is a certain yellow plant changed in its leaves, and that an ardent lover is named *ashik* on account of his yellow colour and the change in his state" (Vol. II, Pt. I, 489-92). I am indebted to the kindness of Professor George Foot Moore of Harvard University for the following note: "Avicenna, in the chapter to which you refer (ed. Rome, 1593, p. 316), treats of the malady called *al-'isq*. The name is not badly represented by *ilisci* (the final *i* is the Arabic case ending after the preposition *fi*, 'concerning'). *Alhasch* in the title in the editions of 1556 and 1582 is a less correct equivalent; the vowel *a* instead of *i* may have been suggested by the name of the plant *al-'asq* which your 'interpretatio' defines, but is more probably to be accounted for by ignorance of the proper pronunciation. 'De amantibus' is a free translation of the Arabic title.

"The verb '*asika*' means 'be madly in love, wild with desire' (said, e.g., of a she-camel in heat); the affection may be honest or guilty, but, in distinction from *habba*, the common verb for 'love,' '*asika*' always connotes excess. The noun '*isq*' corresponds. (The medical use and definition you have from Avicenna himself.) The passionate lover is '*asik* or '*asika*;' a woman beyond measure amorous of her husband is '*asika*, etc.

"The native etymologists give various explanations how the passionate lover comes to be called '*asik*'. One says, 'he is so called because he withers away (literally, "loses his moisture, dries up") from the violence of desire.' Others connect the use in one way or another with '*asakah*, the name of a plant 'which is at first green, then shrivels and turns yellow.' So *Al-Zajjaj* (died ca. 311 A.H.). *Ibn Doreid* (died 321 A.H.), after defining the name of the plant, says, 'it is thought that from this the '*asika*' is so called, because of his withering away.' In the *Lisān*: '*asika*, because he withers away as the '*asakah* does when it is cut down.'

"What plant is meant is not certain. I have not run down the botanists; the general dictionaries say that in 'post-classical' authors it is the same as *lablāb*, and this is now a leguminous plant, *Dolichos lablab*, often called 'Egyptian bean.' Originally, *lablāb* was a climbing plant; ivy seems to be sometimes meant. *Zamakhshari* (died 538 A.H.) in the *Asas* will have it that '*isq*' is derived from '*asq*' (*lablāb*), because this plant attaches itself to a tree and clings to it.' The verb '*asika*' (with the preposition *bi*) means 'cleave, or stick, to a person or thing.' Climbing plants are unknown in Arabia, as are also 'Egyptian beans'; these senses are necessarily 'post-classical.' The *Lisān* says that the name '*asakah*' was given also to a thorny desert shrub (*'arāk*) on which camels feed.

"I have not found the explanation given in your 'interpretatio' in any of the dictionaries I have consulted; it is not plausible enough to be worth hunting. The etymologies of the Arab philologists I have quoted are the kind of thing etymologists have been doing since the craft existed. To take the name of the plant as the starting-point, and make the verb a metaphorical denominative is a mere play of ingenuity. But it is possible that the association in some form was known to Avicenna—the chronology would admit it—though in skimming the chapter I did not come upon anything that suggested this."



profoundly the occidental authorities already quoted. Avicenna's definition is as follows:

Haec aegritudo est sollicitudo melancholica similis melancholiae, in quo homo sibi iam induxit incitationem seu applicationem cogitationis suae continuam super pulchritudine ipsius quarundam formarum, et gestuum seu morum, quae insunt ei.

Among the *signa* are the now familiar details:

Et signa quidem eius sunt profunditas oculorum et siccitas ipsorum . . . et alteratur dispositio ipsius ad risum, et laetitiam aut ad tristitiam et fletum cum amoris cantilenas audit: et praecipue cum sit rememoratio repudii, et elongationis: et sunt omnia membra eius arefacta praeter oculos, etc.

The account of the pulse, and of its use in identifying the object of the lover's passion, follows in due course. The usual methods of *cure* are laid down, prominent among them the recourse to beldams, upon which Gordonius elaborated, and which is first found, so far as I know, in Avicenna. And the *setting* of the malady is that which we have elsewhere seen.<sup>1</sup>

It will be remembered that Bernardus Gordonius quoted from *Viaticus*,<sup>2</sup> and after following many blind trails, I at last succeeded in identifying the passage. A number of the medical works we have been considering have a chapter (or even a book) "de itinere," which deals with the emergencies incident to travel. And there are also separate medical compendia for the traveler's needs.<sup>3</sup> Among these perhaps the most remarkable is the *Viaticum* of that Constantinus Africanus who has achieved a bad eminence as Chaucer's "cursed monk Dan Constantyn."<sup>4</sup> But just this notoriety is scarcely deserved. He is characterized by Pagel as "ein Mann, der zu den

<sup>1</sup> The chapters immediately preceding are "De mania et dispositione canina" . . . ; "De melancholia" . . . ; "De insania lupina, aut canina, vel de lycanthropia." Those which follow are "De vertigine"; "De contorsione"; "De epilepsia"; "De apoplexia"; "De paralyssi"; etc.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 499.

<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, the twelfth-century *Viaticus* of Aegidius Corboliensis (ed. Valentine Rose, Leipzig, 1907)—a most interesting treatise in verse.

<sup>4</sup> E 1810-11. Cf. also A 433, where he is included among the Arabs in Chaucer's list. With Chaucer's epithet compare Thaddaeus Alderotti, *In Aph. Hipp. exposit.*, Venet., 1517, fol. 1: "Translationem Constantini persequar, non quia melior, sed quia communior; nam ipsa pessima est et defectiva et superflua; nam ille insanus monachus in transferendo peccavit quantitate et qualitate" (quoted by Daremberg, *Notices et Extraits*, p. 85). Thaddaeus' dates are 1215-95; see Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 667-70.



bedeutenderen Erscheinungen des Mittelalters zählt und dem das Verdienst zukommt, als Hauptvermittler arabischer Weisheit im Occident indirekt das Studium und die Kenntniss der griechischen Medizin wiederbelebt und gefördert zu haben, nämlich Constantinus Africanus, der daher auch das Ehrenprädikat eines medizinischen Präceptors des Abendlandes ('magister orientis et occidentis') erhalten hat."<sup>1</sup> Now the *Viaticum* is a translation of an Arabic work, the *Zad el-Mouçafir* (*Provision du voyageur*) of Abou Djafar Ahmed ben Ibrahim ben Abi Khâled,<sup>2</sup> the date of whose death is variously given as 961, 1004, and 1009.<sup>3</sup> But Constantine was not the only translator of the *Zad el-Mouçafir*. It seems to have been almost immediately translated into Greek, for a Greek version of it is extant in a manuscript not later than the end of the tenth century, or the beginning of the eleventh.<sup>4</sup> And the twentieth chapter (Περὶ ἔρωτος) of the first book is—on account of its references to Rufus of Ephesus—fortunately accessible.<sup>5</sup> It is, as Daremberg remarks, "curieux" to the last degree, but I shall have to content myself with a couple of brief extracts. The first is the beginning of the chapter:

Ὁ μὲν ἔρωσ ὑπάρχει νοῦσος γεγεννημένη ἐν τῷ ἐγκεφάλῳ · ἔστι δὲ ὑπερβολὴ ἔρωτος, μετὰ συλλογισμοῦ καὶ ἀγρυπνίας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παρακολουθοῦσιν αὐτῷ μεγιστώτεροι πόνοι τῆς ψυχῆς, φημὶ, ὁ συλλογισμὸς καὶ ἡ ἀγρυπνία. Εἶπε δέ τις τῶν φιλοσόφων ὅτι ὁ ἔρωσ ὠνόμασται ἀγάπης ἐπίτασις · πολλάκις δὲ γίνεται ἡ αἰτία τοῦ ἔρωτος ἐξ ἀναγκαίας χρείας τῆς φύσεως εἰς τὸ ἀπωσάσθαι τὸ περιττὸν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος · ὁ δὲ σοφώτατος Ροῦφος ἔφη ὅτι ἡ συνουσία ὀνίνησιν εἰς τοὺς ὑπερникῶντας αὐτοὺς ἡ μελαῖνα χολή, ἡ ἡ ἀφροσύνη · ἐπιστρέφει γὰρ πρὸς ἐαυτὴν τὴν τοιῶν φρόνησιν, καὶ διαλύει τὴν ἰσχυρότητα τοῦ ἔρωτος, καὶ τάχα εἰ συνουσιάζει τὸν μὴ ἐρώμενον, καὶ μαλάσσει αὐτὸς τὴν σκληρίαν.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I, 643. So Daremberg: "Il a reçu et il mérite à tous égards le titre de *Restaurateur des lettres médicales en Occident*" (p. 86). For the salient facts in his career, which ended in 1087, see Leclerc, I, 539-41; II, 356-66; Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 643-45.

<sup>2</sup> See the valuable *Recherches* on the subject by Ch. Daremberg, *Notices et Extraits des manuscrits médicaux grecs, latins et français des principales bibliothèques de l'Europe*, Paris, 1853, pp. 63-100. And compare Leclerc, II, 360-63; Pucinotti, *Storia della medicina*, II<sup>1</sup>, 333 ff. The *Viaticum* is sometimes wrongly attributed to Gerard of Cremona, Isaac Judaeus, or Gerard of Berry. See Cholmeley, *John of Gaddesden*, pp. 171, 179; *Collectio Salernitana*, 5, 117. Cf. Bernardus Gordonius: "propter dictum . . . Gerardi supra viaticum" (*Lilium medicinae*, Partic. II, cap. 10).

<sup>3</sup> Daremberg, p. 77.

<sup>4</sup> See Daremberg, p. 77, and *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> It is printed entire in Daremberg et Ruelle, *Œuvres de Rufus d'Éphèse* (Paris, 1879), Appendice, section iv, pp. 582-84. For the full list of chapters of the *Éphodes* see Daremberg, *Notices et Extraits*, pp. 65 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Œuvres de Rufus*, p. 582. The sentence that immediately follows I shall quote below in another connection. See p. 531.

The bulk of the chapter is a panegyric on wine-bibbing as a cure for love. The following must suffice as a sample:

Καὶ διαλογισμῶν ἐξαίρεται τὸ οἶνοποτεῖν μετὰ τραγωδίας καὶ μουσουργίας καὶ διηγήμασι φίλων καὶ ἀκοντίζεσθαι μέλος ἱαμβικοῦ · καὶ βλέπειν περιβόλαια χλοερά, καὶ πρόσωπα ἀνθρᾶ καὶ εὐθαλῇ · φησὶ γὰρ ὁ Ροῦφος ὅτι ὁ οἶνος φάρμακον μέγιστόν ἐστι τῶν φοβουμένων καὶ ἐρώντων. . . . Ἐφῆ δὲ καὶ ὁ Ροῦφος ὅτι οὐ μόνον ὁ οἶνος πινόμενος συμμέτρως ἐξαπλαῖ τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ ἀποδιώκει ἐξ αὐτῆς τὴν λύπην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕτερα πάλιν ποιῶσι τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὡς τὰ εὐκρατα λουτρὰ καὶ θερμὰ, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων ἐγείρει αὐτοὺς ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτῶν, ὅταν εἰσέρχονται ἐν τῷ βαλανίῳ συμμέτρως μελῶδῃν καὶ τραγωδεῖν.<sup>1</sup>

And the chapter ends:

αὕτη δέ ἐστιν ἡ ὁδὸς θεραπείας τῶν ἐρώντων · καὶ ταύτην ἐφανερώσαμεν · καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν διέλθε τὴν τριβὴν ταύτην, καθὼς ὑπεδείξαμεν ἐν παντὶ ὁδῷ καὶ τὸν διαλογισμὸν τὸν προῤῥηθέντα ἀποδιώκων καὶ τὴν λύπην ἐξωθῶν.<sup>2</sup>

The question whether Constantine's *Viaticum* is a direct translation from the Arabic, or is based (wholly or in part) on the Greek, is, for us, a somewhat important one, for Constantine's use of the word *hereos* is the earliest I have found. Daremberg pronounces definitely<sup>3</sup> in favor of the first view, and with his conclusion (but not with his method of reaching it) Leclerc seems to agree.<sup>4</sup> The only exception to Daremberg's main general argument, as he observes, is in the very chapter with which we are concerned.<sup>5</sup> I shall quote at once the passages in the *Viaticum* which correspond to those I have already quoted from the Greek:

Amor qui dicitur hereos morbus est cerebro contiguus. est autem magnum desiderium cum magna concupiscentia et afflictione cogitationum: unde quidem philosophi dicunt: hereos enim est nomen magnae dilectionis. aliter delectationis designatiuum: sicut enim fidelitas est dilectionis ultimitas: ita et hereos dilectionis.<sup>6</sup> aliter delectationis est quaedam extremitas. Aliquando huius amoris causa nimia naturae est necessitas in multa humorum superfluitate expellenda: unde ruffus coitus inquit valere videtur quibus nigra colera et melancolia dominantur: eis sensus redditur et molestatio hereosis tollitur si cum dilectis loquantur. aliter locantur.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. 583.    <sup>2</sup> P. 584.    <sup>3</sup> Pp. 86-100.    <sup>4</sup> II, 361-63. And cf. Pucinotti, as above.

<sup>5</sup> "Dans le *Viatique*, je n'ai relevé qu'un seul mot grec appartenant à la langue ordinaire, et qui ne soit pas une transcription de l'arabe, c'est *hereos*, pour *amor* (I, xx); ce mot a même servi à forger le barbarisme *hereosus*" (p. 89).

<sup>6</sup> This is the sentence which Gordonius quotes—evidently from memory. See above, p. 499.

<sup>7</sup> *Breviarium Constantini dictum viaticum*, Lugd., 1510 (John Crerar Library), Liber primus, cap. xx: "De amore qui dicitur hereos." This, and not the modernized text of 1536, is the authoritative edition. See Daremberg, p. 86.

The second passage is as follows:

Quid melius hereosos adiuuat ne in cogitationes profundentur nimias: vinum temperatum et odoriferum dandum est: et audire genera musicorum: colloqui dilectis amicis: versuum recitatio: luciferos videre ortos: odoriferos et fructiferos: currentem habentes aquam et claram: spatari: seu deducere cum femina seu maribus: pulchrae personae. ¶ Ruffus vinum inquit: est medicina fortis tristibus et timidis et hereosis. . . . Item ruffus non solum modo vinum temperate bibitum aufert tristitiam: sed et alia quidem sibi similia: sicut balneum temperatum: vnde sit vt quidam balneum ingrediantur ad cantandum animantur.

And the chapter ends:

haec est via medicinae circa hereoseos exercenda.

I do not know Arabic, and so cannot compare the two translations with their original. Where Daremberg does so (he appends a French translation of the Arabic), his argument seems to be convincing. But in this particular chapter the correspondence between the Latin and the Greek is closer than in any of the parallels which Daremberg cites, and it is almost impossible to escape the conclusion that in this passage at least Constantine had the Greek as well as the Arabic before him. I shall return to this point briefly a little later.<sup>1</sup>

In Ad-Damîris *Hayât al-Hayawân*, of which mention has already been made,<sup>2</sup> occurs the fullest statement that I have found of the stages of the love-malady:<sup>3</sup>

'Abd-ar Raḥmân b. Naṣr states that physicians hold *ardent and excessive love* (*al-'ishk*) to be a disease arising from sight and hearing. . . . It is of

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 522. The only other one of Constantine's works which I have been able to consult is *De communibus medico cognitu necessariis locis*, Basle, 1539 (Boston Medical Library). The eighth chapter of the ninth book is entitled, "De melancholia et amore ['timore' in the heading; 'amore' correctly in the *Tabula*] qui eros dicitur" (pp. 249-50). Constantine's definition is as follows: "Amor est confidentia animae suspiciosa in re amata, et cogitationis in eadem assiduitas." The *signa* and the setting are as usual.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 512. The work is translated from the Arabic by Lt. Colonel A. S. G. Jayakar (London and Bombay, 1906). Ad-Damîrî was born at Cairo in 1349 (or 1341). I am indebted to Professor Leo Wiener for calling my attention to the work as a possible source of information.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 489-92. The disquisition on love, as has been noted, is under the name of a certain species of dove, *al-Fakhitah*, and the connection (which, to judge from the method of the *Lexicon* in general, is a luxury rather than a necessity) seems to be that the bird is described by the Arabs as a liar—a view which in turn is based upon an engaging anecdote of Solomon, who had overheard a *fakhitah* making a rather preposterous statement, and asked it why it said what it did. "It replied, 'O prophet of God, I am a lover, and a lover ought not to be blamed; the words of lovers ought to be folded up and not repeated.'" The "Information" given above then follows.



several degrees and has several stages following one another; the first . . . . is called *approval* . . . . which arises from sight and hearing; this stage gains in strength by remembering for a long time the good points and beautiful qualities of the object of love, and then becomes *affection*. . . .

The various stages are described, through *love*, *sincere love*, and *passion*:

This state [*passion*] gains in strength, and becomes *ardent and excessive love* (*al-'ishk*), which is excessive love beyond bounds to such an extent that the imagination of the ardent lover is never free from the object of his ardent love, and consideration and remembrance of the object of love are never absent from his thoughts and mind; the mind is diverted from the promptings of sensual energies, and the lover is prevented from eating and drinking . . . . and also from thinking, remembering, imagining, and sleeping. . . . . When ardent love becomes strong, it becomes *love-madness* . . . . , in which state there is no room left in the mind of the lover for anything but the picture of the object of his ardent love. . . . . If this state increases, it becomes *love-stupefaction* . . . . , which is passing beyond all bounds and restraint, so that the very quality of the lover changes, and his state is beyond management; he mutters to himself, and does not know what he says and where he goes. At this stage physicians are unable to treat him.

Hereupon follows a discussion of the relation of *al-'ishk* to the three cells of the head,<sup>1</sup> and the discussion of its etymology already quoted.<sup>2</sup>

It is evident, accordingly, that the occidental conception of *hereos* was profoundly influenced by the Arabic doctrine of *al-'ishq*. But the Arabs themselves were drawing upon another source.<sup>3</sup>

#### IV

Love as a malady was definitely recognized by the great Greek physicians. And it was in their pages that the Arabic writers found the suggestion for the doctrine, on which they soon set their own distinctive seal.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 527.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 512, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> I have found no reference to *hereos* in *Iani Damasceni decapolitani summae inter Arabes autoritatis medici therapeuticae methodi, hoc est, curandi artis Liber VII* (Basle, 1543); or in the *Liber de medicina Auerrois* (Venice, 1514); or in *Abhomeron Abynzohar, colligit Auerroes* (Venice, 1514); or in the *Practica Jo. Serapionis dicta breuiarium* (Venice, 1497). The *Dissertatio de amore physico* of Ibn Baddschah (+1138), referred to in Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 613, I have not seen.

<sup>4</sup> See Leclerc's discussion (I, 231-58) of the Greek medical writers translated by the Arabs, and compare the list of Greek physicians whom Razi cites (Leclerc, I, 342-43).

In the vast collection of works attributed to Hippocrates<sup>1</sup> I have made no thorough search, and the indices available—even in the great edition of Littré—give little help. But before Galen (130–200 A.D.)<sup>2</sup> the subject was certainly treated.<sup>3</sup> Even in Galen, however, I know of no separate consideration of the malady. But specific references to it appear in a number of passages. A single excerpt will be sufficient for our purpose:

. . . . τοὺς δ' ἤτοι καταλεπτονομένους ἢ ἀχρῶντας ἢ ἀγρυπνοῦντας ἢ πυρέξαντας ἐπὶ προφάσεσιν ἐρωτικαῖς ἐν ἐκείνῳ τοῦ λόγου τῷ κεφαλαίῳ περιλαμβάνουσιν οἱ παλαιοί, κτλ.<sup>4</sup>

Elsewhere, too, Galen refers to the leanness of lovers, and especially to the quickening of the pulse at the sight of the object of the lover's passion.<sup>5</sup> In the later writers, however, either in connection with the discussion of mania or melancholy, or as constituting a section by itself, the treatment of ἔρως as one of the recognized cerebral maladies becomes explicit.

The date of Caelius Aurelianus, the translator of Sorano of Ephesus—whose period (probably, however, early in the second century A.D.) is also doubtful—is not definitely known. On linguistic grounds his work is assigned to the fourth or early fifth century A.D.<sup>6</sup> From his treatment of *mania* I shall quote but a single passage, for the sake of its last word. The fifth chapter of the first book of the *Chronion* is entitled: "De furore sive insania, quam Graeci Manian vocant," and it begins as follows:

Magna Grecorum vetustas manian appellabat, quae nunc mantice dicta est. Item alium, inquit, ex Libero fieri patre: alium ex amore, et appellavit eroticon.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Third or fourth century B.C. See Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 196–235.

<sup>2</sup> See Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 373–402.

<sup>3</sup> See the quotation from Galen below. I have had no opportunity to identify οἱ παλαιοί.

<sup>4</sup> *Galenī comm. I. in Hipp. Prognostic.*, ed. Kühn, Vol. XVIII, Pars ii, p. 18. The Latin translation reads:

Verum eos qui prae amore vel emaciati sunt vel pallent vel vigilant vel etiam febricitant sub eo libri capite veteres comprehendunt, etc.

<sup>5</sup> *Galenī comm. II. in Hippocr. de humor.*, ed. Kühn, XVI, 308–10; cf. also XVIII, ii, 40. An actual example of this method of diagnosis—the patient in this case being a woman—is given in the treatise *De praenotione ad Posthumum*, ed. Kühn, XIV, 631–33.

<sup>6</sup> See Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 345.

<sup>7</sup> *Medicini Antiqui Omnes*, Venice, 1547, fol. 257.

It is, however, in connection with Oribasius<sup>1</sup> that we can first observe the curious passage of the Greek word into a barbarized Latin form. The ninth chapter of the eighth book of the *Σύνοψις* is entitled *Περὶ τῶν ἐρώντων*.<sup>2</sup> Now the Latin translations of Oribasius are not only very early but also of unusual linguistic interest.<sup>3</sup> And the chapter we are concerned with is readily accessible in the text of two of the oldest MSS—the Paris MS lat. 10233, of the sixth century, and the Laon MS No. 424, of the tenth.<sup>4</sup> The sixth-century translation refers to the malady merely as *amor*.<sup>5</sup> But the tenth-century text employs another term. Its title reads: “Ad eos qui de amore contristantur, quos Greci *ton heroton* vocant.” I shall give the brief chapter, together with the Greek text of certain passages:

Qui autem de amore egrotant,<sup>6</sup> et contristantur animo et insomnietatem nescientes patiuntur; alii balneum utentis in requiem positi . . . expenderunt: ex his enim invenimus *ton heroton*, id est qui de amore consumitur, ex balneis et vini potionem et auditum cogitationes inposuimus;<sup>7</sup> aliis autem timorem indiximus, imponentes tractatos super quod amabat, vix deponenda passionem<sup>8</sup> ad aliquas filonicias excitare et secundum hypotesis, quae praedictae sunt vitae uniuscujusque. Subsecuntur autem quidem amorem languint, quorum sunt haec signa: oculi sunt concavi et non lacrimantur; videntur autem sicut qui laborem sunt pleni; moventur enim eis palpebre frequenter plus ab alio membro, proprium locum quiescant solis *heroton*.<sup>9</sup>

[*Περὶ*] τῶν ἐρώντων has accordingly been carried over as *ton heroton*

<sup>1</sup> Born about 325 A.D. For this important writer see Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 513–21.

<sup>2</sup> *Œuvres d'Oribase*, ed. Bussemaker et Daremberg, Paris, 1873, V, 413–14.

<sup>3</sup> See Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 519–20, and the references there given.

<sup>4</sup> *Œuvres d'Oribase*, VI, 215. See Molinier, in the preface to this volume, pp. xviii–xix, for an account of the MSS, and compare V, v–vii, and Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 520.

<sup>5</sup> Its title is: “De amore aegrotantibus,” and it begins: “Qui de amore aegrotant, tristitiam incurrentes animi insomnietatem patiuntur.”

<sup>6</sup> τοὺς δὲ ἐρώντας δυσθυμουμένους. . . .

<sup>7</sup> ἐπὶ ὧν ἐξευρόντες ἡμεῖς τὸν ἔρωτα ἐπὶ τε λουτρὰ καὶ οἶνοποσίαν αἰωρήσεις τε καὶ θεάματα καὶ ἀκούσματα τὴν διάνοιαν ἀπηγάγομεν.

<sup>8</sup> ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ φόβον ἐπηρτήσαμεν· οἱ γὰρ σχολάζοντες αἰεὶ τῷ ἔρωτι δυσέκνιπτον ἐχουσι τὸ πάθος. . . .

<sup>9</sup> κινεῖται δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ βλέφαρα θαμνὰ, τῶν τε ἄλλων τοῦ σώματος μερῶν συμπιπτόντων, οὔτοι μόνου τοῖς ἐρώσιν οὐ συμπίπτουσιν. What Molinier says of Laon No. 424 in general—“le latin de ce manuscrit est extrêmement barbare”—is certainly borne out by this particular chapter. That the characteristic *setting* of the malady which we have already observed goes back to the Greek writers is shown by the list of the first ten chapters of Book VIII of the *Synopsis*: 1. περὶ μνήμης ἀπωλείας; 2. περὶ ἐφιάλτου; 3–4, περὶ ἐπιληψίας; 5. περὶ σκοτωματικῶν; 6. περὶ ἀποπληξίας; 7. περὶ μελαγχολίας; 8. περὶ μανίας; 9. περὶ τῶν ἐρώντων; 10. περὶ λυκανθρωπίας.



(now an accusative plural), which the translator then proceeds to use as an accusative singular (where the Greek is τὸν ἔρωτα) and also as a dative plural (for the Greek τοῖς ἐρώσω). So far as the malady itself is concerned, the discussion in Oribasius, in its relation to the mediaeval treatises, needs no comment.

Paul of Aegina lived during the first half of the seventh century,<sup>1</sup> and his influence (like that of Oribasius), especially upon the Arabic physicians, was very great. Inasmuch, however, as I have had no opportunity to see either the Greek text or any Latin translation earlier than that of Guintherus Andernacus (1532), I shall confine myself to the statement that his chapter "De amantibus"<sup>2</sup> is very similar to the treatment of Oribasius.

We may note briefly two other passages in which the Greek form of the word appears. The first is from the *Speculum Doctrinale* long attributed to Vincent of Beauvais (+1264). The fifty-ninth chapter of the fourteenth book is entitled: "De melancholia nigra et canina, et amore qui dicitur eros."<sup>3</sup> The second is from an *opusculum*—*Modus accipiendi aurum potabile*—attributed to Raymond Lully (+1315).<sup>4</sup> *Aurum potabile*, it is pointed out, is good for all diseases of the head—lethargy, loss of memory, stupor, etc. The tractate then proceeds:

Maniam verò et melancholiam, quae sunt corruptiones animi cum aqua boraginis, et omnes has desipientias, in eodem instanti curat, et similiter amorem qui dicitur ἔρωτικὸς.

The brief citations in this section make clear the fundamental fact that the "lover's malady" was recognized as such in Greek medicine. The significance of this recognition for the history of the word itself needs separate consideration.

<sup>1</sup> See Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 548-56.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. III, cap. xvii. In the text of Guintherus Andernacus (*Paulus Aeginetae Opus de re medica*, Paris, 1532), pp. 22-23; cf. *The Seven Books of Paulus Aegineta*, Sydenham Soc., 1844, I, 390-91. The order of treatment is vertigo, epilepsy, melancholy, maniacs and demoniacs, incubus, lycanthropy, lovers, apoplexy and paralysis, spasms.

<sup>3</sup> I have seen no earlier text than that of the monumental Benedictine edition of 1624. A few sentences from the chapter will be sufficient to indicate its tenor: ". . . amor est animae confidentia suspiciosa in eo quod amator cogitationis in illud assiduitas. Huius signa sunt oculorum concavitas, et eorum assidua motio maximeque palpebrarum," etc.

<sup>4</sup> It is found in the *Artis auriferae quam chemiam vocant* (Basle, 1610), III, 78. But the attribution is probably wrong. See p. 286 of the great article on Raymond Lulle, in *Hist. littér.*, XXIX, 1-386.

## V

I have emphasized, in the last section, the forms in which ἔρως and ἐρωτικός have come over into Latin, because of their bearing on the puzzling form of the word *hereos* itself. And it may be well, at this point, to dwell for a moment on the facts and their significance.<sup>1</sup>

That *hereos*, so far as its *form* is concerned, is a barbarous derivative from ἔρως there can be, I think, no doubt. I shall summarize briefly the pertinent facts. The name of the malady itself appears in Latin under the form *eros*,<sup>2</sup> *ereos*,<sup>3</sup> *hereos*,<sup>4</sup> *heroys*,<sup>5</sup> and *hercos*.<sup>6</sup> *Hereos* (or *ereos*) appears either alone (that is, uncombined with *amor*),<sup>7</sup> or in the phrase *amor hereos*.<sup>8</sup> Whether alone or in combination it is always uninflected.<sup>9</sup> The following adjective forms also occur: *hereosus*,<sup>10</sup> *herosus*,<sup>11</sup> *hereseus(-ius)*,<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a definitive statement of the evidence a study of the *manuscripts* of all the writers involved would be essential. That, however, has obviously been impossible.

<sup>2</sup> Constantine, in the *De communibus* (above, p. 516, n. 1); *Speculum doctrinale* (above, p. 520).

<sup>3</sup> *Continens Rasis* (above, pp. 507–8); John of Gaddesden, with *hereos* (above, p. 503); Gerardus de Solo (above, pp. 509–10).

<sup>4</sup> Constantine, in the *Vaticum* (above, pp. 515–16); *Liber practicae Alsaharavii*, rubric (above, pp. 510–11); Arnaldus de Villanova, with *heroys* (above, p. 496, n. 3); Bernardus Gordonius (above, pp. 497–502); John of Gaddesden, with *ereos* (above, pp. 502–3); Valescus de Taranta (above, pp. 505–7); John of Tornamira (above, pp. 504–5); Michael Savonarola (below, p. 532); Paracelsus (below, pp. 533–34).

<sup>5</sup> Arnaldus de Villanova (above, p. 496).

<sup>6</sup> Bernardus Provincialis (above, p. 507, n. 2). And cf. the Harleian MS (above, p. 492, n. 5).

<sup>7</sup> In Constantine, the *Continens* of Razi, Arnaldus de Villanova (whose usual form is *heroys*), Bernardus Gordonius, Gerardus de Solo (as distinguished from *amoreos*), Valescus de Taranta (who also uses *amor hereos*), and Savonarola.

<sup>8</sup> In the rubric to the *Liber practicae Alsaharavii*, John of Gaddesden, Gerardus de Solo (in the form *amoreos*), John of Tornamira, Valescus de Taranta, and Paracelsus.

<sup>9</sup> "de coturub vel ereos; de prognosticatione . . . ereos; pacientes ereos" (*Continens*); "causa amoris hereos" (rubric, *Liber practicae Alsaharavii*); "signa hereos" (Arnaldus); "in amore ereos; amori ereos" (John of Gaddesden); "de amore hereos; amoris hereos" (John of Tornamira); "causa hereos" (Valescus de Taranta). *Heroys* in Arnaldus is commonly uninflected ("causa heroys; cura heroys"). In two passages in the *Liber de parte operativa*, however, Arnaldus seems to use *heroy* as a plural of *heroys*: "propter hoc inter virum et mulierem heroy cumulant frequentia conversationis et ratiocinandi" (f. 128); "similiter autem quorum vita aspera et penosa si heroy capiantur parum eos distrahit similis occupatio" (f. 129).

<sup>10</sup> Constantine, in *Vaticum* (e.g., "vinum . . . est medicina . . . hereosis"); Gordonius (e.g., "hereosi et nobiles").

<sup>11</sup> Valescus ("herosus amor").

<sup>12</sup> Arnaldus ("inanitos et heresios"); Constantine ("circa hereseos exercenda").

and *heroicus*.<sup>1</sup> To these must be added the uninflected *ton heroton* of the Laon MS of Oribasius; the *eroticon* of Caelius Aurelianus; the Ἐρωτικός of the pseudo-Lully; and finally the testimony of Senner-tus<sup>2</sup> to the term *Herotikos* as used by the "Barbari" for those who labor under *Hereos*.<sup>3</sup>

The earliest use of *hereos* that I have found is that in Constantine's *Viaticum*. Now if Constantine had before him (as I am strongly inclined to think that he did) the Greek text as well as the Arabic, the following is what happened:<sup>4</sup>

ὁ μὲν ἔρωσ ὑπάρχει νοῦσος . . . .

Amor qui dicitur hereos morbus est. . . .

ἔστι δὲ ὑπερβολὴ ἔρωτος, μετὰ συλλογισμοῦ καὶ ἀγρυπνίας.

est autem magnum desiderium cum magna concupiscentia et afflictione cogitationum.

ὁ ἔρωσ ὠνόμασται ἀγάπης ἐπίστασις.

hereos enim est nomen magnae dilectionis.

πολλάκις δὲ γίνεται ἡ αἰτία τοῦ ἔρωτος ἐξ ἀναγκαίας χρείας τῆς φύσεως εἰς τὸ ἀπώσασθαι τὸ περιττὸν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος.

Aliquando huius amoris causa nimia naturae est necessitas in multa humorum superfluitate expellenda.

κἂν τάχα εἰ συνουσιάζει τὸν μὴ ἐρώμενον καὶ διαλύει τὴν ἰσχυρότητα τοῦ ἔρωτος.

et molestatio hereosis tollitur si cum dilectis loquantur.

πολλάκις γίνεται ἡ αἰτία τοῦ ἔρωτος.

aliquando etiam hereos causa.

καὶ εἰ μὴ ἱατρευθῇ ὁ ἔρωσ.

unde si non hereosis succuratur.

<sup>1</sup> Arnaldus (*passim*); Valescus ("pauci . . . nunc efficiuntur heroici"). Of these four adjectives the first two are always used substantively of those who are afflicted with the malady. *Herosus* I have found only in the phrase above. Arnaldus' usage in the case of *heroicus* is peculiar. In the *Tractatus de amore qui heroycus nominatur* the noun *heroyus* (or *hereos*) does not occur at all, but instead of it the phrase *amor heroycus*, which is also employed, this time along with *heroyus*, in the *Liber de parte operativa*. In the latter treatise (but not in the *Tractatus*) Arnaldus uses the adjective *heroycus* substantively (as Valescus regularly does) for those who suffer from *heroyus* (e.g., "quemadmodum heroycis accidit").

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 535.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Rondeletius (below, p. 534): "Hos Graeci ἐρωτικούς vocant"; Forestus (below, p. 000): "Vocatur autem Graecis ἔρωσ, Romanis Amor."

<sup>4</sup> For the edition of the Greek text see p. 514, n. 5; for the Latin, p. 515, n. 7.



φησὶ γὰρ ὁ Ῥοῦφος ὅτι ὁ οἶνος φάρμακον μέγιστόν ἐστι τῶν φοβουμένων καὶ ἐρώντων.

Ruffus vinum inquit: est medicina fortis tristibus et timidis et hereosis.

αὕτη δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς θεραπείας τῶν ἐρώντων.

haec est via medicinae circa hereoseos exercenda.<sup>1</sup>

If, then, Constantine used the Greek text at all, it is obvious that he knew Greek well enough to employ *eros* (as he seemingly does elsewhere)<sup>2</sup> as a transliteration of ἔρως. The barbarism *hereos*, that is, can scarcely be attributed to him. His opening words—"Amor qui dicitur hereos"<sup>3</sup>—point rather to his use of a term already current. In other words, the first use of the term *hereos* is to be sought, I am convinced, in some such early Latin translation of a Greek medical text as that which has given us, in the Laon MS of Oribasius, *ton heroton*. The initial *h* need offer no difficulty in any case. The freedom with which it was added and subtracted in vulgar Latin is a commonplace.<sup>4</sup> As for the *-eos*, no confusion of cases—witness the amazing treatment of *ton heroton* itself—seems to have been impossible, and a Greek genitive form of the wrong declension used as a nominative, at any time between the sixth and tenth centuries, one may assume with modesty enough and likelihood to lead it.<sup>5</sup>

But transmogrification of *form* is not the only anomaly that is involved. There is confusion of *meaning* as well. For it cannot be doubted that, once started on its way, *hereos* (*ereos*) came to be associated, in the minds of those who used it, with the Latin *herus* (*erus*).

<sup>1</sup> In only one instance does Constantine use *hereos* or *hereosus* (*hereseus*) where ἔρως or some form of ἐρῶ does not occur in the Greek.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 516, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also τοῦ ἔρωτος = *huius amoris* above.

<sup>4</sup> See Grandgent, *An Introduction to Vulgar Latin* (Boston, 1907), §§ 249-52, with the references there cited—especially the list of words with an acquired aspirate in Seelmann, *Die Aussprache des Latein nach physiologisch-historischen Grundsätzen*, p. 266; cf. Rönisch, *Itala und Vulgata*, pp. 462-63. Compare, for that matter, Chaucer's own Hadabrate, Helie, Herines, Hester, and Hugelyn. To which may be added the history of such a word as "hermit."

<sup>5</sup> Compare, for the same sort of thing, Chaucer's own *Metamorphoseos* for *Metamorphoseon* (B 93). The form *hercos* in Bernardus Provincialis (see above, p. 507, n. 2) may easily be explained as a scribal error, since *c* and *e* might readily be confused. The occurrence of the same form in the Harleian MS of Chaucer (see above, p. 492) may, of course, be due to an independent error of the same sort. It is possible, however, that the erroneous form *hercos* may have persisted alongside *hereos*, and that the Harleian scribe was familiar with that form rather than the other. It is also possible (although I scarcely venture to think it probable) that the original use of *hercos* was due, not to a scribal error, but to the influence of *heroicus*, used as Arnaldus and Valescus employ it.

I have given above the etymological attempts of Arnaldus de Villanova,<sup>1</sup> Bernardus Gordonius,<sup>2</sup> John of Tornamira,<sup>3</sup> Valescus of Tarenta,<sup>4</sup> and Gerardus de Solo,<sup>5</sup> and that of Savonarola will be found below.<sup>6</sup> They are, I think, conclusive, and Hauréau's statement, already quoted,<sup>7</sup> that "Arnauld dérive le mot *heroicus* du Latin *herus* et non du grec ἥρως,"<sup>8</sup> is no less applicable in the case of *hereos* in general.<sup>9</sup> And it cannot be doubted that there was, especially in the case of Arnaldus' *heroys* and *heroicus*, a confusion with *heros* (ἥρως) as well. Just that confusion is absolutely certain later,<sup>10</sup> and it is very clear that it influenced the *forms*, at least, which Arnaldus employs.<sup>11</sup>

What we have, then, is the Greek ἥρως, more or less technically used to start with, into which by a process of transfusion there have passed the exotic oriental associations of the Arabic *al-'išk*; which has been still further modified by confusion with the Latin *herus* (quite certainly with *heros* too); which has assumed a form that is not its own; which (as we have yet to see) undergoes still stranger metamorphosis in the brain of Paracelsus; and which, after such vicissitudes, has slipped absolutely out of the memory of man. Chaucer's *Hereos*, then, is Eros after all—but with a difference! The commentators have guessed the Eros that they knew, but *this* Eros has traveled far, and by strange ways, from *that*.<sup>12</sup> Few words, indeed, have had a more extraordinary history, and the tracing of it has a value quite apart from the light it throws on the passages in which it has survived, unrecognized.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 496.

<sup>2</sup> P. 504, above.

<sup>3</sup> P. 510, above.

<sup>4</sup> P. 499, above.

<sup>5</sup> P. 505, above.

<sup>6</sup> P. 533, below.

<sup>7</sup> P. 497, n. 3.

<sup>8</sup> The sentence in the *Liber de parte operativa* (which Hauréau apparently had not observed) is even more conclusive: "et graece dicitur *heroys*, idest *domina rationis*" (see p. 000, above).

<sup>9</sup> The statement of John of Tornamira is curious: "nam *hereos* grece est *multum delectabile latine*." I am inclined to think that John of Tornamira was drawing on the *Viaticum* (see above, p. 515, lines 3-5 of the quotation) for his suggestion.

<sup>10</sup> See Savonarola and Ferrand, pp. 533, 538, below. If a quotation in Burton is correct, the form *heros* is used of a lover in Guinerius, cap. 15, tract. 15: "potissima cura est ut *heros* amasiâ suâ potiatur" (*Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part III, Sec. II, Mem. V, Subs. V, ed. Shilleto, III, 263).

<sup>11</sup> If, not knowing Greek, he found *heroticus* (see below, p. 535) in his authorities, the supposed correction to *heroicus* would be an easy one, and might possibly have given the peculiar noun form *heroys*. Of course, on the other hand, he may have built his adjective on his noun, in which case the *y* of *heroys* has probably some such origin as the *e* of *hereos*.

<sup>12</sup> Even Thynne's guess of *heroes* had been made before him—but there is no indication that he knew its real significance.

## VI

We may now come back for a moment to Chaucer. It will be seen at a glance that the passage in the *Knight's Tale* might almost be a paraphrase of a chapter on *hereos* from one of the medical treatises themselves.<sup>1</sup> The fewest parallels will suffice.

His sleep, his mete, his drink is him biraft,

Signa autem sunt quando amittunt somnum, cibum, potum [Gordonius];  
appetitum . . . comedendi postponunt et usum negligunt comestionis  
[Arnaldus].

That lene he wex,

Et maceratur totum corpus [Gordonius]; et potius maceratur [Arnaldus]; et fiunt macri [Valescus].

and drye as is a shaft.

Et eorum corpora desiccantur [Razi]; omnia sua membra sunt sicca [Albucasim]; et sunt omnia membra eius arefacta [Avicenna].

<sup>1</sup> It is, in all probability, not that. Chaucer found many of the *signa* already in the *Teseide*, and proceeded to rearrange and combine them in the light of his knowledge of the malady. The stanzas in Boccaccio are as follows (*La Teseide*, Lib. IV, st. 26-29, *Opere volgari de Giovanni Boccaccio*, ed. Moutier, Vol. IX, pp. 128-29):

## 26

E benchè di più cose e'fosse afflitto,  
E che di viver gli giovasse poco,  
Sopra d'ogn' altra doglia era trafitto  
Da amor nel core, e non trovava loco;  
E giorno e notte senza alcun rispitto  
Sospir gettava caldi come foco;  
E lagrimando sovente doleasi,  
E ben nel viso il suo dolor pareasi.

## 27

Egli era tutto quanto divenuto  
Sì magro, che assai agevolmente  
Ciascun suo osso si sarie veduto:  
Nè credo che Erisitone altrimenti  
Fosse nel viso, ch'era egli, paruto,  
Nel tempo della sua fame dolente;  
E non pur solamente pallid' era,  
Ma la sua pelle pareva quasi nera.

## 28

E nella testa appena si vedieno  
Gli occhi dolenti, e le guance lanute  
Di folto pelo e nuovo comparieno;  
E le sue ciglia pilose ed agute  
A riguardare orribile il facieno,  
Le chiome tutte rigide ed irsute:  
E sì era del tutto trasmutato,  
Che nullo non l'avria raffigurato.

## 29

La voce similmente era fuggita,  
Ed ancora la forza corporale:  
Perchè a tutti una cosa ora reddita  
Qua sù di sopra dal chiostro infernale  
Parea, piuttosto ch' altra stata in vita:  
Nè la cagion, onde venia tal male,  
Nessun da lui giammai saputo avea,  
Ma una per un' altra ne dicea.



s eyen holwe,

Eius oculi sunt concavi [Albucasim]; et oculi sicei et concavi [Razi]; et oculi concavantur [Arnaldus]; et signa . . . ejus sunt profunditas oculorum [Avicenna].

His hewe falwe,

Et eorum facies sunt croceae propter vigilias [Razi]; citrui sunt ipsorum colores [Constantine]; color vero faciei est citrinus [Albucasim]; an ardent lover is named '*ashik*' on account of his yellow color [Ad-Damiri].

And wailling al the night, making his mone.

Pacientes . . . ereos incedunt stridendo . . . et clamando tota nocte [Razi].

And if he herde song or instrument,

Then wolde he wepe.

Alteratur dispositio ejus . . . ad tristitiam et fletum, cum amoris cantilenas audit [Avicenna]; et si audiant cantilenas de separatione amoris, statim incipiunt flere et tristari [Gordonius].

And chaunged so, that no man coude knowe

His speche nor his voys.

So that the very quality of the lover changes . . . he mutters to himself, and does not know what he says [Ad-Damiri].

In the immediate connection between *hereos* and *mania*, too, Chaucer is sound in his diagnosis. The chapter on *hereos* immediately follows the chapter on *mania* and melancholy in Gordonius; it immediately precedes the chapter on *mania* in Valescus; the discussion of *hereos* is a part of the chapter on *mania* and melancholy in John of Gaddesden—and so on. The common prognostic of *hereos* is *mania*:

Nisi hereosis succuratur, in maniam cadunt vel moriuntur [Gordonius]; nisi huic furiae obvietur, melancholiam parit in posterum, et, ut saepe contigit, praeparat in maniam [Arnaldus].

Mania, moreover, might be directly "engendred of humour malencolyk":

Causa igitur immediata est humor melancholicus, corruptus inficiens cerebrum.<sup>1</sup>

It might also, of course, arise from a *vitium* of any one of the four humors— "*quandoque ex sanguine. quandoque ex cholera: quando-*

<sup>1</sup> *Lilium medicinae*, Part. II, cap. xix, "De mania et melancholia." See also the account of "mania accidens ex humore melancolico" in Maemonides (*Aphorismi excellentissimi Raby Moyses secundum doctrinam Galieni medicorum principis*, Bononia, 1489), Partic. sexta.

que ex flegmate: quandoque ex melancholia."<sup>1</sup> But the closeness of the connection between mania engendered by melancholy humor and hereos itself is evinced (for example) by a comparison between Arnaldus' description of the symptoms of melancholy mania and the signs of hereos as elaborated by Razi and John of Gaddesden above.<sup>2</sup>

Quod si melancholia in causa fuerit sunt tristes et solliciti de sepulchris agitant morituros quotidie se credunt: iacent in sepulchris ossa mortuorum colligentes: tota die plorant. . . . Alii extendunt brachia in modum gallorum. et videntes gallos cantant sicut galli credentes se esse gallos.<sup>3</sup>

Chaucer's doctrine of the cells of the head, moreover, in their relation to hereos and mania, is both accurate and orthodox:

Mania quidem est infectio anterioris cellulæ capitis cum priuatione imaginationis . . . . melancholia: est tristitia timor: et destructio sermonis: et locus eius . . . . est media cellula capitis inter rationalem et fantasticam.<sup>4</sup>

Equally explicit is the remarkable *Glosulæ Quatuor Magistrorum super chirurgiam Rogerii et Rolandi*:

Nota primo differentiam inter maniam et melancholiam: nam mania fit in anteriori parte<sup>5</sup> cerebri, melancholia vero in media, sed ambæ fiunt ex uno et eodem humore.<sup>6</sup>

Even "biforen" is absolutely sound:

Intelligendum est quod in cerebro sunt tres cellulæ, prima quæ est in parte anteriori: secunda quæ est in medio, tertia quæ est in postremo. In anteriori parte primæ cellulæ iacet sensus communis. . . . In postrema autem parte primæ cellulæ iacet phantasia. . . . Unde phantasia est thesaurus sensus communis.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Arnaldus, *Breviarium*, Lib. primus, cap. xxvi ("De mania et melancholia"), f. 161.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 508, 503.

<sup>3</sup> Arnaldus, *Breviarium* (as above), f. 162.

<sup>4</sup> *Breviarium*, f. 161. Cf. also the *Viaticus* of Aegidius Corboliensis (ed. Rose, 1907), II. 202 ff.:

Lege melancolicæ conturbat mania pestis humanum cerebrum, sed discretiva locorum distinguit species, nam cellula prima nocivum fumum suscipiens animalis præpedit actum officii, lapsusque subit fantastica virtus. laesa melancolicum producit cella secunda, etc.

<sup>5</sup> In the next sentence, "in anteriori cellula."

<sup>6</sup> De Renzi, *Collectio Salernitana*, 2, 658. On the *Glosulæ* see (in addition to De Renzi) Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 709-12. Compare also the *Tractatus de aegritudinum curatione*, of which the part I am about to quote is ascribed to Platearius, the husband of Chaucer's Trotula (D 677), who lived about the middle of the eleventh century (see *Collectio Salernitana*, 2, 47 ff.; Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 642): "Mania est infectio anterioris cellulæ capitis cum privatione imaginationis. Melancholia est infectio mediæ cellulæ capitis cum privatione rationis" (*Collect. Salern.*, 2, 124).

<sup>7</sup> Gordonius, *Affectus præter naturam curandi methodus*, Partic. quarta, cap. i (ed. 1550, p. 667). The whole passage is extremely interesting from the point of view of mediæval psychology. Cf. also Arnaldus de Villanova, *Breviarium*, Lib. I, cap. xxviii, f. 162.

And the "Byforne in" of the Harleian MS, as against the other readings,<sup>1</sup> is put beyond all further question. But the comma after "biforen" in the modern editions should go out.<sup>2</sup>

Finally, one is brought back to the intimate connection between the doctrine of the cells and *hereos* in a passage from John of Tornamira:

[Hereos] est passio cerebri potissime in media *et* anteriori cellula: quia pro actione illa laesa est nocumentum principaliter ipsius discretiuae per colligantiam imaginatiuae quae habitat in illis cellulis: et illud discretiuae *et* imaginatiuae est passio seu nocumentum actiuae sensus communis.<sup>3</sup>

Chaucer's entire description, in a word, presupposes an intimate acquaintance on his part with certain of the prevailing medical views of his day, and the passage serves as another exemplification not only of his keen and insatiable interests, but also of the need and the value of reconstructing his intellectual background. Whether or not the *Lilium medicinae* and the *Rosa anglica* and the *Liber Almansoris* were among his "bokes old and newe" one cannot say. But some of their pages he had found—as I think I can assert we too should find them!—rather fascinating reading, and I hope at another time to follow him still further through *these* "glenings here and there." Meantime, we are not yet done with *hereos*.

## VII

Second in interest only to the passage in Chaucer is the well-known *crux* in the *Philobiblon* of Richard of Bury,<sup>4</sup> which it is now possible to clear up once for all. The lines in question are near the beginning of the eleventh chapter, and I shall quote them as they stand in the edition of Ernest C. Thomas:<sup>5</sup>

Quamobrem licet mentem nostram librorum amor \*hereos possideret a

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 492, n. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Arnaldus' reference above (p. 527) to the first cell as "[cellulam] *fantasticam*" gives, of course, Chaucer's exact phrase.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the passage from Gordonius just quoted.

<sup>4</sup> Richard d'Angerville was born in 1281 and died in 1345. He was, therefore, a contemporary of Bernardus Gordonius. The *Lilium medicinae* was written just forty years before the *Philobiblon*.

<sup>5</sup> London, 1888, pp. 99–100. I am indebted to Professor Frederick Tupper, to whom I communicated my first suspicions about *hereos*, for reminding me of the passage in the *Philobiblon*.



puero, quorum zelo languere vice voluptatis accepimus, minus tamen librorum civilium appetitus nostris adhaesit affectibus, etc.<sup>1</sup>

How utterly at a loss the editors of the *Philobiblon* have been—for, unlike the Chaucerians, they did not have Eros to fall back on—may best be seen by quoting the notes from the last two critical editions of the text.

Mr. Thomas comments as follows:

Nearly all the MSS read *hereos*, a word of which no trace is to be found in the dictionaries. The reading of one MS *herous* would make sense, but the weight of authority is so overwhelming that it is not safe to adopt it. The phrase *amor heroicus* indeed occurs in an ecclesiastical sequence: York Missal, ii. 217.<sup>2</sup> *Haerens*, which would appear in the MSS as *herens*, might be supported by the common use of *haereo* in Cicero: cf. *Ad Att.* xiii. 40, 2: "in libris haereo." Inglis translates "master love," as though it were *herus*; Cocheris takes absolutely no notice of the word. The difficulty seems to be in the termination *os*, and I am inclined to suggest that De Bury may have written *δαινός*. The passage would then be a nearly verbatim reproduction of a sentence in a letter of the Emperor Julian to Ecdikius, Ep. 9: *ἐμοὶ βιβλίων κτήσεως ἐκ παιδαρίου δαινὸς ἐντέτηκε πόθος*. Whether the Bishop can be supposed to have heard of this passage or not, he doubtless knew the word *δαινός*; the word *δείνωσις* occurs in Quintilian, Macrobius, and Martianus Capella.<sup>3</sup>

Professor Andrew F. West, in his Grolier Club edition,<sup>4</sup> has the following textual note:

*hereos* codd. fere omnes, *herous* in margine cod. Basil., *heroos* in margine cod. Colon., *haerens* (id est *herens*) scribo. Apud Quintum Curtium (*Hist. Alex. Magni*, viii, 3, 6) *penitus haerens amor exstat*.<sup>5</sup>

In the third volume Professor West comments more at length:

*amor hereos* is the MSS consensus, with no exception, so far as I know, save *herous* in the margin of the Basle MS and *heroos* in the margin of the Cologne MS. *Amor haerens*, or *herens* in MS form, would be in keeping with the sentiment of the passage and has some encouragement from *amore inhaereat* in the fifteenth chapter (104:7). After a long search for parallels elsewhere, I fortunately chanced on *penitus amor haerens* [as above]. From the above-mentioned considerations I have been led to favor *haerens*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Observe the part played by such words as *voluptatis* and *appetitus* in the general connotation of the passage.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 532, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 99–100.

<sup>4</sup> *The Philobiblon of Richard de Bury*, edited from the best manuscripts and translated into English with an introduction and notes by Andrew Fleming West, Grolier Club, 1889.

<sup>5</sup> I, 88.

<sup>6</sup> III, 126.

Professor West then discusses Mr. Thomas' conjecture, which, however, he is compelled to reject. The puzzle, then, has seemed to be a hopeless one.

That the text is right and the editors wrong is now clear enough.<sup>1</sup> Not to mention such phrases as "*amor qui hereos dicitur*" in Gordonius and Constantinus Africanus, the exact words *amor hereos* occur, as we have seen, in John of Gaddesden, John of Tornamira, Valescus de Taranta, the rubric in Albucasim, and (in the form *amorereos*) in Gerardus de Solo. Moreover, there can be no question of the meaning. It is not even necessary to appeal to such an admirable definition of Richard of Bury's phrase as one gets by isolating the opening words of Valescus of Taranta's statement: "*est autem amor hereos amor inordinatus.*"<sup>2</sup> That the term was not confined to the idea of "*amor inordinatus . . . quem aliquis habet erga aliquam mulierem*" there is abundant and indisputable evidence. The Arabic word *'iṣq* itself, for which *hereos* stands, has a far wider sense. Avicenna has left a philosophical essay upon *'iṣq* in its broader implications; it is not, he says, peculiar to mankind, but is found in all nature, in the celestial bodies, the elements, plants, minerals, animals; it is incomprehensible, and the attempt to define it only makes it more obscure, as is the case with beauty and poetical form. One might paraphrase this sense of the word by "attraction," "affinity"—mysterious forces which make things strive to come together.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Since this article was written I have seen for the first time Professor Gollancz' edition of Mr. Thomas' translation of the *Philobiblon* in the "King's Classics" (London, 1907). After summarizing Thomas' note, Professor Gollancz continues: "But surely the MSS are correct; '*amor hereos*' reminds one of Chaucer's phrase, 'the lovers maladye of Hereos,' i.e., the lover's disease of Eros (*Knight's Tale*, 515); *amor hereos* = love-passion, '*hereos*' being used in apposition to *amor* or adjectively" (p. 137). Professor Gollancz has seen what the other editors (not only of the *Philobiblon* but also of the *Knight's Tale*) rather amazingly failed to observe—the identity of de Bury's *hereos* with Chaucer's. Beyond that, however, his note does not go.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Thomas translates the phrase (p. 218): "the overmastering love of books"; Inglis (see above, p. 529): "the master love of books"; Professor West (II, 96): "a deep love of books."

<sup>3</sup> This essay—for my knowledge of which I am again indebted to Professor George F. Moore—may be found (with a faithful rendering of the substance) in A. F. Mehren, *Traité mystiques d'Abou Ali al-Hosain b. Abdallâh b. Sîna, ou d'Avicenne*. Troisième Fascicule. Traité sur l'amour, etc. Texte arabe accompagné de l'explication en Français. Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1894. A similar reproduction of the essay was given by Mehren in *Le Muséon*, T. IV, pp. 594–602 (October, 1885). The treatise is divided into seven chapters, the titles of which Mehren renders as follows: i, "Sur l'amour en tant que sa force embrasse tout la création"; ii, "Sur l'amour comme principe essentiel des notions abstraites . . ."; iii, "Sur l'amour qui se trouve dans les âmes végétaives"; iv, "Sur

The *ἔρως* of the Greek translation of the *Zad-el-Mouçafir*, which underlies Constantine's chapter on "amor qui dicitur hereos," also carries over something of this wider meaning:

καὶ πολλάκις γίνεται ἡ αἰτία τοῦ ἔρωτος, ὅταν ἐρῶται ἡ ψυχὴ πλησιάζει θεὸς εὐειδιστάτης καὶ χαρακτήρος, ἢ μορφῆς ὑπερφυστάτης, διότι εἰσθεν ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ θεραπεύεσθαι καὶ θαυμάζειν ἐπὶ παντὶ καλλίστῳ πράγματι, ἀπὸ τε μαργάρων καὶ οἰκῶν ἢ ἐτέρων ὁμοίων· ἐὰν δὲ ἔσονται τὰ τοιαῦτα κάλλιστα ἐν τινι πράγματι, ὑπάρχουσιν ὡς εἰς τὸ γένος τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ὁ ἔρως οὗτος καὶ ἡ φυσικὴ ἀγάπη, τότε κινεῖται ἡ ἐπιθυμία σπεύδουσα καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ πρὸς συνουσίαν ἐκείνου τοῦ πράγματος, καὶ ὁμιλῆσαι καὶ πληρῶσαι.<sup>1</sup>

The definition of Arnaldus de Villanova is perfectly general:

Amor . . . qui dicitur heroicus est vehemens et assidua cogitatio supra rem desideratam cum confidentia obtinendi delectabile apprehensum ex ea.<sup>2</sup>

And there is, finally, unimpeachable contemporary testimony to the wider usage of the term in Richard of Bury's own day. John of Tornamira was undoubtedly born before Richard of Bury's death. And John of Tornamira's statement is explicit:

Et nota quod amor hereos est amor multum excedens sine ratione: ideo dicitur amor cum insania mentis propter multum delectabile ab eis conceptum iam habendum. nam hereos grece est multum delectabile latine: et licet talis amor excedens seu cum insania mentis se extendat apud plures homines ad plures res: ut ad filium ad equum ad pecunias ad diuitias: et ad plures alias res estimantes illam esse ultimum delicie et felicitatis mundanæ. ideo ribaldi aliqui habent talem amorem ad ludum et amorem in taberna estimantes hoc esse ultimum delicie et complacentiæ tolerantes tales miserias propter talem complacentiam habendam. proprie tamen amor hereos vertit se ad mulieres propter deliciam carnalem ultimate eis deliciosam habendam.<sup>3</sup>

"Librorum amor hereos," then, is simply—to paraphrase John of Tornamira—"amor librorum excedens, apud illos qui existimant libros esse ultimum delicie et felicitatis mundanæ." No better

l'amour des âmes animales"; v, "Sur l'amour ayant pour objet la beauté extérieure"; vi, "Sur l'amour des âmes divines"; vii, "Conclusion générale." The whole treatise is, indeed, as Mehren points out, based on Plotinus, and the passage of Plotinus into Arab Aristotelianism is (as Professor Moore reminds me) a well-known chapter. Strangely enough the next passage I shall quote shows traces of the same influence, now reaching Western Europe by way of Arab medical writers.

<sup>1</sup> Daremberg et Ruelle, *Œuvres de Rufus d'Éphèse*, p. 582 (Appendice, Section IV).

<sup>2</sup> *Tractatus de amore qui heroycus nominatur*, cap. i (f. 215). See also the very interesting discussion (too long to quote) of the "causæ primatiuæ heroys" in the *Liber de parte operativa* (f. 128).

<sup>3</sup> *Clarificatorium*, ff. 19–20. Compare also Savonarola's statement (see below, p. 532, for reference): "Ego vero teci ilischi terminum communem."



interpretation of the words could be desired. And if we translate "the passionate love of books," we shall not be far from de Bury's sense.<sup>1</sup>

## VIII

There is left Burton's use of the phrase "heroical love" in the *Anatomy of Melancholy*. But before coming to that it is necessary to follow *hereos* a little farther. For its course runs through the sixteenth century, and over the edge of the seventeenth.

Giovanni Michele Savonarola (1390-1472), the grandfather of the reformer and martyr, was born before Chaucer's death, and his most important work, the *Practica major*, remained a standard treatise for more than two centuries.<sup>2</sup> The fourteenth chapter of Tractatus VI is entitled "De ilischi."<sup>3</sup> It follows very closely Gor-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Thomas, it will be observed, was on a hot scent, when he quoted the *amor heroicus* of the York Missal. And the sequence referred to is extremely interesting as indicating a still further extension of the meaning of the phrase. I had occasion some years ago (see *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XIX, 625) to call attention to the transfer to an earthly love of certain expressions commonly used of the heavenly love in the hymns to the Virgin. The reverse process—the transfer, that is, to the "love celestial" of the terminology associated with the "love of kinde"—is no less familiar, and the line in the sequence seems to be a case in point. It occurs in the hymn beginning "Dulcis Jesus Nazarenus" in the *Sequentia* for the *Missa de nomine Jesu* (York Missal, ed. Surtees Soc., ii, 217). The hymn is assigned by Chevalier (*Reperitorium Hymnologicum*, Vol. I, Louvain, 1892, p. 294—a reference which Professor Karl Young has been kind enough to look up for me) to Bernardinus de Bustis (+1500), and the earliest text is cited as of the year 1489. It belongs to the period, accordingly, when *amor heroicus* was still a well-known phrase. The stanza to which Thomas refers is as follows:

Hoc [nomen] nos decet honorare,  
Arca cordis inserare,  
Cogitare, peramare,  
Amore sed heroico.

A few of the following stanzas will make clear how thoroughly steeped the hymn is in the phraseology of human passion:

Ut quid majora cupimus,  
Quam quod Jesus sit intimus,  
Qui est praeamantissimus  
Et quaerit nos amare.

Amat ferventissime,  
Amat constantissime,  
Amat fidelissime,  
Et suos vult juvare.

Nomen suum fecit tale,  
Ut sit cunctis cordiale,  
Capitale, principale,  
Dilectum ex intimis.

Habent hoc naturae jura,  
Ut amantem tota cura  
Reamemus, placitura  
Praestantes ex animis.

<sup>2</sup> Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 677.

<sup>3</sup> *Practica Joannis Michaelis Savonarolae*, Venice, 1498 (John Crerar Library). In the *Tabula* the chapter is entitled "De ilichi [sic] siue hereos."

donius' treatment,<sup>1</sup> and I shall quote only its opening sentences:

Ilischi est sollicitudo melancolica qua quis ob amorem fortem et intensum sollicitat habere rem quam nimia auiditate concupiscit: cuius causa secundum philosophum est animi forte accidens. ¶ Et ilischi est nomen arabicum. apud nos vero interpretatum amor. Unde haec passio a multis dicta est hereos. quia herois siue nobilibus plus contigit. nam hi ex aliis non impediti super alios procantur.<sup>2</sup>

Savonarola's chapter was, as we shall see, well known to Burton.

The most amazing of all the metamorphoses, however, that *hereos* has undergone is found in Paracelsus. It would have entirely escaped my notice, had it not been for the sole occurrence of *hereos* that I have been able to discover in a lexicon.<sup>3</sup> This is found in *Amalthaeum Castello-Brunonianum siue Lexicon medicum*,<sup>4</sup> and reads as follows: "Hereos, species amoris imaginarii apud Parac. in pollutione nocturna, l. 3. de orig. morb. invisibil." On account of its extremely curious interest—for *amor hereos* now becomes the *fons et origo* of the Incubi and Succubi—I shall quote at some length from the third book of Paracelsus' treatise, *De origine morborum invisibilium*.<sup>5</sup>

Iam verò sperma hoc, ita productum, ex imaginatione in amore Hereos natum est, Quid vero iste amor est? Nihil aliud, quam quod sibi aliquis per fantasiam in animo foeminam fingit, et cum hâc rehabendo, amorem suum exsatiat. Unde surdi quoque ac fatui spermatis exitus est, quod ad liberorum generationem ineptum est. Ex illo tamen spermate *Incubus* et *Succubus* gignuntur. Sed adhuc unum hic notare debetis, nimirum huiusmodi imaginationem matrem esse lasciviae impudicae: unde fit, ut si amatores et amatrices tales per intentam imaginationem congregiantur, minime foecundi sint. Imaginatio enim gubernat hoc sperma ita, ut natura ab extraneis infringatur. Quae caussa potissima est multorum sterilitatis ac molae. Ut vero de generatione ista incubi et succubi dicere pergam: noscendum vobis est spermata illa per spiritus nocturnos asportari. Hi illa in ea loca transferunt, ubi excludi possint, nimirum ad serpentes, vermes, bufones, et impura

<sup>1</sup> It includes, for example, not only the "ranam-Dianam" line, but also, with it, the two other passages which Gordon quotes.

<sup>2</sup> F. 64. Like Valescus of Taranta, Savonarola is apt to go Gordon's cures one better. For example: "Septimus appresentetur vetula nuda cum barba longa ceruicibus barbata."

<sup>3</sup> I have examined all the medical dictionaries to which I have had access, and the list is a fairly long one.

<sup>4</sup> Norimbegae, 1688.

<sup>5</sup> *Opera omnia*, Geneva, 1658, Vol. I (*Opera medica complectens*), p. 126 (Boston Public Library). Paracelsus' dates—it is unnecessary here to consider the man himself—are 1493-1541.

animalia similia. Ibi enim a spiritibus illis actus seu congressio cum spermatis illis in animalia illa fit. . . .

Caeterum quid tandem est ille amor Hereos de quo hic dictum est? Id dictum est de corpore visibili, quod huius origo est. Quemadmodum etiam homo naturali constitutione ad hoc opus idoneus factus est, non solus, sed cum altero perfectum corpus: hoc est, vir et foemina corpus unum sunt. Et velut agricola sine agro inutilis est, ager item vicissem sine agricola, sed utrique unum saltem sunt: talis ipse etiam homo est, non vir solus, non sola foemina, sed utrique ipsi unum sunt: ex quo deinde homo generatur. Si vero vir nolit integer esse homo, aut ipsa quoque foemina: tunc unusquibet in seipso duo corpora habet terrenum nimirum visibiliter, et coeleste invisibiliter. Iam vero et hoc modo cuilibet sua privatim natura est ad naturale semen, quod tamen in agricultura similiter se non habet; sed saltem semen unum est. Corpora haec duo in suis operibus distincta sunt ita, ut utrumque vel celerius, vel tardius, vel hoc, vel illo modo sese mouere, ac incitare possit. Ex quo sequitur, *corpus per seipsum sine omni imaginatione pollutiones emittere*.<sup>1</sup> Sed haec pollutio non est in potestate spirituum nocturnorum. Et quemadmodum coelum suos motus habet: ita suos habet etiam corpus coeleste, quod omnia sua opera in imaginatione perficit, eo modo, quo dictum est. Iam vero amor Hereos in invisibili corpore nascitur. Si ad operandum procedit, non est amor Hereos. Sin vero minus: tunc is est. Sic amor Hereos ipse pater ac mater est, eiectio spermatum, ex qua postea incubus et succubus naturas suas accipiunt: hoc est, alterum est spiritus nocturnus mulierum, alterum virorum.

This particular use of the term is, so far as I know, peculiar to Paracelsus, who has seized upon the tensely focused imagination ascribed to the *hereosi*, and has built it into the fabric of his own monstrous world. But the term itself remained in the books for at least a century longer, and the subject was treated with even greater detail than before. The briefest possible summaries, however, of the later authorities must suffice.

In the *Methodus curandorum omnium morborum corporis humani* of Guilhelmus Rondeletius<sup>2</sup> is a chapter "De amantibus."<sup>3</sup> The name *hereos* itself does not occur, but under *melancholia* (cap. 41) appears the following: "Alii perditè amant, et nihil nisi de amore loquuntur. Hos Graeci ἐρωτικούς vocant."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Italics in original.

<sup>2</sup> Paris, n.d. (Boston Medical Library). Rondelet's dates are 1507-1566. See Neuburger u. Pagel, II, 209.

<sup>3</sup> Book I, cap. 45. The old setting still remains, for the chapter "De amantibus" follows the chapters on frenzy, insomnia, lethargy, catalepsy, apoplexy, paralysis, stupor, epilepsy, convulsions, melancholy, mania, and incubus.

<sup>4</sup> P. 111.



The treatment of Forestus (1522-97) is both fuller and more interesting.<sup>1</sup> His statement of the names of the malady, and a part of his discussion of its signs are all that I may quote:

*Scholìa:* Mentis quoque malum est in amore furere, et ita amorem inter affectus cerebri annumerant medici: qui plerumque tragico luctu, in maniam aut melancholiam definit. Vocatur autem Graecis *ἔρως*, Romanis Amor. Unde morbus hic amoris dicitur, à Barbaris et Avicennâ Iliscus vocatur. ab Arculano Passio divina. Pars igitur affecta est cerebrum ipsum, uti in melancholia vel mania, in quos morbos facile transit. . . .

Amantes quoque tristes sunt, demissi et insomniculosi, longisque suspiriis de amore cogitant, facie pallente, et obliti cibi cupidinis tabe intereunt.<sup>2</sup>

As *exempla* Forestus cites Medea, Lucretius, Iphis, and Cephalus, with abundant quotation from Ovid,<sup>3</sup> and he gives at great length the usual cures.<sup>4</sup>

Even fuller, however, than Forestus' discussion is the chapter "De amore insano" in Sennertus (1572-1637).<sup>5</sup> He recognizes that *Hereos* = *ἔρως*:

Amor Graecis *ἔρως* est, unde affectum hunc Barbari Hereos, et hoc malo laborantes Heroticos nominant, Arabes Ilisci. Est autem Delirium melancholicum, ex amore nimio ortum.<sup>6</sup>

His long and detailed discussion is somewhat in Burton's own vein. For example:

Et imprimis amoris caussa est objectum pulchrum, seu revera tale, seu tale apparens, visui oblatum. Unde Amor Graecis *ἔρως ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰσπεῖν*, ab influendo, quod ex adspectu per oculos, quasi per fenestras, in mentem hominis influat, dictus putatur; et hinc illud est vulgatum. . . . Oculi sunt in amore duces. . . . Ita David Bersabae, Dido Aeneae conspectu amore accensa est.<sup>7</sup>

The value of the pulse in diagnosis is fully treated;<sup>8</sup> he quotes the "Love and lordship" passage from Boethius;<sup>9</sup> he gives a

<sup>1</sup> D. Petro Foresto, *Observationum et curationum medicinalium libri tres*, Lugd. Batav., 1590 (Boston Medical Library). See Neuburger u. Pagel, II, 484.

<sup>2</sup> Observatio xxix, "De furore ex vesano amore," pp. 227-28.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 229-30.

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 230-31, 235 ff. The setting is also the usual one—frenzy, lethargy, melancholy, mania, lycanthropy, cynanthropy, love.

<sup>5</sup> Danielus Sennertus, *Practicae medicinae* (Wittenberg, 1654), Book I, Part. III, cap. x (Boston Medical Library). For Sennertus see Neuburger u. Pagel, II, 488.

<sup>6</sup> Pp. 354-55. The next sentence is consoling: "Non equidem omnes amantes delirant."

<sup>7</sup> P. 357.

<sup>8</sup> P. 359.

<sup>9</sup> P. 360.

thoroughly Chaucerian list of examples—Medea, Dido, Hercules, Sampson, Solomon; and he discusses at great length the now well-known cures.<sup>1</sup>

The fullest treatment of the whole subject outside Burton—a treatment, indeed, which constitutes, when taken in connection with the *Anatomy*, one of the most remarkable coincidences in the history of letters—is that of Jacques Ferrand, in his *EPOTOMANIA*.<sup>2</sup> The English translation is a volume of 363 pages, in thirty-nine chapters.<sup>3</sup> Ferrand shows familiarity (in many instances by verbal citation) with the treatments of the subject in Avicenna,<sup>4</sup> Arnaldus

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 360-65. The setting of the chapter is the usual one.

<sup>2</sup> The full title of the second edition of the English translation (Oxford, 1645)—the only one which I have been able to examine—is as follows: *EPOTOMANIA, | or, | A Treatise | Discoursing of the Essence, | Causes, Symptoms, Prog- | nosticks, and Cure of | LOVE. | or, | Erotique | Melancholy. |*. According to Madan (*Early Oxford Press*, p. 419; quoted by Professor Bousley in *Notes and Queries*, Ser. X, Vol. XI, p. 286) the first French edition is dated Toulouse, 1612; the second, Paris, 1623.

<sup>3</sup> Since the book is rare, and its interest in connection with Burton very great, I append the titles of the chapters: (1) "That it is needfull to teach the Cure of Love"; (2) "The Symptomes of Love Melancholy"; (3) "Of the name of Love, and Love-Melancholy"; (4) "Of Melancholy, and its severall kinds"; (5) "The Definition of Love-Melancholy"; (6) "The Externall Causes of Love-Melancholy"; (7) "The Internal Causes of Love-Melancholy"; (8) "Of the Manner how Love is generated"; (9) "Whether in Love-Melancholy the Heart be the seat of the Disease, or the Brain"; (10) "Whether Love-Melancholy be an Hereditary disease, or no"; (11) "The different kinds of Love-Melancholy"; (12) "Whether that Disease in Women, called by Physitians, *Furor Uterinus*, be a species of Love-Melancholy, or no"; (13) "Whether or no, a Physitian may by his Art find out Love, without confession of the Patient"; (14) "Signes Diagnostickes of Love-Melancholy"; (15) "The Cause of Palenesse in Lovers"; (16) "What manner of eyes Melancholy Lovers have"; (17) "Whether Teares be a Symptome of Love, or no"; (18) "The causes of Waking, and Sighes in Lovers"; (19) "During what Age Men and Women are subject to this disease of Love-Melancholy"; (20) "The Signes by which we may know those that are inclined to Love-Melancholy"; (21) "Whether or no by Astrology a Man may know such as are inclined to Love-Melancholy"; (22) "Whether or no, by Physiognomy and Chiromancy a man may know one to be inclined to Love"; (23) "Whether or no by Oniromancy or the Interpretation of Dreames, one may know those that are in Love"; (24) "Whether or no, Jealousy be a Diagnostick signe of Love-Melancholy"; (25) "The Prognosticks of Love, and Erotique melancholy"; (26) "Of the *Incubi*, and *Succubi*"; (27) "Whether the Love of Women be stronger and more dangerous than that of Men"; (28) "Of the Prevention of Love, and Erotique Melancholy"; (29) "Order of Diet, for the Prevention of Love-Melancholy"; (30) "Chirurgicall Remedies, for the Prevention of Love, and Erotique Melancholy"; (31) "Medicinnall Remedies, for [the same]"; (32) "The cure of Erotique Melancholy, or Love Madnesse"; (33) "Remedies for the Cure of Love-Melancholy in married Persons"; (34) "Of Philters, and Poeticall Cures of Love"; (35) "Empiricall Remedies, for the cure of Love, or Erotique Melancholy"; (36) "Methodicall Remedies for the cure of Love, and Erotique Melancholy. And first of Order of Diet"; (37) "Chirurgicall remedies, for the cure of Love-Melancholy"; (38) "Pharmaceuticall Remedies, for the cure of Love, or Erotique Melancholy."

<sup>4</sup> See, for instance, pp. 10, 17, 28, 29, 116, 124, 205, 222, 231, 238, 243, 244, 248, 254, 256, 258, 264, 269, 274, 277, 306, 321, 328, 330, 337, 350, 359, 360.

de Villanova,<sup>1</sup> Bernardus Gordonius,<sup>2</sup> and Valescus de Taranta.<sup>3</sup> He refers to or quotes from Hippocrates, Galen, Rufus, Oribasius, Paul of Aegina, Razi, Haly Abbas, and Alsaravius. Like Burton, he intersperses his medical lore with copious citations from the classical poets, both Greek and Latin, and his work—which suggests the man of letters rather than the physician—is aptly enough characterized in one of the five sets of laudatory verses prefixed to it:

Poetry candies the Philosophy,  
Like *Galen* mixt with *Sidnies* Arcadye.

Which (like two Starres conjoyn'd) are so well laid,  
That it will please *Stoicke*, and *Chambermaid*.

It is, indeed, the amazing similarity between Ferrand's treatment of the subject—both in general and in detail—and that of Burton, which constitutes (apart from our immediate interest) his chief claim to attention. That similarity is so marked that it led Madan<sup>4</sup> to the suggestion of indebtedness on Burton's part—a suggestion which Professor Bensly expressly rejected. And the ground of his rejection is Burton's reiterated and explicit denial of any knowledge of Ferrand's work until after his own third edition.<sup>5</sup> That denial we may, I think, implicitly accept. The subject, as we have seen, is one that had already been far more fully treated than has been hitherto supposed, and the similarities between the two works, striking as they are, are due in large measure to their common indebtedness to the same sources.<sup>6</sup> And, finally, we have Burton's word. For the author of the *Anatomy* could not but foresee, when he read Ferrand's work, the inevitable inference that would be drawn, and he deliberately made it a question of veracity. And even were there no further evidence, Burton's veracity is scarcely to be impugned.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 17, 29, 112, 131, 242, 247, 248, 256, 264, 267, 270, 274, 278, 293, 296, 340.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 17, 39, 72, 81, 107, 131, 236–37, 239, 255, 256, 257, 274, 334.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 170–71, 274, 278.

<sup>4</sup> See reference above.

<sup>5</sup> "*Ferrandus*, a Frenchman, in his *Erotique Mel.* (which book came first to my hand after the Third Edition)" (Part. III, Sec. II, Mem. II, Subs. I, ed. Shilleto, III, 67)—to which Burton appends the note: "Printed at Paris in 1624 [this is the date as it appears in Burton's fifth edition. Shilleto tacitly changes 1624 to 1623], seven years after my first edition." See also Part. III, Sec. II, Mem. V, Subs. I (ed. Shilleto, III, 223): "*Jacobus Ferrandus*, the Frenchman, in his *Tract de amore erotico*," and Burton's note: "This author came to my hands since the third edition of this book."

<sup>6</sup> No final refutation, of course, of any charge of undue influence can be made without a comparison of Burton's various editions with the 1612 and 1623 editions of Ferrand.



I shall quote from Ferrand only his discussion of the *name* of the malady:

*Avicen*, with the whole family of the Arabians, calls this disease, in his own language, *Alhasch*, and *Iliscus*: Arnoldus de Villa nova, Gordonius, and their contemporaries call it by the name of Heroicall Melancholy: whether it is, because the ancient *Heroes*, or Demi-gods, were often taken with this passion, as the fabulous Poets report: or else happily for that great personages are more inclinable to this maladie, then the common sort of people: or else lastly, because that Love does as it were domineer, and exercise a kinde of tyranny over those that are subject to his power.<sup>1</sup>

We may now come at once to Burton.<sup>2</sup>

## IX

One may grant without abatement all that has been written of the *Anatomy of Melancholy* as a piece of literature. The unique flavor of Burton's style and the rare and curious interest of his matter will never lose their fascination for his own choice audience. But the *Anatomy* is also something else than a great and original literary masterpiece. It is, as an authority than whom there is no higher, has pointed out—and it is this first and foremost—"a great medical treatise, orderly in arrangement, serious in purpose."<sup>3</sup> And its longest and most interesting section (it is now possible to add) rests directly on the earlier treatments of *amor hereos* itself. For Burton's fundamental statements regarding Love-Melancholy are drawn, often with due reference to his authorities, straight from Avicenna, Arnaldus de Villanova, Bernardus Gordonius, Valescus de Taranta, Savonarola, Forestus, Sennertus, and their contemporaries and followers.<sup>4</sup> It is possible to indicate here only a few of the points of

<sup>1</sup> P. 117.

<sup>2</sup> The authorities prior to Burton whom I have named at the close of note 4 below I have not seen.

<sup>3</sup> An unpublished lecture by Sir William Osler, quoted in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, IV, 281. Since this article was written, Sir William Osler's paper has been printed in the *Yale Review*, January, 1914. See p. 252 for the reference here given.

<sup>4</sup> The following references, which do not pretend to be exhaustive, are (for the sake of brevity) to the pages of the third volume of Shilleto's edition. Burton quotes Avicenna on pp. 62, 153, 232, 233, 263, and refers to him on pp. 2, 156, 218, 219, 223, etc. He quotes Arnaldus on pp. 63, 214, with references on pp. 2, 218, 225, 295. He quotes Gordonius on pp. 156, 214, 220, 229, 231, 232, 236, and refers to him on pp. 2, 64, 66, etc. He quotes Savonarola on p. 62, with references on pp. 2, 218, 219, 229, 263, 295, etc. Valescus is quoted on p. 222, and referred to on pp. 2, 66, 156, 295, etc. Other references to

contact with our immediate subject. I hope some day to come back to certain larger aspects of what Burton has achieved.

Burton's use of the adjective "heroical" is the first thing that arrests attention. The Third Partition of the *Anatomy* deals with "Love and Love-Melancholy." Under this, in the Analysis, falls (together with "8 Jealousy, *Sect. 3*") the great second section, entitled: "¶ Heroical or Love-Melancholy." Precisely as in the case of the earlier medical writers this is treated under the following heads: "*Memb. 1.* His pedigree, power . . . name, definition, etc.; *Memb. 2.* Causes; *Memb. 3.* Symptoms or signs; *Memb. 4.* Prognosticks; *Memb. 5.* Cures." To this classification I shall revert later. For the moment it is the adjective alone with which we are concerned. And Burton three times gives his explanation of its use. The first I shall quote is under Part. III, Sec. II, Memb. I, Subs. I.—"Heroical love causing Melancholy":

In the precedent Section mention was made, amongst other pleasant objects, of the comeliness and beauty which proceeds from women, that causeth *Heroical*, or Love-melancholy, is more eminent above the rest, and properly called *Love*. The part affected in men is the liver, and therefore called *Heroical*, because commonly Gallants, Noblemen, and the most generous spirits are possessed with it.<sup>1</sup>

The second, however, in the next Subsection (. . . "Love, or Heroical Melancholy, his definition, part affected"), is more important. The passage occurs toward the close of the Subsection, and I shall quote it at some length:

It [love] rageth with all sorts and conditions of men, yet is most evident among such as are young and lusty, in the flower of their years, nobly descended, high fed, such as live idly, and at ease; and for that cause (which our Divines call burning lust) this *ferinus insanus amor*, this mad and beastly passion, as I have said, is named by our Physicians *Heroical Love*, and a more honourable title put upon it, *amor nobilis*, as *Savonarola* styles it, because Noble men and women make a common practice of it, and are so ordinarily affected with it. *Avicenna, lib. 3. Fen. 1. tract. 4. cap. 23,*

authorities on *amor hereos* are as follows: Aelian Montaltus, pp. 2, 153, 214, 218, 295; Arculanus, pp. 233, 263; Carolus à Lorme, 63, 223; Forestus, 223; Frietagus, 64, 151; Guianerius, 67, 219, 220, 222, 263; Hercules de Saxonia, 163; Hildesheim, 220, 223; Jason Pratensis, 2, 64, 153, 218, 220, 222, 223, 225, 229, 233, 261, 263, 295; Langius, 2, 63, 153, 156, 218, 222, 223, 295; Lod. Mercatus, 223, 273; Razi, 63, 71, 222, 233; Sennertus, 223; Valleriola, 2, 99, 153, 156, 170, 218, 223, 225, 295; Valesius, 18, 233; Vives, 222.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Shilleto, III, 43.

calleth this passion *Ilishi*, and defines it to be a disease or melancholy vexation, or anguish of mind, in which a man continually meditates of the beauty, gesture, manners of his Mistress, and troubles himself about it, desiring (as Savonarola adds) with all intentions and eagerness of mind to compass or enjoy her, as commonly Hunters trouble themselves about their sports, the covetous about their gold and goods, so is he tormented still about his Mistress.<sup>1</sup> Arnoldus Villanovanus, in his book of Heroical Love, defines it a continual cogitation of that which he desires, with a confidence or hope of compassing it.<sup>2</sup> . . . Carolus à Lorme, in his Questions, makes a doubt, *an amor sit morbus*, whether this heroical love be a disease: Julius Pollux *Onomast. lib. 6. cap. 44.* determines it. They that are in love are likewise sick; *lascivus, salax, lasciviens, et qui in venerem furit vere est aegrotus*. Arnoldus will have it improperly so called, and a malady rather of the body than mind. Tully in his *Tusculans* defines it a furious disease of the mind, Plato madness, Ficinus, his *Commentator, cap. 12*, a species of madness, for many have run mad for women, *1 Esdr. 4. 26.* but *Rhasis* a melancholy passion, and most Physicians make it a species or kind of melancholy (as will appear by the Symptoms) and treat of it apart: whom I mean to imitate, and to discuss it in all his kinds, to examine his several causes, to shew his symptoms, indications, prognosticks, effects, so that it may be with more facility cured.<sup>3</sup>

The third passage I shall quote is from the first volume, and it occurs in Burton's initial discussion of "Species of Melancholy":

*Love melancholy*, which Avicenna calls *ilishi*, & *lycanthropia*, which he calls *cucubuth*, are commonly included in head melancholy: but of this last, which Gerardus de Solo calls *amorous*,<sup>4</sup> and most Knight melancholy . . . I will speak apart by themselves in my third partition.<sup>5</sup>

Burton's "*amorous*" (following Gerardus de Solo) is almost as remarkable as his "*heroical*." For it is, of course, nothing but his rendering of the *amorereos* which is Gerardus' distinctive mark.<sup>6</sup> How Burton escaped the use of the word *hereos* in the *Anatomy*—

<sup>1</sup> Burton gives, in his notes, the Latin text of both Avicenna and Savonarola.

<sup>2</sup> Latin text quoted in Burton's note.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Shilleto, III, 62-63. See also the following passages for Burton's understanding of the term: "the last object that ties man and man, is comeliness of person, and beauty alone, as men love women with a wanton eye: which κατ' ἐξοχὴν is termed *Heroical*, or *Love-melancholy*" (III, 25): "I come at last to that *Heroical Love*, which is proper to men and women, is a frequent cause of melancholy, and deserves much rather to be called burning lust, than by such an honourable title" (III, 57); "As there be divers causes of this burning lust, or heroical love, so there be many good remedies to ease and help" (III, 235). For other occurrences of the phrase see III, 8, 13, 53, 64, 292, 295, etc.

<sup>4</sup> I have, unfortunately, only Shilleto's text to rely on.

<sup>5</sup> Part. I, Sec. I, Mem. III, Subs. IV, ed. Shilleto, I, 200.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 510.



in which case our problem would have been solved three centuries ago!—were a question above antiquarianism, not to be resolved by man.

In the light of the passages quoted in the earlier part of this discussion—as well as in view of Burton's explicit reference to Arnaldus de Villanova—it is clear at a glance that *heroical*, as here used, is the *heroicus* of the older writers. Burton accepts implicitly the derivation of the word as given by Arnaldus,<sup>1</sup> Gordonius,<sup>2</sup> Valescus de Taranta,<sup>3</sup> and Savonarola,<sup>4</sup> all of whom he quotes. It is even possible to put our finger on the passage in Arnaldus which Burton evidently had in mind. For the phrase, "is named by our Physicians *Heroical Love*" corresponds exactly to the words in the *Liber de parte operativa*: "Et vulgariter dicitur amor: et a medicis amor *heroycus*."<sup>5</sup> Burton's adjective, therefore, is not the *heroical* of the dictionaries at all. It is the curious derivative from *heroys* or *hereos*, and neither in origin nor in meaning is it the same as the word with which it has been tacitly identified.<sup>6</sup> There is not *one* "heroical" in English: there are *two*.<sup>7</sup>

Burton's phrase persisted for more than a hundred years after his first use of it, but by the end of the seventeenth century its earlier connotation, carried over from *hereos*, seems to have been lost. "Heroical," or "heroic," in other words, was even then taken as the lexicographers ever since have taken it. The title of Granville's

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 496.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 505.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 499.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 533.

<sup>5</sup> F. 127. See above, p. 496.

<sup>6</sup> Not a single English dictionary so much as recognizes the fact that, even on the common assumption, Burton's use of the word is peculiar. The *New English Dictionary* itself does not give a single quotation from Burton; neither does the *Century* or the *Standard*. No indication of any sense out of the ordinary is given in Johnson, Kersey, Bailey, Martin, Bellamy and Gordon, Fenning, Kenrick, Sheridan, Dyche, Richardson, the *Imperial*, the *Encyclopedic*, or the *International*. Nor does either Halliwell or Nares include it. Even on the common assumption of its *origin*, no definition in any dictionary quite fits Burton's use. It may be added that *héroïque*, in this sense, does not occur in Littré, or in the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*. According to Hatzfeld and Darmester the word came into French in the fifteenth century.

<sup>7</sup> I wish to emphasize very strongly, before leaving Burton, what Professor Bensly rather hesitatingly remarks (*Modern Language Review*, IV, 233-34) in his note on the title of the *Anatomy*, in its relation to a passage in Salustius Salviianus. The categories enumerated on Burton's title-page—"The | Anatomy of | Melancholy: | What it is. | With all the Kindes, Cav- | ses, Symptomes, Prognosticks, | and Severall Cvres of it"—are those which are found almost uniformly in mediæval medical works. See above, p. 498, and compare the rubrics in Arnaldus de Villanova, John of Gaddesden, Valescus of Taranta, Savonarola, Ferrand (see above, p. 536), etc. There is no question whatever, in Burton's title, of a borrowing from this, that, or the other particular treatise. The divisions there enumerated are as conventional as the five acts of a play.

tragedy—*Heroick Love*, or *The Cruel Separation*—is a case in point. The two passages in which the words occur in the play itself<sup>1</sup> put the meaning attached to them by Granville beyond doubt. Pope used the phrase too. And this time, by a curious turn of the wheel, it is set in sharp contrast over against the very thing for which it originally stood. Caesar's infatuation for Cleopatra, as seen by those who elevate all actions to one plane, becomes "heroic love" in Granville's sense:

Ask why from Britain Caesar would retreat?  
 Caesar himself might whisper he was beat.  
*Why risk the world's great empire for a Punk?*  
 Caesar perhaps might answer he was drunk.  
 But, sage historians! 'tis your task to prove  
 One action Conduct; one, *heroic Love*.<sup>2</sup>

Within a century after Burton, then, the last vestiges of *hereos*, even in the adjective "heroic," or "heroical," seem to have disappeared. The *pseudo*-"heroical," with its ancestry in *ἥρω*s and *herus*, had given place to the legitimate derivative from *ἥρως*, and a career of more than a thousand years, which began before Galen, came to a definite end with Pope.

## X

I wish, finally, to call attention, with the utmost brevity, to the fact that, once identified, the traces of *hereos* meet us at every turn. The physical symptoms of love as one finds them in the Greek romances, in the Troubadours and Minnesingers, and in courtly

<sup>1</sup> The first is in Act III, sc. i:

Then what is Love? Stay—let me think again.  
 Is it to fix our Wishes on one Object?  
 Pleas'd only when the thing we love is pleas'd;  
 Partaking of its Sorrows, seeking its good;  
 Desirous more to give than to receive;  
 Willing to part with all, with Fortune, Life;  
 Chusing all Miseries, satisfy'd, rejoyc'd  
 With any Ruin that's the means of Safety  
 To the man belov'd—Ay—this is Love,  
 True Love, *Heroick Love*.

The second is at the close of the play (Act V, sc. i, end):

O she is  
 And to all Ages shall remain  
 The brightest Pattern of *Heroick Love*  
 And perfect Virtue, that the World ere knew

Compare also Henry St. Johns in the Prologue:

Chiefly the softer Sex, he hopes to move,  
 Those tender Judges of *Heroick Love*.

<sup>2</sup> *Moral Essays*, I, 129-34.

poetry from Chrétien down will occur at once to everyone, and investigation of this field, I have no doubt, would yield significant results. It would be going to extremes to assert that the conventional treatment of the effects of love in mediaeval and Renaissance literature is wholly drawn from the *signa* of the medical books. There was *mutual* influence—a sort of osmosis—of course. That the medical writers levied tribute, now and again, upon the poets is clear enough from the use (for example) made of Ovid by GORDONIUS and VALESCUS.<sup>1</sup> And that both poets and physicians drew alike upon the notorious truths of experience admits no question. But with all such allowances the outstanding fact of the clearly formulated and widespread medical doctrine has to be reckoned with. Whatever their later fate, the chapters “*de amore qui hereos dicitur*” were never born to blush unseen in their own day. They constitute precisely the sort of medical lore that always filters through into lay thought and speech, and, with due recognition of the fact that *hereos* is not the only influence involved, the mediaeval literature of love must none the less be re-read in its light.<sup>2</sup>

Chaucer, for example (as we should expect), shows the influence of the belief in more than the single passage in which he names the malady. The famous opening lines of the *Book of the Duchesse*,

<sup>1</sup> The whole subject of the treatment of love-sickness in the Roman poets (especially Propertius and Ovid, not to mention Vergil's analysis of Dido's state) is—as my colleague, Professor Otto Heller, has reminded me—of peculiar interest in its relation to the medical treatment.

<sup>2</sup> In addition to the instances which follow I shall cite but two out of many cases in point. There are few more important formulations of the system of courtly love than the *De amore* of Andrea Capellani (late twelfth or early thirteenth century). Its first chapter opens with the following definition: “*Amor est passio quaedam innata procedens ex visione et immoderata cogitatione formae alterius sexus, ob quam aliquis super omnia cupit alterius potiri amplexibus*,” etc. (ed. Trojel, p. 3). That is substantially (in part even verbally) the definition of the medical writers, and Andrea's work is full of other reminiscences. In the thirteenth-century poem, *La Venus la deesse d'Amor*, the lover may be recognized at once as “*hereosus*”:

Lors est mes cors destrois et mornes et pensis,  
Quant ie tot si me sent, mieus aime mort que uis.  
Li boires, li mangiers, il m'est trestot faillis,  
Dont ne puis auoir loie ne par nuis ne par dis.

Mes cuers c'est mes prouost que ne puis iustichier,  
Mi doi oell ce sont cil qui font destorbier,  
Li tiers ce sont mi membre qu'il font amalgroier.  
Dex, por coi font il ce, il ne sont parchonier!

—(Ed. Foerster, Bonn, 1880, stanzas 161–62).

No. 37 in the *Carmina Burana* (ed. Schmeller, p. 125) contains interesting *signa*—and so on.



read with what we now know of *hereos* in mind, reflect, at point after point, the conventional symptoms. Troilus shows them too:

And fro this forth tho refte him love his sleep,  
And made his mete his foo; and eek his sorwe  
Gan multiplie, that, who-so toke keep,  
It shewed in his hewe, bothe eve and morwe.<sup>1</sup>

And as his malady grows through Creseida's loss the *signa* become more marked:

He ne eet ne dronk, for his malencolye,  
And eek from every companye he fledde;  
This was the lyf that al the tyme he ledde.

He so defet was, that no maner man  
Unnethe mighte him knowe there he wente;  
So was he lene, and ther-to pale and wan,  
And feble, that he walketh by potente.<sup>2</sup>

Spenser knew them:

The thought whereof empierst his hart so deepe,  
That of no worldly thing he tooke delight;  
Ne daily food did take, ne nightly sleep,  
But pyn'd, and mourn'd, and languisht, and alone did weep.

That in short space his wonted chearefull hew  
Gan fade, and lively spirits deaded quight:  
His cheeke-bones raw, and eie-pits hollow grew,  
And brawney armes had lost their knownen might,  
That nothing like himselfe he seem'd in sight.<sup>3</sup>

And their significance in Shakspeare would be a study in itself. I shall mention but two of the most familiar examples.

Rosalind's "a lean cheek . . . a blue eye and sunken,"<sup>4</sup> together with their context, need no comment. But the doctrine of love-melancholy, with the predisposition to madness which it involves, is not without interest in its bearing on Shakspeare's treatment of Hamlet.<sup>5</sup> Briefly stated, it is clear that Polonius regards

<sup>1</sup> *T. and C.*, I, 484-87. He had earlier recognized the *signa* in others; see I, 911 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *V.*, 1216-22.

<sup>3</sup> *F. Q.*, IV, xii, 19-20.

<sup>4</sup> *A. Y. L.*, III, ii, 392-93; cf. also ll. 411, 438-39.

<sup>5</sup> There is a rich field for study in the relation of the wealth of mediaeval medical material which exists on the subject of *melancholia* in general to the embodiment of it which one finds particularly in Elizabethan literature outside Burton. With the aid of Burton, Professor Stoll ("Shakspeare, Marston, and the Malcontent Type," *Modern*

Hamlet as suffering from *hereos*; the King, from *melancholia* (with its intimate connection with *mania* too) of a less special type. Polonius' statement of the case (a priori though it be) is a sound prognosis of *hereos* (II, ii, 146-50):

And he, repulsed—a short tale to make—  
Fell into a sadness,<sup>1</sup> then into a fast,<sup>2</sup>  
Thence to a watch,<sup>3</sup> thence into a weakness,<sup>4</sup>  
Thence to a lightness, and, by this declension,  
Into the madness whereon now he raves.<sup>5</sup>

The King's diagnosis is more general:

There's something in his soul  
O'er which his melancholy sits on brood.<sup>6</sup>

And his proposed remedy—whatever his ulterior motive—is in accordance with the best medical practice of his day:

. . . he shall with speed to England  
For the demand of our neglected tribute.  
Haply the seas and countries different  
With variable objects shall expel  
This something-settled matter in his heart,  
Whereon his brains still beating puts him thus  
From fashion of himself.<sup>7</sup>

The lines; indeed, might almost be a paraphrase of a passage in Arnaldus de Villanova:

Diuertatur cogitatio extraneis et insuetis objectis: sicut accidit in longa perigrinatione ad partes multum distantes: a loco rei desideratae occupatione circa diuersa negotia, etc.<sup>8</sup>

Barring the first interview with Ophelia, however, as Ophelia herself reports it and Polonius interprets it,<sup>9</sup> Shakspeare himself at no point in the play represents Hamlet as showing any of the well-

*Philology*, III, 281-303) has already rendered valuable service in this direction. But melancholy as a literary convention and the *melancholia* of mediaeval psychiatry stand in extremely interesting relations that I hope to work out later.

<sup>1</sup> The *tristitia* of the medical books.

<sup>2</sup> See Gordonius, and the other writers *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> *Vigilia*—another fixed symptom.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 526.

<sup>5</sup> Medical writers *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> III, i, 172-73.

<sup>7</sup> III, ii, 177-83.

<sup>8</sup> F. 129. It is of little significance, in its bearing on the King's contention, that this is a cure for *hereos*. The same procedure is urged again and again as a remedy for *melancholia* in general.

<sup>9</sup> I, ii, 77 ff.

known *signa* of love-melancholy whatever. And even in that scene, the "pale as his shirt" and the "sigh so piteous and profound" are susceptible of explanation on other grounds. The point is not, perhaps, a very important one. Nobody (except Polonius) really supposes that Hamlet is mad for Ophelia's love. But since Polonius' view forms an integral part of the play, and since Shakspeare shows knowledge of the conventional symptoms of *love-madness*, the application of the test is not wholly without value.

We may not follow *hereos* farther afield. As a chapter in the history of psychiatry; as part of the texture of forgotten modes of thought; as a curious light upon dark places, the lore of the lover's malady has a vivid and enduring human interest. And so I leave the discussion of it, which—in the words of Valescus of Taranta—"ex antiquorum rivis scaturientium aquarum disposui componere."

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## A NEW SOURCE OF *SIR GYLES GOOSECAPPE*

The attention of scholars has of late years been repeatedly called to *Sir Gyles Goosecappe, Knight*, an anonymous Elizabethan comedy presented by the Children of the Chapel, and first published at London in 1606.<sup>1</sup> Professor Kittredge, of Harvard, led the way and wrote an article on the source of *Sir Gyles Goosecappe* in the *Journal of Germanic Philology* (1900, II, 7-13). He proved that the main plot of *Sir Gyles* is borrowed from Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, or rather, that the mutual relations between the three leading characters of the Elizabethan play, Lord Momford, Clarence, and Eugenia, are exactly those which exist between Pandarus, Troilus, and Criseyde in Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*. Single incidents—as the feigned sickness of the lover, and the entrapping of the woman he loves through that treacherous appeal to her pity—are also referable to Chaucer's poem, and although the Elizabethan dramatist is very free-handed in his treatment of the story and swerves a good deal from his original, one very close parallel<sup>2</sup> and a line adopted straightway, in a slightly altered form,<sup>3</sup> make good Mr. Kittredge's contention beyond the slightest doubt.

We can pretty summarily dismiss the painstaking but useless pages in which O. Ballmann detailedly compared the characters in *Sir Gyles Goosecappe* with those in *Troilus and Criseyde*:<sup>4</sup> he adds nothing whatever to what Professor Kittredge had said more concisely two years before.

Professor T. M. Parrott's article "*Sir Gyles Goosecappe*," which appeared in this journal in 1906 (Vol. IV), was an altogether new departure in the history of the criticism of that play. Mr. Parrott did not hunt for any new sources, but simply asserted that he thought

<sup>1</sup> Another edition was issued in 1636.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Momford's examination of Eugenia's features (Act II, sc. 2) with *Troilus*, II, 274-80.

<sup>3</sup> "What winde blowes you hither, troe?" (Act. IV, sc. 1)

Cf. *Troilus*, II, 1104: "What manner windes gydeth yow now here?"

The lines are spoken by the same person on the same occasion.

<sup>4</sup> In his article: "Chaucers Einfluss auf das englische Drama im Zeitalter der Königin Elizabeth," *Anglia*, XXXV.

it possible to put an author's name on the title-page: that name was no other than that of the translator of Homer, George Chapman. No doubt the original suggestion did not come from Mr. Parrott. In a letter to the *Athenaeum* (June 9, 1883) Mr. F. G. Fleay had taken it for granted, in the bold, dashing style usual with him, that the play must be Chapman's. Mr. A. H. Bullen, the editor of the first modern reprint of the play,<sup>1</sup> had also discerned traces of Chapman's influence, but either through ignorance of Chapman's plays, or through a singular inability to accept the idea and try to prove it with whatever evidence was at hand, he had stopped half-way and left the question of authorship wrapped in the same mystery in which he had found it. Thus it was left for Mr. Parrott to make a genuine attempt at solving the problem with any degree of certainty. His long acquaintance with Chapman's acknowledged works, and "familiarity with Chapman's repetition, not merely of words and phrases, but of similes, incidents, and situations," showed him the way. His twofold evidence—precise, striking parallels between *Sir Gyles Goosecappe* and Chapman's other works, special likeness between *Sir Gyles Goosecappe* and Chapman's romantic comedy, *The Gentleman Usher*—carries absolute conviction to the unbiased mind. *Sir Gyles Goosecappe* is now universally acknowledged as Chapman's authentic work; it has been rightfully included in Professor Parrott's recent edition of Chapman's comedies.

What we here purpose to add to the general knowledge of that play is a new and somewhat unexpected contribution to the study of its sources. We already knew Chapman for a steady reader of contemporary French literature, but the scope of his interests in that field is even wider than we had been led to suppose hitherto. He is actually indebted for a good many passages of *Sir Gyles Goosecappe* to a French work of the latter part of the sixteenth century which enjoyed considerable success and ran through many editions from 1585, the date of its first appearance, to 1662, when it was

<sup>1</sup> *A Collection of Old English Plays*, by A. H. Bullen, Vol. III, 1884. The play has been reprinted twice since: first in 1909, in the *Materialien zur Kunde des alten englischen Dramas*, Bd. XXVI, by W. Bang and R. Brotanek (the text reproduced is that of the 1606 quarto of the K. u. K. Hofbibliothek at Vienna, and more recently, in 1912, by John S. Farmer in the *Tudor Facsimile Texts*. (The photographed copy is the 1606 quarto of the British Museum.) We shall quote from the Facsimile reprint.

reprinted in Paris, we think for the last time.<sup>1</sup> That book, which was first anonymously published, but is, we know, the work of a friend of Pontus de Thyard and Estienne Pasquier, Estienne Tabourot bears the following title: *Les apophtegmes du Sieur Gaulard*, alias *Les contes facécieux du Sieur Gaulard, Gentilhomme de la Franche-Comté Bourguignonne*. It is dedicated to "Guillaume Nicolas, Sieur de Popincourt, Contrôleur général de l'artillerie de Bourgogne, Brie et Champagne," and is usually found printed and bound together with the same author's better-known *Les Bigarrures et Touches du Seigneur Des Accords* and with his *Escraignes dijonnaises, recueillies par le Seigneur Des Accords*.<sup>2</sup>

The personality of Tabourot will not detain us very long. Born in 1549, a poet at eighteen, he was "Avocat au Parlement de Dijon, et puis avocat du roi au baillage et à la chancellerie de la même ville" during a good part of his life. Bayle is about right when he says of him, in his *Dictionnaire historique*: "Ce fut un homme d'esprit, et d'érudition, mais qui donna trop dans les bagatelles." His *Bigarrures* and *Apophtegmes*, he owns himself, are nothing but "pièces rapportées, sans aucune curiosité, livres faits seulement par petits papiers." But when he ventures to say, "Je les avois bastys pour me chastouiller moy-mesme, afin de me faire rire le premier et puis après les autres," the more fastidious of us decline to be reckoned among "les autres"! The real interest of these productions does not lie in their poor display of wit, but rather in their titles, or, less paradoxically, in what their titles make us expect to find in them: they are pre-eminently local books, and bear witness, along with others better known,<sup>3</sup> to the robust vitality of French provincial literature in the middle and latter parts of the sixteenth century. Seigneur "Des Accords" was no doubt as proud to be a Bourguignon as Rabelais to be a Tourangeau; he cannot at least be compared with a certain Limousin student of our close acquaintance who, "voulant contrefaire la langue des Parisians, . . . cuidoit ainsi Pindariser"!

<sup>1</sup> Let us mention the editions of 1586 and 1588 (Paris), of 1594 (Lyon), of 1614 (Paris), of 1640 (Rouen). We shall quote from the 1640 Rouen edition.

<sup>2</sup> Tabourot is chiefly known by his pseudonym, Des Accords. It had been suggested to him by his family motto: *A tous accords*.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., the *Discours d'aucuns propos rustiques, facécieux, et de singulière récréation*, by N. du Fail (1547); N. du Fail was born a Breton and remained one all his life.



His poetry, which is very bad and mainly addicted to "tours de force," is little influenced by his native dialect and remembrances, but his prose is full of the "terroir" flavor, and must have appealed strongly to a Bourguignon public, just as Rabelais's *Pantagruel* would have sold mainly in Anjou, Poitou, and Touraine, if Rabelais had not been something better than a "Des Accords."

*Les apophtegmes du Sieur Gaulard* pretends to be an account of some of the jokes and adventures of a very silly country gentleman of "la Franche-Comté Bourguignotte," the humorous—or would-be humorous—description of whom fills the opening pages:

Il est d'ancienne maison, et il y a peu de gens d'apparence, non seulement en ce pays-la, mais en tous les environs, qui ne l'apparentent. Son père était entre les plus riches des mieux reconnus de son temps. Il ne fit pas beaucoup estudier son fils, de peur qu'il ne se meslât de corriger le Mag-nificat.<sup>1</sup> Et ne voulut pas, à l'exemple du Roy Loys onzième, dont il avoit ouy parler, qu'il apprint autre Latin, sinon une belle devise qu'il fit escrire en lettre d'or en une table d'attente, sur sa cheminée, Bene vivere et laetari, c'est à dire, Bien vivre et se resiouyr. Combien que quelques-uns ne sçachans discerner les anciens VV, en forme de cadeaux, d'avec les BB, lisent, Bene bibere et laetari. . . . Il est de mediocre stature, assez puissant, ventru competemment, et qui porte un galbe naturel, comme faisait l'empereur Galba, sans user de ses artifices de coton qui ne font qu'échauffer la bedaine: et y a si bien mis ordre que vous iugeriez à présent, que tous les cousturiers de la cour ont pris patron sur son ventre, tant cela lui est bienseant. Il est un peu voûté, il a la teste poinctue en forme de pain de sucre: un beau gros oeil de boeuf gris qui luy sort à demy hors de la teste, grand sourcil espais qui s'entretouche; de sorte qu'on le prendrait bien pour un vaillant homme tel qu'il est. Il a le nez gros, camard, les narines fort ouvertes, le front court, les cheveux épais, les ioües grosses et fort charnûes, et sur toutes choses, il se plaist à la beauté de son menton, qui est telle que vous diriez parfaitement que ce soit celui du Roy Agamemnon, qu'il a fait peindre expressément en sa salle, avec ce beau vers d'Euripide, rapporté en son Hécube, quand il introduit Hector, luy parlant ainsi:

Agamemnon par Sainte Barbe  
 Vous avez un beau menton,  
 Pour porter une belle barbe.

. . . . Je poursuivrais plus outre n'estoit qu'il a un sien secrétaire qui dresse sa vie et actes généreux par escrit en cinq volumes, deux desquels il m'a desjà communiqués: sçavoir le 1<sup>er</sup> de son extraction, avec ses armes,

<sup>1</sup> Pantagruel had found as good a reason for not overworking himself in his student days: "Et au regard de se rompre fort la teste a estudier, il ne le faisoit mie, de paour que la veue luy diminuast" (*Panta gruel*, II, v).

et blason de toutes ses alliances, qui contient bien 12000 fueilles de papier, et si encore il y vient tous les iours des nouvelles à cognoissance, et l'autre de son adolescence. Et parce qu'il a délibéré de le faire bien tost imprimer à Anvers par Plantin, avec les figures en taille douce, burinées par l'excellent Saldaër, ie rapporteray seulement ce que i'estime estre propre à mon subject.

....

We have chosen to quote Tabourot at such length to show the reader at once both the limitations of his wit and what he owes to the French tradition of story-telling, more particularly to Rabelais. The anecdotes to which this ambitious portrait is but a prologue are much in the same taste. They remind us even more of Rabelais by their frequent malicious reference to lawyers trapped in the pitfall of their own deceit, or monks little bent on observing their vow of chastity with too much nicety. It speaks for Chapman's taste, we think, that he has dropped the many incongruities which are to be found in the French original, and made his own only such jokes as he could harmlessly transfer to his foolish knight, Sir Gyles Goosecappe. It is not too much to say, however, that Sir Gyles Goosecappe is substantially one and the same person as Gaulard; it is even extremely probable that if Chapman had not read the *Apophtegmes*, he could not have conceived the character of Sir Gyles as it is actually conceived, and would have been obliged to look for some other matter to pad out the very thin and anemic subplot of his Chaucer-story.

The "humour" of Sir Gyles<sup>1</sup>—for our comedy is nothing but a comedy of "humours" in the prose part of it—has been characterized by Mr. Parrott as "an ingenious faculty of putting the cart before the horse in speech," and compared with Poggio's similar habit in Chapman's later *Gentleman Usher*. The comparison is true, but we do not think the definition is entirely satisfactory: Gaulard's and Sir Gyles Goosecappe's trick of speech rather consists in "being backward still," in contradicting themselves and implying less after having said more, in giving two different versions of the same event in one breath. One of the characters in the English play, Captain Foulweather, perhaps gives us the best approach to a definition when he ironically commends his fellow-knight's "excellent unity of

<sup>1</sup> And of Poggio, in the *Gentleman Usher*; for Chapman apparently found the matter rich enough to furnish him with elements for two characters. See note 2, on p. 12.

speech": Let him coin a few "malapropisms" ("indite" for "invite," "detest" for "protest," "nut-shell" for "nuptials"), and sententiously utter every now and then one or two of these catch-phrases which are the sign-manual of a comedy of humors ("we are all mortal," or "let us tickle the vanity on't"), and there stands a figure of a knight—or the ghost of a humor—which cannot pretend to striking originality, but is entertaining enough to appeal to an Elizabethan audience.

A simple comparison of the parallel passages will show both the quality of the original French jokes and Chapman's way of fitting them to his own purpose, while developing them into a typically English humor:

ACT I, sc. 2 (A4 verso)

*Rudesby*: A plague on you sweete Ladies, tis not so late, what needed you to have made so short a supper.

*Goosecap*: In truth Sir Cutt. we might have tickled the vanitie ant, an howre longer if my watch be trustible.

*Foulweather*: I but how should theis bewties knowe that Sir Gyles? your watch is mortall, and may erre,

(B1 recto)

*Goos.*: Thats sooth Captain, but do you hear honest friend, pray take a light, and see if the moone shine, I have a Sunne diall will resolve presently.

*Foul.*: Howsoeuer believe it Ladies, tis vnwholesome, vncourtlie, vnpleasant to eate hastelie . . . .

P. 20

Comme il vid un gentilhomme qui regardait dans un quadran l'heure au soleil, et disoit qu'il n'estoit que deux heures: Point, point, dit-il, le Soleil va donc mal, car ma monstre, qui ne faut jamais, en marque trois et demie.

P. 19

Il demandait un soir à son secrétaire, qu'elle heure il estoit, lequel dit, Je ne sçay: Monsieur, et ne le puis voir en mon quadran parce que le soleil est couché. Et bien, repliqua-t-il, n'y sçauriez-vous regarder à la chandelle?

P. 9

Il avoit un jour délibéré de partir de bon matin pour aller aux champs, à raison dequoy il commanda à ses gens de se lever de bonne heure. Et le temps luy durant trop, il en fit lever un sur la minuict pour regarder par la fenestre si le jour ne venait point: lequel luy ayant dict; Monsieur, il n'y a encore aucune apparence de jour. Alors il luy dict tout courroucé, ie ne m'esbahy pas si tu n'y vois goutte, grand sot que tu es, prens la chandelle allumée, et la mets hors de la fenestre, et tu verras s'il est iour. Il estimait lors, comme il est à croire, qu'on ne pouvait voir le iour sans chandelle.



## (B1 recto)

*Goos.*: God give you good night madam, thanke you for my good cheere, wee le tickle the vanitie ant, no longer with you at this time, but ile indite your La: to supper at my lodging one of these mornings; And that ere long too, because we are all mortall you know.

## ACT I, sc. 3 (B3 recto)

*Goos.*: No it is too farre to goe to night, wee le be vp betimes ith morning, and not goe to bedd at all.

*Foul.*: Why its but ten miles, and a fine cleere night S. Gyles.

*Goos.*: But ten miles? what doe ye talke Captaine?

*Rud.*: VVhy doost thinke its any more?

*Goos.*: I, Ile laie ten pounds its more, or twelue either.

*Rud.*: VVhat to Barnet?

*Goos.*: I to Barnet?

*Ru.*: Slidd, Ile laie a hundred pound with thee, if thou wilt.

*Goos.*: Ile laie five hundred to a hundred, Slight I will not be outborne with a wager in that I know, I am sure it was foure yeares agon ten miles thether, and I hope tis more now, Slidd doe not miles growe thinke you, as well as other Animals.

*Iack.*: O wise Knight!

*Goos.*: I never Innd in the Towne but once, and then they lodged me in a chamber so full of theise Ridiculous Fleas, that I was faine to lie standing all night, and yet I made my man rise, and put out the candle too, because they should not see to bite me.

*Foul.*: A prettie proiect.

## P. 16

Oyant parler de Postel, qui passa par la Franche-Comté à son retour de Turquie, qui racontait infinies beaux discours de ce qu'il avoit veu en ses peregrinations, et entendant dire que plusieurs le traictaient et lui faisoient bonne chère: Vrayement, dict-il, si le veux-je traicter comme les autres, et luy donner à souper un de ces matins.

## P. 15

Estant en dispute combien il y avoit depuis Paris jusques à Saint-Denis, le sieur de la Faye, principal du college de Bourgogne, qui l'avoit traicté, à cause du pays, luy dit, Il n'y a qu'une bonne demie-lieue; Si a, dit le Sieur Gaulard, je gage 50 escus qu'il y er a une entiere, il y a plus de 10 ans.

## P. 25

Il fut un jour logé en certaine hostellerie où il disoit qu'il y avoit tant de puces et de punaises, qu'il avoit esté contrainct de coucher debout toute la nuit.

## P. 9

. . . . Il est aussi bon que le trait rapporté entre les épigrammes grecs d'un qui estant en son liet picqué des puces, disoit à icelles, J'esteindray la chandelle, affin que vous ne me voyez plus. Le distique est tel

Pulcibus stultum mordentibus, ille  
lucerna  
Extincta, Haud iam me conspicietis  
ait.

que j'ay ainsi rendu Français

Un pauvre sot picqué d'un grand  
amas  
de puces, lors pensant fuir leur  
pointe  
osta le iour de sa chandelle em-  
prainte,  
Disant ces mots, vous ne me voyez  
pas.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Robert Burton alludes to the same anecdote in the Preface to his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, published in 1621 (ed. Shilleto, London, 1893, I, 75), "As that stupid fellow

## ACT IV, sc. 2 (G1 verso)

*Purnifall:* . . . . I found courtly  
cause

To talke with an accomlisht gentleman  
New come from Italie, in quest of newes  
I spake Italian with him.

*Rud.:* What so young

*Fur.:* O rarissime volte cadono nel  
parlar nostro familiare.

*Foul.:* Slidd, a coode speake it  
Knight, at three yeare old.

*Fur.:* Nay gentle captaine doe not  
set me forth

I loue it not, in truth I loue it not.

*Foul.:* Slight my Lord but truth is  
truth you know

*Goos.:* I dare ensure your Lordship,  
Truth is truth, and I have heard in  
Fraunce, they speake French as well,  
as their mother tongue my Lord.

*Fur.:* VVhy tis their mother tonge  
my noble Knight.

## (G3 verso)

*Ia.:* . . . . we shall bring you a  
foole to make you laughe, and he shall  
make all the world laugh at us.

*Will.:* I indeed sir Giles, and he  
knowes you so wel too

*Giles:* Knowe me? slight he knowes  
me no more then the begger knowes  
his dish.

*Ja.:* Faith he begs you to be content  
sir for he wil not come.

*Goos.:* Beggs me? slight I wood I  
had knowne that, tother daie, I  
thought I had met him in Paules, and  
he had byn anie else but a piller, I  
wood have runne him through by  
heaven, beg me?

*Foul.:* He begges you to be content  
sir Giles, that is, he praies you.

*Goos.:* O does he praise me, then I  
commend him.

*Fur.:* Let this unsutable foole goe

put out the candle, because the biting fleas should not find him, he [*man*] shrouds himself in an unknown habit, borrowed titles, because nobody should discern him." It is most probable that Burton, that omnivorous reader of Latin and low-Latin literature, refers to the Latin epigram.

## P. 35

Estant gentilhomme qui a bien  
voyagé, et en parole veritable, il  
asseure ceux qui n'y ont pas esté,  
qu'en Italie les petits enfants de 4 et  
5 ans parlent langage italien tout  
courant, et l'a fait croire à beaucoup  
sans y aller voir.

## P. 27

Un soir sortant d'un festin à la  
desrobée, pour aller à l'esbat, il se va  
heurter sans y penser, contre un pilier,  
si rudement qu'il cuida tomber à la  
renverse, dont son lacquais estonné,  
commença à crier à l'ayde: au cry  
duquel survindrent plusieurs. Enfin  
il fit diligemment chercher qui luy avait  
fait cest outrage, et ne pouvant soup-  
çonner qui c'estoit, fors ce pillier, il  
dict: bien luy en prend de ce qu'il  
est pilier, car sans cela ie luy eusse  
cruellement tranché la teste.

sir Giles, we will make shift without him.

*Goos.:* That we wil a my word my Lord, and have him too for all this.

*Wil.:* Doe not you say so sir Giles, for to tell you true that foole is dead.

*Goos.:* Dead? Slight that cannot be man, I knowe he wood ha writ to me ont had byn so.

*Fur.:* Quick or dead let him goe sir Giles.

ACT V, sc. 1 (H2 verso)

*Eugenia:* See what a pretie worke he weares in his boote-hose.

*Hippolyta:* Did you worke them your selfe sir Gyles, or buy them?

*Goos.:* I bought am for nothing madam in th' exange.

*Eug.:* Bought am for nothing.

*Tales:* Indeed madam in th' exchange they so honor him for his worke that they will take nothing for anie thing he buies on am, but wheres the rich night-cappe you wrohgt cosen? if it had not byn too little for you, it was the best peece of worke that ever I sawe.

*Goos.:* VVhy my Lord, t'was bigg enough, when I wrought it, for I wore pantables then you knowe.

*Tal.:* Indeed the warmer a man keepes his feete the lesse he needes weare vpon his head.

(H4 recto)

*Momford:* We talke of the visiting of my sicke friend Clarence.

*Goos.:* O Good my Lord lets visit him, cause I knowe his brother.

*Hip.:* Know his brother, nay then Count doe not (H4 verso) denie him.

*Goos.:* Pray my Lord whether was eldest, he or his elder brother?

*Mom.:* O! the younger brother eldest, while you live Sir Gyles.

P. 8

Estant adverty par quelqu'un que le haut Doyen de Besançon estoit mort, il luy diet: ne le croyez pas, s'il estoit ainsi, il me l'escriroit: car il m'escrit tout.

P. 29

Ayant achepté des livres à Lyon, il disoit à quelqu'un: J'ay achepté seulement de 20 ou 30 escus de livres, mais le libraire m'a iuré que c'estoit pour rien, tellement que ie n'en ay desboursé un liard.

P. 10

Il achepta une fois un bonnet de nuit, et l'essayant le soir, il disoit à son cousin le Bailly d'Aval, Que vous semble de mon achapt? à quoy le Bailly diet: Il me semble trop haut. Lors il respondit: Vous avez raison, il estoit toutesfois bien faict quand ie l'achetay, car i' avois alors des mules, mais maintenant ie n'en ay point.

P. 21

Un autrefois il demandoit à un ieune homme qui luy estoit allé faire la révérence, qui estoit le plus aagé de son frère aîné ou de luy.



ACT V, sc. 2 (I2 *recto*)

*Mom.*: . . . Come then ile shewe  
A few rare Iewels to your honour'd  
eyes  
And then present you with a common  
supper.

*Goos.*: Iewells my Lord, why is not  
this candlestickke one of your iewells  
pray?

*Mom.*: Yes marrrre is it Sir Gyles if  
you will.

*Goos.*: Tis a most fine candlestickke  
in truth, it wants nothing but the  
languages.

*Penelope*: The languages servant,  
why the languages?

*Goos.*: Why mistris, there was a  
lattin candlestick here afore, and that  
had the languages, I am sure.

*Ta.*: I thought he had a reason for  
it Ladie.

## P. 14

Comme il estoit en une maison, il  
vid un grand chandelier, et l'admirant  
il disoit Voilà un beau chandelier, il  
ne luy faut que la parole.

These parallel passages sufficiently show by themselves how little difficulty Chapman found in adapting these "apophtegmes, autrement propos niais, ou plutôt considérations absurdes de Monsieur Gaulard" to the context of this comedy. He had only to suppress all names of persons or places (Besançon, Postel, Franche-Comté, etc.), substitute "Barnet" for instance for "Saint-Denis," and the French "joyeuzeté" at once became a broad English joke well fitted to tickle the humor of the London groundlings. However, the reader will have noticed, Chapman usually curtails the French joke while translating it into English, and occasionally makes Sir Gyles utter in one breath two distinct "howlers" of *Sieur Gaulard*. Once or twice only does Chapman expand his French original into a more explicit and perhaps more amusing blunder of Sir Gyles.<sup>1</sup>

We have already hinted that Chapman's indebtedness to *Des Accords* was, however, not limited to these almost verbal borrowings. Several passages of *Sir Gyles Goosecappe* distinctly recall our "Bourguignon Rabelais" (as he has been pompously styled), although there has been no direct adaptation. Not only has Chapman cut almost all the other jokes of *Goosecappe* on the French pattern, but

<sup>1</sup> E.g., when *Goosecappe* stumbles on "candlestick," which he mistakes for "distick." No such malapropism is to be found in the French.

one or two of the foolish knight's misnomers and tricks of speech are undeniable reminiscences of some particular "Gaulardises." Everybody who has read *Sir Gyles Goosecappe* remembers for instance that Sir Gyles is very much like the birds of the anecdote, which mistook the grapes of the Greek picture for genuine eatable grapes and pecked at them with lusty bills and eyes full of greed. A short quotation will make it plain that he has never been able to tell the difference between a canvas or an embroidery, and the actual things or living creatures represented on them:

*Penel.*: Come good servant let's see what you worke.

*Goos.*: Why looke you mistris I am makeing a fine drie sea, full of fishe, playing in the bottome, and here ile let in the water so lively, thet you shall heare it rore.

*Eug.*: Not heare it Sir Giles

*Goos.*: Yes in sooth madam with your eyes. . . .<sup>1</sup>

*Pen.*: What shall this be servant?

*Goos.*: This shall be a great whale mistris, at all his bignesse spouting huge hils of salt-water afore him, like a little water-squirt, but you shall not neede to feare him mistris, for he shalbe silke and gould, he shall doe you noe harme, and he be nere so lively. . . .<sup>2</sup>

More jokes of the same order are cracked, but enough has been quoted to show the special deficiency under which Sir Gyles's brain labors.

Now Chapman, when writing such passages, evidently had in his mind some such "facétie" as the following:

Voyant un tableau que foisoit un peintre, où il representoit en un pay-sage le sieur Malduy avec sa femme, il luy dit: Je vous prie, peignez-moi dans ce tableau en quelque coing, qu'on ne me voye point, à fin que j'entende ce que diront ces beaux promeneurs. . . .<sup>3</sup>

Il fut à Dijon expressément pour se faire peindre par le gentil Flamant Nicolas Hoey et luy dict: Peignez-moi avec une belle contenance, et me faites lire tout haut dans un livre que j'auray en main.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This "Goosecappism" at once reminds us of Rabelais's "Panurge, a cause de ses lunettes oyait des aureilles beaucoup plus clair que de costume" (*Pantagruel*, IV, v). This is not the only case in which Chapman's indebtedness to Tabourot culminates in passages strongly reminiscent of Panurge or some other Rabelaisian hero. Both Gaulard's and Goosecap's knack of contradicting themselves in one and the same sentence smacks of the French story-teller's verve. Remember, for instance: "Loire se plaignoyt de ce que le recordz debradé luy auoyt donné si grand coup de poing sus l'autre *coubte* qu'il en estoyt tout esperruquancuzelubelouzerirelu du *talon*" (*Pant.*, IV, 15), or: "Ie foyz icy bon veu a nostre Seigneur, que, si ce coup m'estes aydant, i'entendz que me mettez en terre hors de ce dangier cy, ie vous edifieray une belle *grande petite* chappelle ou deux . . . ." (*Pant.*, IV, 19).

<sup>2</sup> V, 1 (H2 recto).

<sup>3</sup> P. 20.

<sup>4</sup> P. 29.

Little<sup>1</sup> need be added to this bare statement of facts, for it would hardly be worth while to pore any longer over such a third-rate production as Tabourot's *Apophtegmes*, and when we say that Chapman has been on the whole free-handed enough in his treatment of his French source, nearly everything is known that can be of any interest to the twentieth-century reader. Besides, *Sir Gyles Goosecappe*, such as it is, remains a pretty bad play and would not justify a more careful investigation of its source. The only object of this article, and its only use, are to show once more that the English dramatists of the Renaissance took their inspiration where they found it, preferably, we should almost be tempted to say, in books devoid of any literary value. It is curious as well to observe that some faint echoes of Rabelais aroused the laughter of cockney playgoers at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and that these echoes came, paradoxically enough, straight from Besançon and Dijon, not from Angers or Chinon. It is perhaps no less appropriate for a Frenchman to point to Elizabethan scholars that one more name is to be added to the long list of Chapman's creditors in the French literary market.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In the third act (E2 verso), Captain Foulweather is on the lookout for a fool: for his friend Lord Furnifall insists upon having one, "a good merry one." This episode was probably suggested to Chapman by the French anecdote beginning: "Passant par un village nommé le Loy, comme il se pourmenait, attendant que le disner fust prest, il vid un ieune fol aagé d'environ 18 ans, qui luy vint faire feste, auquel il dit: Vien, ça, mon amy, veux-tu venir avec moy, et tu seras mon fol ? et ne feras rien si non bonne chère, rire et passer le temps . . ." (*Apophtegmes*, p. 57).

<sup>2</sup> Our little discovery enables us, quite unexpectedly, to confirm Mr. Parrott in his contention for Chapman's authorship of *Sir Gyles Goosecappe*. For Chapman, we have found, has drawn upon the same book in one of his undoubted works: *The Gentleman Usher*. The reader will need only to confront Poggio's account of his dream in the first act, with page 19 of the *Apophtegmes*:

Poggio: . . . "I had such a dreame this morning: me thought one came with a commission to take a sorrell curtoll, that was stolne from him, wheresoever hee could find him. And because I feared he would lay claime to my sorrell curtoll in my stable, I ran to the smith to have him set on his mane againe and his taile presently, that the Commission-man might not thinke him a curtoll. And when the smith would not doe it, I fell a beating of him, so that I could not wake for my life till I was revenged on him" (*Gentleman Usher*, I, 1).

"Il fit bretauder l'un de ses chevaux, puis ayant ouï dire que le Sieur d'Engoulevent se plaignoit d'un courtaut bretaudé, qu' on lui avoit desrobé n'a gueres, et qu'il menaçoit de rompre bras et jambes au larron. Hé! mon ami, dit-il au Mareschal, qu'il manda expressément, sçavez-vous qu'il y a, remettez un peu la queue et les aureilles à mon cheval, afin que Monsieur d'Engoulevent ne pense pas que ce soit le sien" (*Apophtegmes*, p. 19).



## THOMAS GRAY'S INTEREST IN CELTIC

It would appear from the number of the recent books on the Romantic movement that to modern students of eighteenth-century English literature the subject of chief interest is the gradual change from neo-Classicism to Romanticism—whatever those terms may mean. And practically all the critics, however much they differ on definitions, will agree that the Romantic spirit found almost perfect expression in the Norse and Welsh poems of Thomas Gray. The question of Gray's ability to read Old Norse has now been argued back and forth until it is finally settled;<sup>1</sup> the impetus given to the Romantic movement by his "Fatal Sisters" and "The Descent of Odin" has been investigated with the utmost care; yet, strangely enough, only the most superficial attention has been given to his Welsh poems. That there was an important Celtic revival in England a hundred and fifty years ago is a fact with which everyone is familiar, but the importance of Gray's part in the movement has been sadly neglected.<sup>2</sup> If any justification were needed for examining minutely this single phase of the great scholar's activity, one might plead that the most distinctive feature of our own literature today is, indeed, a new Celtic revival, marked by the writings of Synge, Fiona Macleod, and Yeats. But quite apart from this striking parallel, whatever concerns Thomas Gray is bound to be of some interest. It is in the hope of answering two important questions, at least more fully than has yet been done, that the present article is written. These questions are: To what extent did Gray investigate Celtic literature and the history of Druidism? and, How much influence did he exert on the eighteenth-century writers of Celtic-English poetry?

<sup>1</sup> E. W. Gosse, *Life of Gray*, pp. 160 ff.; G. L. Kittredge, *Gray's Knowledge of Old Norse*; C. H. Nordby, *The Influence of Old Norse Literature*, p. 5; F. E. Farley, *Scandinavian Influences in the English Romantic Movement*, p. 35, note 2; D. C. Tovey, *Gray's English Poems* (Pitt Press, 1898), p. 239, corrected in the 1911 edition.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Tovey (Pitt Press edition, pp. xv-xvi) has touched on the matter briefly. The relation of Gray to the Welsh poet Evan Evans has been examined by Professor W. Lewis Jones, for a short criticism of whose article see note 2, p. 8, below.

## I. SOURCES OF GRAY'S INFORMATION

In the first place there are several works dealing with early Celtic history, Druidism, and Welsh poetry, of which we definitely know Gray made use. Among the more important of these are the following:

Caesar. To the account of Druidical customs given by Caesar [*De Bello Gallico* vi. 13-18] Gray specifically refers in his correspondence with Mason.

Tacitus. Likewise referred to familiarly in the letters to Mason. Of numerous passages about the Druids, Gray probably had in mind the *Annals* xiv. 29-30.

R. Hygden: [*Polychronicon*], cited in one of Gray's own notes to "The Bard," 1768 edition.

Sir John Price: *Defensio Historiae Britannicae* (London, 1573), mentioned in Gray's essay "Gothi" (*Works*, ed. T. J. Mathias, 1814, II, 105).<sup>1</sup>

William Camden: [*Britannia*]. A tremendously popular work, first published in 1586, containing much information about the Druids. Gray, who cites the work in his notes to "The Bard," probably knew the English translation published by Edmund Gibson; of this four editions appeared between 1695 and 1772.

John David Rhys: *Cambrobrytannicae Cymraecaeve Linguae Institutiones* (London, 1592). Gray's chief interest in Rhys's grammar concerned the discussion of Welsh prosody. To this treatise we find two references in his MS essays (*Works*, ed. Mathias, II, 25 and 51); in the second case he was quoting from Carte's *History of England*, but while Carte failed to cite the page of Rhys's work, Gray looked the reference up for himself and noted "p. 146."

William Stukeley: *Stonehenge, a Temple Restored to the British Druids* (1740); and *Abury, a Temple of the British Druids, with Some Others, Described. Volume the Second* (1743). The two volumes together constitute the popular but unscholarly work on Druidism of which Gray wrote so scathingly<sup>2</sup> (*Letters*, ed. Tovey, II, 28-29).

<sup>1</sup> This essay is not included by Mr. Gosse in the standard four-volume edition of Gray; hence the necessity of citing Mathias' edition. It is a most unfortunate omission, for the few pages give much evidence of Gray's reading and, incidentally, confirm Professor Kittredge's conjecture that Gray did know Verelius' edition of the *Hervarar Saga* (see *Gray's Knowledge of Old Norse*, p. xlv).

<sup>2</sup> Gray wrote that a certain pamphlet was "nonsense, and that nonsense all stolen from Dr. Stukeley's book about Abury and Stonehenge." In recognizing the unscholarly nature of Stukeley's antiquarian researches, Gray was far ahead of his time. For many years the Doctor was looked up to as the greatest English authority on Druidism, but in reality his books have no value whatever. He was completely taken in by Macpherson's *Ossian*, which he said confirmed all his most important archaeological discoveries (see *A Letter from Dr. Stukeley to Mr. Macpherson, On his Publication of Fingal and Temora*, London, 1763); also by the *De Situ Britanniae* attributed to Richard of Cirencester, now known to be a forgery by Bertram.

- Thomas Carte: *History of England*. Vol. I (1747) contains a discussion of Druidism, as well as an article by Lewis Morris on Welsh poetry from which Gray made long extracts for his own essay "Cambri" (*Works*, ed. Mathias, II, 50 ff.). Vol. II (1750) gave Gray the story of the massacre of the Welsh Bards by Edward I, the source of his ode "The Bard."<sup>1</sup>
- Abbé Fénel and Nicholas Fréret: Two articles on Druidism by these authors appeared in Vol. XXIV of the *Mémoires de l'Acad. des belles lettres et des inscriptions*. Gray read them both and gave Mason a synopsis (*Letters*, ed. Tovey, II, 26-27).
- Simon Pelloutier: *Histoire des Celtes* (La Haye, 1750). Gray had read both volumes by January, 1758, when he sent Mason a brief criticism (*Letters*, ed. Tovey, II, 22).
- J. B. B. d'Anville: *Notice de l'ancienne Gaule tirée des monumens romains* (Paris, 1760). This valuable treatise Gray had in his own private library.<sup>2</sup>

With these works, as has been said, we are sure Gray was familiar. And it would be absurd to suppose that his reading on Celtic subjects was limited to this list or to anything like it; general a priori considerations, combined with his nonchalant yet accurate criticisms of Stukeley and Pelloutier, show that he was probably equally familiar with the standard treatments of Druidism by Humphrey Lhuyd,<sup>3</sup> Rowlands, Toland,<sup>4</sup> Borlase, and other noted Celtists. Unfortunately his intense aversion to annotating his poems, as well as the belittling way in which he always wrote in his letters of his own researches, makes it a matter of mere conjecture.<sup>5</sup> We may, how-

<sup>1</sup> See note 1, p. 9, below.

<sup>2</sup> See Charles Wright's *Catalogue, briefly descriptive, of various books, and original manuscripts, of the poet Gray* (London, 1851).

<sup>3</sup> Gray could hardly have overlooked Humphrey Lhuyd's treatise *De Mona Druidum Insula*, for it is included at the end of Price's *Defensio* in the London edition of 1573, 4to, to which Gray specifically refers.

<sup>4</sup> Even Mason, with his "no reading," was familiar with John Toland's delightful letters on Druidism, which were published posthumously in *A Collection of Several Pieces of Mr. John Toland* (1726), I, 1-228. Mason cites Toland in his notes to *Caractacus*, in support of a passage which Gray (*Letters*, ed. Tovey, I, 361 and note) "always admired."

<sup>5</sup> When Gray published "The Progress of Poesy" and "The Bard" in 1757, he wrote to Walpole: "I do not love notes, though you see I had resolved to put two or three. They are signs of weakness and obscurity. If a thing cannot be understood without them, it had better not be understood at all." With the first poem he gave no annotations whatever; with "The Bard," four, none of which supplies any information about his Celtic reading. And when the public failed to understand him, he wrote in glee to Mason: "I would not have put another note to save the souls of all the owls in London. It is extremely well as it is—nobody understands me, and I am perfectly satisfied." In the 1768 edition he grudgingly added a few more, with the following advertisement: "When the Author first published this and the following Ode, he was advised, even by his



ever, be sure that he derived further information from another source—his wide circle of learned friends.

One of the most interesting of these friends was John Parry, the blind harper who inspired Gray to finish "The Bard." Parry was a famous character in his day and a great friend of the Welsh antiquary and poet, Lewis Morris. At present he is still familiarly spoken of in Wales as "Parry Ddall," and by lovers of music he will always be remembered for his three volumes of Welsh airs.<sup>1</sup> If not from Rhys's grammar, then it was perhaps from Parry that Gray came to understand something of the Welsh system of *cynganedd*, which he occasionally reproduces in "The Bard."<sup>2</sup> Another noted Welsh poet of the time was Evan Evans, whose influence on Gray was so great that it seems necessary to devote a separate section to it in this discussion. Then, too, there is the fact that by 1762 Gray was sufficiently interested in Welsh poetry to solicit the pleasure of corresponding with Lewis Morris himself,<sup>3</sup> and Morris was everywhere

Friends, to subjoin some few explanatory Notes; but had too much respect for the understanding of his Readers to take that liberty." The same reticence to discuss his own Celtic studies characterizes all his letters save those in which he was helping Mason with *Caractacus*.

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient British Music*. . . . Part I (1742); *A Collection of Welsh, English, and Scotch Airs, with Variations, Part II* (n.d.); *British Harmony, being a Collection of Ancient Welsh Airs*. . . . Part III (1781).

<sup>2</sup> *Cynganedd*, while almost equivalent to the English word "consonance," is technically used by the Welsh poets to include both consonance and certain varieties of rhyme; so no satisfactory translation is possible. It would, of course, be unwise to assume that Gray ever mastered the fourteen intensely complicated types of *cynganedd* but there are several lines in "The Bard" that reproduce the effect fairly well, and one that furnishes an absolutely perfect example of *cynganedd draws acennog*:

Weave the wárp (and) weave the woóf.

An examination of Gray's poems shows that he used alliteration much more freely in "The Bard" than elsewhere, and it seems clear that by the use of these peculiar consonantal harmonies he was seeking to suggest a metrical system foreign to English poetry. Many Welshmen have attempted to use *cynganedd* in English verse, but few have succeeded in producing poems of any dignity which conform strictly to the rules. The English language is so completely lacking in anything corresponding to the Welsh systems of inflection, initial mutation, and *sandhi*, that the result is almost unattainable. Had Gray reproduced the effect more perfectly, "The Bard" would necessarily have been a less successful poem.

<sup>3</sup> *The Letters of Lewis, Richard, William and John Morris, of Anglesey*, recently edited and published by Mr. J. H. Davies, contain a surprising amount of information on the interest which English men of letters took, about the middle of the eighteenth century, in Welsh literature. Although there is no mention of Lewis Morris in any of Gray's extant letters, the fact that he did at least solicit his correspondence is evident from the following reference:

WILLIAM MORRIS TO RICHARD. OCTOBER 14, 1762

"In the letter I had from him [Lewis] before, of the 16th August he gave me a list of the greatest critics now in Britain who desire to correspond with him about British affairs;

acknowledged to be the greatest living authority on Welsh literature. Finally, we know that Gray used to confer on matters of Celtic interest with another antiquary, whose labors in this field have been little commented on—no less a person than Bishop Percy.<sup>1</sup>

The facts just given, while not very astonishing, go to show that Gray was more than a superficial student of Celtic antiquity. From the time when he began writing "The Bard" he seems to have taken a keen interest in Celtic mythology, with special reference to its use in English poetry. The outline of his projected history of English poetry shows that he was among the first to realize how great is our indebtedness to the literature of the Celts; as a writer of Celtic-English verse he was a pioneer among the early Romanticists; and the depth of his scholarship made his criticism invaluable to the poets who followed his example.

## II. GRAY AND MASON

As Gray's own "Bard" and his metrical versions of Welsh poems are too well known to need comment here, we may turn at once to a consideration of his share in William Mason's great dramatic poem *Caractacus*. *Caractacus* may be called a wholly Celtic production;<sup>2</sup> the subject is from Celtic history; the setting is Celtic; and a distinctly Celtic atmosphere is created by the introduction of Druidism,

it seems they are all Briton mad! Eu [h]enwau yw [i.e., their names are] Messrs. Pegge, Lye, Percy, Hurd, Shenstone, Grey [sic], Mason."

This letter is to be found in Vol. II, p. 511. See also *ibid.*, p. 514, for confirmation. Mr. Davies, to whom I am indebted for pointing out this item, has also called my attention to Gray's friendship with Michael Lort, Greek professor at Cambridge from 1759 to 1771. That Professor Lort corresponded frequently with the Morris and was deeply interested in Welsh poetry, is perfectly clear (*ibid.*, pp. 537, 544, 555, 557, 565). It may be added that his mother was Welsh.

<sup>1</sup> To Bishop Thomas Percy is due much of the credit for the appearance of Evan Evans' *Specimens of the Poetry of the Antient Welsh Bards* (1764). Percy began to write to Evans in July, 1761, and from then until at least 1776 the two men corresponded regularly on the subject of literature. Over thirty of the letters are still preserved in the British Museum (Additional MS 32,330), yet they seem to have been wholly overlooked by historians of the Romantic movement. When Evans' volume of *Specimens* was reprinted at Llanidloes in 1862, a few of the letters, by Percy, were included as an appendix. Though very carelessly transcribed, they throw a great deal of light on the beginnings of Romanticism. The remainder of the correspondence, equally valuable, has never been published. While Evans was writing his book, Percy advised, encouraged, and criticized; he acted as a go-between for Evans and Gray, and even went so far as to offer to find a publisher for the *Specimens*. That Percy's interest in Welsh literature led him to write to Lewis Morris is clear from the preceding note.

<sup>2</sup> Exception must be made of the sword *Trifungus*, which, in spite of Gray's efforts was introduced from the Norse.



a mythology which had hitherto been almost wholly neglected by English dramatists. Everyone knows what a prolific writer Mason was, and his careless method of composition has always been a source of amusement to men of letters; floundering about in the unsounded depths of Celtic antiquities, he would surely have come to grief had it not been for the ceaseless efforts of his painstaking friend and critic, Gray. During the three years in which *Caractacus* was being written Gray wrote letter after letter offering help (which was always accepted), making suggestions, and pointing out as tactfully as possible the absurdities into which Mason's ignorance so often led him.<sup>1</sup> So far as we can judge by his letters, Gray was much more interested in *Caractacus* than he ever was in his own "Bard"; in fact, a really fair title for the poem would be "*Caractacus, a Dramatic Poem, Undertaken by William Mason and Carefully Revised by Thomas Gray.*" An examination of the extant letters of criticism shows that whatever merit the poem possesses is largely due to the efforts of Gray.

Although *Caractacus* was seriously underrated by its first critics,<sup>2</sup> nevertheless, the strange, wild beauty of the Druidical elements

<sup>1</sup> These letters are too long and too numerous to quote at length here, but the important ones may now easily be found by reference to the Index of Gray's *Letters*, s.v. "Mason." There are seventeen still extant, and in many Gray goes into the most minute detail. As an example, I quote the opening of his well-known letter of January 13, 1758:

"DEAR MASON,

Why you make no more of writing an Ode, and throwing it into the fire, than of buckling and unbuckling your shoe. I have never read Keyser's book, nor you neither, I believe; if you had taken that pains, I am persuaded you would have seen that his Celtic and his septentrional antiquities are two things entirely distinct. There are, indeed, some learned persons who have taken pains to confound what Caesar and Tacitus have taken pains to separate, the old Druidical or Celtic belief, and that of the old Germans, but nobody has been so learned as to mix the Celtic religion with that of the Goths. Why, Woden himself is supposed not to have been older than Julius Caesar; but let him have lived when he pleases, it is certain that neither he nor his Valhalla were heard of till many ages after. This is the doctrine of the Scalds, not of the Bards; these are the songs of Hengist and Horsa, a modern new-fangled belief in comparison of that which you ought to possess. . . ."

For a criticism of other early Romanticists who confused Celtic and Teutonic mythology, see the Index of Professor Farley's *Scandinavian Influences*, s.v. "Celtic."

<sup>2</sup> The critic in the *Monthly Review* for June, 1759, entirely failed to realize the importance to English literature of Mason's extensive use of Celtic mythology; at the time, the second edition was already out, yet the comment is almost entirely on the lack of dramatic action. In July of the same year a brief synopsis of the poem was printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, but again the reviewer had no inkling of the part *Caractacus* was to play in making the average reader familiar with the essentials of Druidism. The attitude of the *Critical Review* was even more absurd.



immediately caught the public eye and aroused great enthusiasm. Some idea of its early vogue may be had from the fact that two editions appeared in 1759, and others in 1762, 1764, 1776,<sup>1</sup> and 1777; it was also included in Vol. XXXI of Bell's *British Theatre* and in the eleven editions of Mason's poems which were published between 1764 and 1811. It was adapted for stage presentation in 1776 and was played fourteen times at Covent Garden; it reappeared two years later at the same theater, and was performed at the Felsted School, Essex, in 1785.<sup>2</sup> Still further evidence of the poem's popularity is afforded by the fact that it was translated into Greek, Latin, French, and Italian,<sup>3</sup> and was frequently imitated throughout the rest of the eighteenth century.<sup>4</sup>

### III. GRAY AND MACPHERSON

Limitations of space make it impossible to do more than refer in passing to a matter of the greatest importance—the relation of Gray to the Ossianic poems of James Macpherson. Briefly, Gray's influence was felt in two ways: first, his poem "The Bard" seems to have been one of the chief sources of inspiration that led Macpherson to begin writing *Ossian*; secondly, Gray's favorable comments on Macpherson's earliest Ossianic efforts must have added very considerably to the enthusiasm with which they were received by a host of Gray's literary friends. Since it is impossible to produce all the evidence here, it may be well to quote Mr. Smart's phrasing of the generally accepted view of Macpherson's direct indebtedness to "The Bard": "His case is the stranger because Gray, had he looked into *Ossian* with sufficient detachment, might have found there the influence of his own muse. It cannot be said that had 'The Bard' not been published—it appeared in 1757—there would have been no *Ossian*; but *Ossian* at least would have been somewhat different."<sup>5</sup> The same opinion has been expressed with equal force by Mr. Tovey,

<sup>1</sup> The lyrical part only.

<sup>2</sup> The facts about the production at Covent Garden are from Genest's *English Stage*; that it was played at the Felsted School in 1785 appears from p. 475 of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for that year, where we read: "Prologue to *Caractacus*. By Mr. Tooke, a Youth of Sixteen. Acted at the Felsted-School, Essex, April 16, 1785."

<sup>3</sup> All these translations are to be found in the British Museum.

<sup>4</sup> Several of these imitations are noted in the last section of this article.

<sup>5</sup> *James Macpherson*, by J. S. Smart, p. 101.

and the case admits of convincing (though necessarily detailed) demonstration.

In regard to the second point, it may be said that in spite of Gray's doubts as to the genuineness of *Ossian*, he never failed to express unbounded admiration of its poetic value. He corresponded for some time with Macpherson<sup>1</sup> and was one of the distinguished critics who saw some of the *Fragments* in MS before their publication in June, 1760. It has always been known in a general way that Gray's approval did much to add to the early popularity of these pieces, but attention has not, I believe, been called to the fact that an anonymous metrical version of Fragment V, contributed to the *Scots Magazine* as early as July, 1760, was, as a matter of course, given the significant subtitle, "A piece in the taste of the celebrated Mr. Gray." It is only from a study of such incidental testimony as this, that we can come to understand how important a part Gray played in the Celtic revival.

#### IV. GRAY AND EVAN EVANS

I have said that Gray derived much of his information about Welsh poetry from Evan Evans, but it must be understood that this particular influence was not felt until after "The Bard" had been published. As the relation of these two writers is baffling, and as most of Gray's editors have been in doubt about the source of "The Bard," it seems well to treat the problem of chronology with some detail.<sup>2</sup> The essential facts are these:

<sup>1</sup> This correspondence seems to be no longer extant, but it is evident from what Gray wrote to Thomas Wharton in June, 1760, that several letters were exchanged:

"If you have seen Stenhewer he has probably told you of my old Scotch (or rather Irish) poetry. I am gone mad about them. they are said to be translation (literal & in prose) from the *Erse*-tongue, done by one Macpherson, a young Clergyman in the Highlands. he means to publish a Collection he has of these specimens of antiquity, if it be antiquity: but what plagues me is, I cannot come at any certainty on that head. I was so struck, so *extasié* with their infinite beauty, that I writ into Scotland to make a thousand enquiries. The letters I have in return are ill-wrote, ill-reasoned, unsatisfactory, calculated (one would imagine) to deceive one, & yet not cunning enough to do it cleverly. in short, the whole external evidence would make one believe these fragments (for so he calls them, tho' nothing can be more entire) counterfeit: but the internal is so strong on the other side, that I am resolved to believe them genuine, spite of the Devil & the Kirk. It is impossible to convince me, that they were invented by the same Man, that writes me these letters."

Compare also the letter of August 7, 1760, where Gray says of these same *Fragments*: "I have one (from Mr. Macpherson) which he has not printed."

<sup>2</sup> Since the material for this article was gathered, I find that several of the facts about Gray and Evans have been brought to light by Professor W. Lewis Jones

From Vol. II of Carte's *History of England* Gray got all his information about the tradition of the massacre of the Welsh Bards by Edward I.<sup>1</sup> Carte in turn, as he tells us in a note, derived the story from Sir John Wynn[e]'s *History of the Gwedir Family*, a work not published till 1770 but accessible to him in MS in the Mostyn library. Of so much we may be absolutely certain. It seems safe to add that some of the imagery in "The Bard" was taken from the Norse poem which Gray later translated, using Bartholin's Latin version, as "The Fatal Sisters."<sup>2</sup> Evans' "Dissertation on the

(*Y Beirniad*, Vol. II, No. 1; compare note 2, p. 1 above). Because his essay is in Welsh, is not very comprehensive, and seems to take no account of Evans' unpublished letters in Additional MS 32,330, I venture to cover some of the same ground.

<sup>1</sup> *The Massacre of the Welsh Bards*. The early editors of Gray's poems had nothing to say about the specific source of "The Bard." In 1894 Professor Phelps conjectured that "Gray may have met with" the tradition in Carte's *History of England*, II, 196 (*Selections from the Poetry and Prose of Thomas Gray*, p. 157). Mr. Tovey (Pitt Press edition, p. 205) said without any assurance: "Dr. Phelps thinks Gray may have found this tradition in the second volume of Carte's *History of England*, which was published in 1750." Of course there need not be the slightest doubt about the matter, as is obvious from the correspondence of Evans with Bishop Percy. Three brief quotations make the matter clear:

PERCY TO EVANS. JULY 21, 1761

"PS. I am told you are acquainted with Mr. Gray the Poet: pray has he any foundation for what he has asserted in his Ode on the British Bard, viz., 'That there is a tradition among the Inhabitants of Wales, that our Edward 1st destroyed all the British Bards that fell into his hands'? The existence of the tradition has been questioned."

EVANS TO PERCY. AUGUST 8, 1761

"I have not the happiness to be acquainted with Mr. Gray. It is very true that Edward the first destroyed the Welsh Bards, for I find it particularly mentioned in the history of the House of Gwydir in the county of Carnarvon, written by Sir John Wynne Bart. in the time of Queen Eliz. who was a descendant in a direct line from the last princes of Wales, and a person well versed in the British history in general, and in that of his own family in particular. I have a manuscript of this history by me. These are his words. . . ." [Here follows the very extract from Wynne which Carte had cited in his *History*.]

PERCY TO EVANS. OCTOBER 15, 1761

"Soon after I received your letter, I was down at Cambridge, where I had the good fortune to meet with Mr. Gray, the poet: and spent an afternoon with him at his Chambers.—Our discourse turned on you and the Welsh Poetry: I shewed him your Letter, and he desired leave to transcribe the passage relating to K. Edward's massacre of the Welsh bards.—All the authority he had before, it seems, was only a hint in Carte's History. He seemed very glad of this authentic report."

These three quotations are from Folios 13, 17, and 26 respectively, of Additional MS 32,330. The first and third have already been printed in the second edition of Evans' *Specimens* (Llandidloes, 1862). For a study of the origin and spread of the tradition, references are given in Professor Phelps's *Selections*, p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> There can be little doubt that Gray was, by 1755, familiar with Bartholin's work and was strongly influenced by it in writing "The Bard." One of his notes to the 1768 edition suggests as much, and the fact has been hinted at by Johnson in his *Life of Gray* (cited by Professor Beers in *A History of English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 196); by Sayers (*Disquisitions Metaphysical and Literary*, cited by Professor Farley in *Scandinavian Influences*, p. 202); by Edward Williams, better known as Iolo Morganwg



Bards" (which was the first part of the *Specimens* to be written) is first heard of in a letter dated October 12, 1759<sup>1</sup>—more than two years after "The Bard" had been in print. A single bit of Evans' Welsh poetry reached Gray shortly before April 23, 1760, but the "Dissertation" proper was not shown to him until after that date—probably in May of the same year.<sup>2</sup> Gray was expected, according to Evans' own statement, to "correct" the "Dissertation," and that he took a great interest is clear from the correspondence of Percy and Evans. "The Bard" thus entirely antedates the *Specimens*, and instead of Gray's borrowing from Evans, it was the Welshman who first asked to have his work corrected by Gray. Further, it was under the direct influence of "The Bard" that Evans wrote a rather remarkable paraphrase of Psalm 137—one of his few English poems—which is here quoted:

A PARAPHRASE OF THE 137TH PSALM. ALLUDING TO THE CAPTIVITY AND TREATMENT OF THE WELSH BARDS BY KING EDWARD I

Sad near the willowy Thames we stood,  
And curs'd the inhospitable flood;  
Tears such as patients weep, 'gan flow,  
The silent eloquence of woe,  
5       When Cambria rushed into our mind,  
And pity with just vengeance joined;  
Vengeance to injured Cambria due,  
And pity, O ye Bards, to you.

(*Poems, Lyric and Pastoral*, 1794, II, 195). But the facts were first clearly stated and the evidence summed up by Mr. Tovey (Pitt Press edition, pp. 212-13). His summary seems adequate, yet it may be supplemented by noting Gray's letter of March 24, 1758, where he again discusses the question of mingling Celtic and Teutonic mythology "in a time of dearth."

<sup>1</sup> *Some Specimens of the Poetry of the Antient Welsh Bards* (London, 1764). This work, to which reference has so often been made, played a very considerable part in the English Romantic movement. As the volume is now rare, a brief description may be given: it consists of a Latin *Dissertatio de Bardis*, a number of literal translations into English prose from the Welsh classics, and the original Welsh versions of these poems. The letter of October 12, 1759 (*Gwaith Ieuan Brydydd Hir*, ed. D. S. Evans, pp. 162-63), shows that Evans originally planned the "Dissertation" for a volume of poems by Goronwy Owen; but being encouraged by Percy, Gray, Justice Barrington, and others, he added greatly to it and incorporated the whole in his volume, *Specimens*.

<sup>2</sup> In his letter of April 23, 1760, Evans says (*Gwaith Ieuan Brydydd Hir*, pp. 164-65) that Gray admires Gwalchmai's "Ode to Owen Gwynedd," and that Justice Barrington will show the "Dissertation" to Gray "to have his judgment of it and to correct it where necessary." In June Gray wrote to Wharton: "The Welch Poets are also coming to light: I have seen a Discourse in MS about them (by one Mr. Evans, a Clergyman) with specimens of their writings" (*Letters*, ed. Tovey, II, 146).

10        Silent, neglected, and unstrung,  
           Our harps upon the willows hung,  
           That, softly sweet in Cambrian measures,  
           Used to sooth our souls to pleasures,  
           When, lo, the insulting foe appears,  
           And bid[s] us dry our useless tears.

15        "Resume your harps," the Saxons cry,  
           "And change your grief to songs of joy;  
           Such strains as old Taliesin sang,  
           What time your native mountains rang  
           With his wild notes, and all around  
           Seas, rivers, woods return'd the sound."

          What!—shall the Saxons hear us sing,  
           Or their dull vales with Cambrian music ring?  
           No—let old Conway cease to flow,  
           Back to her source Sabrina go:  
           25        Let huge Plinlimmon hide his head,  
           Or let the tyrant strike me dead,  
           If I attempt to raise a song  
           Unmindful of my country's wrong.  
           What!—shall a haughty king command  
           30        Cambrians' free strain on Saxon land?  
           May this right arm first wither'd be,  
           Ere I may touch one string to thee,  
           Proud monarch; nay, may instant death  
           Arrest my tongue and stop my breath,  
           35        If I attempt to weave a song,  
           Regardless of my country's wrong!

          Thou God of vengeance, dost thou sleep,  
           When thy insulted Druids weep,  
           The Victor's jest,<sup>1</sup> the Saxon's scorn,  
           40        Unheard, unpitied, and forlorn?  
           Bare thy right arm, thou God of ire,  
           And set their vaunted towers on fire.  
           Remember our inhuman foes,  
           When the first Edward furious rose,

<sup>1</sup> I have inserted this comma, in the hope of making sense out of the passage. But it seems as if lines 39 and 40 had been transposed and that we should read:

          Thou God of vengeance, dost thou sleep,  
           When thy insulted Druids weep  
           Unheard, unpitied, and forlorn  
           The Victor's jest, the Saxon's scorn?

As this poem is found in the appendix to the second edition of the *Specimens* (1762), a very carelessly edited volume, some such blunder was probably made.

45

And, like a whirlwind's rapid sway,  
Swept armies, cities, Bards away.

50

55

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65

70

"High on a rock o'er Conway's flood"  
The last surviving poet stood,  
And curs'd the tyrant, as he pass'd  
With cruel pomp and murderous haste.  
What now avail our tuneful strains,  
Midst savage taunts and galling chains?  
Say, will the lark imprison'd sing  
So sweet, as when, on towering wing,  
He wakes the songsters of the sky,  
And tunes his notes to liberty?  
Ah no, the Cambrian lyre no more  
Shall sweetly sound on Arvon's shore,  
No more the silver harp be won,  
Ye Muses, by your favourite son;  
Or I, even I, by glory fir'd,  
Had to the honour'd prize aspir'd.  
No more shall Mona's oaks be spar'd  
Or Druid circle be rever'd.  
On Conway's banks, and Menai's streams  
The solitary bittern screams;  
And, where was erst Llewelyn's court,  
Ill-omened birds and wolves resort.  
There oft at midnight's silent hour,  
Near yon ivy-mantled tower,  
By the glow-worm's twinkling fire,  
Tuning his romantic lyre,  
Gray's pale spectre seems to sing,  
"Ruin seize thee, ruthless King."

The borrowings from "The Bard," especially in lines 25, 47, 66, and 75, will be seen at a glance, all the more readily because Evans himself has put the important ones in quotation marks. Gray, in turn, was wholly indebted to Evans' *Specimens* for the originals of "Owen," "Hoel," "Caradoc," and "Conan," which he put into English verse. We now see that in writing "The Bard" and helping Evans with his *Specimens*, Gray had only been casting his bread upon the waters. We may sum up the relation of the two men thus:

1755-57. Gray wrote "The Bard," taking his Celtic material from Carte's *History* (no influence from Evans).



1759-64. Evans worked on his *Specimens*, assisted by Gray; also wrote, in imitation of "The Bard," his "Paraphrase of the 137th Psalm" (date unknown).

1760 or later. From the English and Latin versions in the *Specimens* (published in 1764 but seen in MS), Gray versified "Owen," "Hoel," "Caradoc," and "Conan." The first of these four poems was printed by Gray in 1768, the others by Mason in 1775.

#### V. GRAY AND THE MINOR POETS OF THE CELTIC REVIVAL

We may now turn to the influence exerted by Gray's Celtic poems and by *Caractacus*, of which he was almost joint author, on some of the minor writers of the late eighteenth century. Out of the multitude who took part in the movement and who were probably affected to some extent by Gray, I have selected a few whose indebtedness is most obvious. The list makes no pretense to completeness,<sup>1</sup> but it does show that a surprising interest in Celtic matters, particularly in Druidical mythology, was taken as a direct result of Gray's influence. As might be expected, the verse varies from good to very bad, and the few examples here quoted are fairly representative.

Early in the year 1760<sup>2</sup> James Foot was writing his *Penseroso, or the Pensive Philosopher*, a long didactic poem showing a strong influence from "the elegant Mr. Mason," whom the author mentions in the Preface. Beginning on p. 161 is a passage dealing with Druidism, the subject probably having been suggested by Mason's poem of the previous year; certainly the following lines are borrowed from the opening speech of *Caractacus*:

High on this hill, and down yon craggy steep  
 Delv'd into caves, wide-spreading rose the oaks  
 Gloomy as night, the consecrated haunt  
 Of ancient Druids: on each father tree,  
 Each father tree a wood, so broad his arms,  
 Fair hung the Mis[t]letoe like burnish'd gold  
 Of mystic pow'r, and glitter'd through the shade.

<sup>1</sup> The writer is now gathering material for a detailed study of the whole period 1750-1800, showing the Celtic influences in the works of Blake, Brooke, Bruce, Cowper, etc. The volume when published may aspire to be a humble companion to Professor Farley's admirable *Scandinavian Influences in the English Romantic Movement*.

<sup>2</sup> Published at London, 1771; for the date of composition, see the author's note on p. 251.

Deep-scoop'd and shagg'd with boughs yon ran the cave  
 Beneath the mountain's brow, where dark-immur'd  
 And held a God, the Seer of Druids liv'd,  
 His white-rob'd brotherhood in neighbouring shades  
 At awful distance seated.<sup>1</sup>

Another item of interest was the appearance in 1764 of the anonymous *Temple of Tragedy*, a poem of some length, whose unknown author tells us that he has taken his Celtic touches from *Caractacus*.<sup>2</sup> Though the piece is little known today, its publication aroused considerable interest, and the free use of Mason's material amused Gray so much that he jocosely claimed the authorship himself, writing to Mason: "I did not write any of the elegies [on Churchill], being busy in writing the *Temple of Tragedy*. Send for it forthwith, for you are highly interested in it. If I had not owned the thing, perhaps you might have gone and taken it for the Reverend Mr. Langhorne's. It is divine."<sup>3</sup>

One of the first and least important imitations of Gray's "Bard" was Richard Polwhele's "Cambrian Bards: an Ode Written about the Age of Seventeen."<sup>4</sup> Another, "The Complaint of Cambria," by Edward Lovibond, contains the following tribute to the Welsh Bards massacred by Edward I:

Revere thy Cambria's flowing tongue!  
 Tho' high-born Hoel's lips are dumb,  
 Cadwallo's harp no more is strung,  
 And silence sits on soft Lluellyn's tomb.

<sup>1</sup> From p. 162. It is not without interest to see that Foot, writing so early in the Celtic revival, felt called on to explain his reference to Druidism in the following delightfully naïve note:

"Of the Druids there were three orders, the Druids properly so called, the Euvates, and the Bardī. It is very certain, that they dealt in human sacrifices, and believed in the doctrines of the conflagration [!] and transmigration of souls. They are supposed to have derived their religion from the Magi. Those of Britain were the most celebrated for their learning, and for the great respect and honour which they received from the world. The accounts we have of them from history are very short, being almost lost in the wilds of time. It is certain also, that they taught some great and useful truths; but, whether they addicted themselves to all the idolatry and superstition of the other Gentiles, is not here determined. The intent of this book is to expose the wickedness and folly of idolatry in general, but not merely that of the Druids in particular; and a liberty is herein assumed of embellishing this account of the matter, with such circumstances as are in part true from history, and partly probable" (p. 198).

<sup>2</sup> See *The Temple of Tragedy*, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Letters*, ed. Tovey, III, 59.

<sup>4</sup> Polwhele was born in 1760, so we may date this production about 1777. It is found in Vol. II of Polwhele's *Poems* (London, 1810).

O sing thy sires in genuine strains!  
 When Rome's resistless arm prevail'd,  
 When Edward delug'd all my plains,<sup>1</sup>  
 And all the music of my mountains fail'd;  
 When all her flames Rebellion spread,  
 Firmly they stood—O sing the dead!<sup>2</sup>

An anonymous Latin version of "The Bard" published at Chester<sup>3</sup> in 1775 is preceded by an English metrical "Dedication to the Genius of Antient Britain," which contains many phrases taken direct from Gray's poem. Similarly, Thomas Penrose's poem "The Harp" was so strongly influenced by "The Bard" that it amounts to a selective paraphrase.<sup>4</sup> And the fact that several passages in Rogers' "Ode to Superstition" were "evidently inspired by Gray's 'Bard'" has already been pointed out in Clayden's *Early Life of Samuel Rogers*.<sup>5</sup>

Of considerably more interest than these are Mathias' *Runic Odes. Imitated from the Norse Tongue. In the Manner of Mr. Gray* (1781), of which the fourth and fifth odes, notwithstanding the misleading title, are not Norse but Celtic. The fifth ode, "Tudor," is especially noteworthy, being an adaptation of some passages in Evans' *Specimens*; the meter, it will be seen, is the same that Gray had already used in "Owen," "Hoel," "Caradoc," and "Conan." For this poem, then, Gray set the style and suggested the meter; Evans gave the actual material; while Macpherson furnished the reference in the second stanza to Malvina.

## ODE V

## TUDOR

Fill the horn of glossy blue,  
 Ocean's bright caerulean hue;  
 Briskly quaff the flav'rous mead,  
 'Tis a day to joy decreed.

<sup>1</sup> Lovibond here notes: "Edward I put to death all the Welch Bards."

<sup>2</sup> From *Poems on Several Occasions. By the late Edward Lovibond* (London, 1785); the author died in 1775.

<sup>3</sup> Not to be confused with the Latin version by "E. B. G.," which was published at Cambridge in the same year.

<sup>4</sup> Penrose's poems were published posthumously in 1781, the date of his death being 1779. For a favorable review of the volume and a biography of Penrose, see the *European Magazine* for March, 1782, p. 202.

<sup>5</sup> Cited, with more pertinent information on the relation of Gray to Rogers, by Professor Farley (*Scandinavian Influences*, p. 188 and note).



Strike the harp's symphonious string,  
 Tudor none refuse to sing;  
 Ne'er shall he belie his birth,  
 Valour his, and conscious worth.

Have you seen the virgin snow,  
 That tops old Aran's peering brow;  
 Or lucid web, by insect spun,  
 Purpureal gleam in summer sun?  
 With such, yet far diviner light,  
 Malvina hits the dazzled sight;  
 The guerdon such, can Tudor's breast  
 Dare to court ignoble rest?

From the cliff sublime and hoary  
 See descending martial glory;  
 Armed bands aloft uprear  
 Crimson banner, crimson spear;  
 Venodotia's ancient boast,  
 Meets the pride of London's host;  
 On they move with step serene,  
 And form a dreadly pleasing scene.

Heard you that terrific clang?  
 Thro' the pathless void it rang:  
 Th' expecting raven screams afar,  
 And snuffs the reeking spoils of war.  
 Have you e'er on barren strand  
 Ta'en your solitary stand,  
 And seen the whirlwind's spirit sped  
 O'er the dark-green billowy bed?  
 Glowing in the thickest fight,  
 Such resistless Tudor's might.<sup>1</sup>

In the same year, 1781, John Pinkerton published his volume of *Rimes*,<sup>2</sup> conspicuous in the Celtic revival for the beautiful poems about Ossian. The following lines from "The Vale of Woe, after the Gaelic Manner":

Heard ye not the raven scream?  
 Saw ye not the sable stream?  
 Heard ye not the bleak wind blow  
 Adown the vale of woe?

<sup>1</sup> From pp. 25-26 of the first edition. Mathias explains at length that this poem was suggested by certain passages in Evans' *Specimens*, which he quotes.

<sup>2</sup>A second edition appeared in 1782.

are strongly reminiscent of Gray's fragment from the Welsh:

Have ye seen the tusky boar,  
Or the bull with sullen roar,  
On surrounding foes advance?  
So Caradoc bore his lance.

Yet, after all, it may be unwise to argue that because of the striking similarity in metrical swing there is a direct imitation; the question may well be left open.

In that remarkable treatise on Welsh music, poetry, and Bardism in general—Edward Jones's *Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards*<sup>1</sup> (1784)—the influence of Gray's Celtic interests may again be seen. The frontispiece is an engraving, after Loutherboung, of the hero of Gray's poem, standing, harp in hand, far above the army of Edward I; and under the picture are the following lines:

On a rock, whose haughty brow  
Frowns o'er old Conway's foaming flood,  
Robed in the sable garb of woe,  
With haggard eyes the Poet stood;  
(Loose his beard, and hoary hair  
Stream'd, like a meteor, to the troubled air)  
And with a Master's hand, and Prophet's fire,  
Struck the deep sorrows of his lyre.

On p. 4 are Gray's three versifications from the *Gododin*, while on p. 1 is a short quotation from *Caractacus*.

Six years later Frank Sayers published his *Dramatic Sketches of Northern Mythology*. The merit of these poems is too well known to need extended comment,<sup>2</sup> but a study is yet to be made of the exact relation of the Celtic tragedy *Starno* to its prototype *Caractacus*. A comparison of the two works would show very considerable borrowings by Sayers, who pays the following tribute to Mason in his introduction:

The story of the following Tragedy, like that of the foregoing, is fictitious, but I hope not entirely inconsistent with the manners and customs of the

<sup>1</sup> The second edition, greatly enlarged, appeared in 1794, the third in 1808, and the fourth in 1825. The statement in the *DNB* that the third edition appeared in 1812 is an error. A copy of the first edition (now very rare) is in the British Museum; all the other editions, as well as a unique collection of Jones's other volumes, are to be found in the National Library of Wales, at Aberystwyth.

<sup>2</sup> They had reached a fourth edition by 1807.

Celtic people. As the scene of the action is laid in Britain, I have been obliged to desert the mythology of the Saxons for the institutions and ceremonies of the druids; some of these ceremonies have already been received by the public with delight, as displayed in the admirable tragedy of *Caractacus*. . . .

Shortly after the appearance of the *Dramatic Sketches*, George Richards wrote his Oxford prize poem "The Aboriginal Britons"<sup>1</sup> (1791), a brilliant eulogy on the ancient Celts, and one of the few pieces sincerely praised by Byron in his *English Bards, and Scotch Reviewers*. For the present study the poem's chief interest lies in its debt to *Caractacus*, which is frequently acknowledged in the notes. Richards' second Celtic effort, the *Songs of the Aboriginal Bards of Britain* (1792), has on its title-page a quotation from *Caractacus*. Throughout the first of the two poems in this little volume Richards borrowed so freely from Gray's "Bard" that he deemed it necessary to add a note calling attention to his slight changes of Gray's imagery; while the other, "The Captivity of Caractacus," owes even more to the dramatic poem of 1759.

Perhaps the most astonishing result of Gray's influence on the Celtic revival was the production in 1798 of James Boaden's historical play *Cambro-Britons*.<sup>2</sup> The general subject is the invasion of Wales by Edward I, which alone would be enough to make us suspect that the author's inspiration had come from Gray. But this is not all; Act III, scene 5, of *Cambro-Britons* is from beginning to end simply a dramatization of "The Bard," with the omission of the long prophecy. And as Genest justly remarks, this is the best scene in the play.

#### CAMBRO-BRITONS, ACT III, SCENE 5

(*The scene changes to a narrow pass, along which the King's army must march. A rough and angry torrent bounds it in front, overhung by inaccessible crags. The drum of the invading army is heard and louder as they approach. At the moment when the King attended enters upon the stage, with a hideous yell, the Bards rush to the verge of the cliffs, and with haggard forms, seen only by the glare of the torches they carry, like furies pour out their execrations on his head, in a full chorus to the harp only.*)

<sup>1</sup> Practically the whole poem is quoted, with unbounded praise, in S. J. Pratt's *Gleanings in England*, of which various editions appeared at the end of the century.

<sup>2</sup> Published at London in 1798. Genest, in his *History of the English Stage*, says that it was acted twelve times, the first performance being on July 21 at the Theatre Royal, Haymarket.



CHORUS

Ruin seize thee, ruthless King!  
 Havock choak thy furious way!  
 Desolation's raven wing  
 Sweep thee from the eye of day!  
 Ruin seize thee, ruthless King.  
 Ruin seize thee, ruthless King.

HEREFORD

Say, what are these?—The spirits of the mountain  
 Yelling amid the storm!

MORTIMER

Despair sustain me!—

To arms!

HEREFORD

Behold, my lord! from forth the band  
 One rushes on—and, by the sudden silence,  
 Prepares to speak. Th' undaunted king advances!

1ST BARD

Edward, I call thee! if thou dar'st, then hear me.  
 Would I could add the eagle's piercing scream,  
 And all the savage sounds that awe the desert,  
 To thunder on thee—tyrant, persecutor—  
 Cool, unrelenting, bloody ravager!—  
 Behold the last remains of that high race  
 Thy policy has butchered! . . .

[*The 1st Bard continues this execration for 22 lines more, interrupted only by the chorus—"Ruin seize thee, ruthless King."*]

KING EDWARD

I'll bear no longer! To your arms, my friends!  
 Let not these haggard wretches thus dismay ye!  
 Silence the race forever!

(*Charge sounded.—The soldiers rush out.—The Bards, all but the principal one, fly.—The woods are seen to take fire in the distance.*)

1ST BARD

That I laugh at.

He who dares die is master of the means.  
 My fate is plac'd beyond thee. Think not, king,  
 The generous stream that beats here shall embathe  
 A ruffian's falchion.—I hear the groans  
 Of my dear dying friends!—Their parting breath  
 Shrieks curses on thee!—May it fall like mist,

And deadly vapours poison all around thee!—  
 Hark! the last feeble wail!—and now all's silent.  
 See, where their thin shades flit among the clouds!—  
 Behold! They beckon me! and thus I join them.—

(*He flings himself into the torrent below him, and with the sound of trumpets the scene drops.*)

Another drama on the same subject was written by William Sotheby, *The Cambrian Hero, or Llewelyn the Great*.<sup>1</sup> Here again we have such lines as the following adapted from Gray's "Bard":

Llewelyn rouse, and strike the blow,  
 Let ruin seize th' invading foe;  
 Then glory on thy banners wait,  
 Recording fame thy deeds relate.

Mention must also be made of *The Heroine of Cambria* (1811) by William Hayley, who had already paid his respects to the Celtic poems of Gray and Mason in his metrical *Essay on Epic Poetry*.<sup>2</sup> This drama, too, is based on the tradition that Edward I caused the Welsh Bards to be massacred—the same tradition that had been brought into such prominence more than fifty years before by Gray's immortal "Bard."

To this list of poems deriving their inspiration wholly or in part from the work of Gray, one might add several anonymous pieces of some importance.<sup>3</sup> And still further evidence may be found by examining the quotations and references in the countless *Tours through Wales* that were published late in the century. H. P. Wyndham, for example, wrote of the massacre of the Welsh Bards by Edward I:

If some should regret the poems, the existence of which the massacre obstructed, they may find some comfort in the reflection that it has given birth to one of the finest odes in the English tongue, the merit of which, alone, would probably surpass the ponderous volumes of all those that might have been written in the British language.<sup>4</sup>

So, too, Joseph Cradock:

. . . for though Mona is destroyed and her Altars abolished,—though

<sup>1</sup> The volume is not dated, but it appeared ca. 1800.

<sup>2</sup> See Hayley's *Essay on Epic Poetry: in five epistles to the Rev. Mr. Mason* (London, 1782), *passim*, especially p. 113, where *Caractacus* is specifically mentioned.

<sup>3</sup> Such as the "Ode to the Lyric Muse" (*Scots Magazine*, February, 1765); "A Poetical Chronology" by "T. M., Esq." (*Gentleman's Magazine*, September, 1773); "Elegy on Gray" by "N" in *Poems, Chiefly by Gentlemen of Devonshire and Cornwall* (1792).

<sup>4</sup> *A Tour through Monmouthshire and Wales* (second edition, 1781), p. 149.

Fires have consumed her Groves, and her Priests have perished by the Sword, yet like the Phoenix, she rises more glorious from Decay; her Ashes have given Birth to the Caractacus of Mason, and the Fate of her Bards to the Inspiration of Gray.<sup>1</sup>

Equally appreciative are the words of S. J. Pratt:

Neither shall I say any thing of Snowdon—nor ask you to accompany me to the country, where "Huge Plinlimmon rears his cloud-topp'd head." Both of which have been introduced to you in the best manner, by Mason and Gray, the latter of whom possessed a genius loftier, and more sublime, than the mountains he described.<sup>2</sup>

In tracing throughout the foregoing pages the influence of Gray's Celtic researches, we have simply been writing a chapter in the history of the great eighteenth-century Celtic revival. An equally important chapter could be written on the English poetry derived from Evans' *Specimens*, and an even longer one on the imitations of *Ossian*. And it has been shown that in following these later developments, we should still be dealing with the influence of the author of "The Bard." Until the whole history is written, no exact estimate can be made of the importance of the Celtic poetry that then appeared; whether it contributed as much to the progress of the Romantic movement as did the Norse revival or the Ballad revival remains to be seen. But, however important this Celtic movement may have been to English literature, it certainly was dominated by the personality of the greatest poet and most careful scholar of the day—Thomas Gray. His own Celtic production was meager; but the influence of the man who wrote the "Elegy" and declined the laureateship was in no way dependent on quantity. His information was derived from a large number of sources; his influence was diffused through an even greater number of channels.

EDWARD D. SNYDER

LONDON, ENGLAND

<sup>1</sup> *An Account of some of the most Romantic Parts of North Wales* (1777), p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> *Gleanings through Wales* (3d ed., 1797), I, 43-44. See also: the Introduction of William Gilpin's *Observations on the River Wye, and Several Parts of South Wales* (published 1782, 5th ed. in 1800); Richard Warner, *Walk through Wales in August 1797*, pp. 33, 84 (where he has printed "cloud-clapt" for Gray's "cloud-topp'd"), and 155-56; Warner, *Second Walk through Wales in August and September 1798*, p. 43; Robert Potter, *Inquiry into Some Passages in Dr. Johnson's Lives of the Poets* (London, 1783), p. 30, where "The Bard" is called "the grandest and sublimest effort of the Lyric Muse." John Scott of Amwell concurred in all that Potter has said in praise of "The Bard" (*Critical Essays*, 1785, pp. 243 ff.). Such testimony can be multiplied almost indefinitely.





## EDITORIAL NOTE

The present number of *Modern Philology* completes the eleventh volume. With Vol. XII a new mode of publication will be adopted. Instead of appearing four times a year in numbers of approximately one hundred and fifty pages, the journal will appear in ten numbers of approximately sixty-four pages each. The months of publication will be October to July inclusive; but the volume will begin with the May issue, this year and hereafter. The issues of May, October, and January will be devoted to articles in the field of English; those of June, November, and February to articles in the field of German; those of July, December, and March to articles in the field of the Romance languages and literatures; and the April issue to articles on comparative literature, critical theory, and general linguistics. No change will be made in editorial policy or in typographical style.

It is believed that subscribers will find it advantageous to have the articles in each field brought together in separate numbers instead of being scattered indiscriminately through the volume, as has hitherto been the case. And it is thought that persons who wish to secure extra copies of an article will welcome this change, as it reduces the size and price of the separate numbers.

Our main purpose, however, in making the change is to bring out more clearly the fact that *Modern Philology* is not a mere fortuitous miscellany of articles in the field of the modern languages and literatures, but a medium for the publication of the best results of research in each of the great fields to which it is devoted. We hope and believe that the new mode of publication will enable the student in each of these fields to recognize more clearly the importance of *Modern Philology* for his own studies.

An indirect but important result for which we also hope is the enlargement of *Modern Philology*. If the new mode of publication should result, as we believe it will, in the increase of our subscription list, we shall be able to increase the number of pages of *Modern Philology*.

This is a result greatly to be wished. The present channels for the publication of the fruits of research in our field are entirely inadequate. Notwithstanding the increase in the number and size of these channels of publication and the general raising of the standards of scholarship in all of them, editors are often reluctantly obliged, by the demands upon their space, to postpone for as long even as one or two years the publication of articles of great interest and value. This ought not to be the case. The remedy lies in increasing the subscription list of the periodicals. Our business department will begin a campaign for this purpose in a few weeks, and we appeal to our subscribers and other friends for aid in this effort, the ultimate purpose of which is the increase of the means of publication in the field of our work.













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